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बैनीबाद

# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE

# AGRA DISTRICT,

IN 1857-58.

No. 75 of 1858.

FROM

A. L. M. PHILLIPS, ESQUIRE,

*Magistrate of Agra,*

To

THE COMMISSIONER,

*Agra Division, Agra.*

honor, in obedience to the directions contained in Circular from No. 212, dated the 30th of April last, to forward Narrative of occurred in the Agra district, from beginning of the outbreak completely restored.

om the 11th May to the battle of July, record has been compiled l wing sources :—

morandum furnished to me by the Financial Commissioner, Mr.

orary issues of the *Mofussilite* newspaper.

on the revolt in the North Western Provinces," by C. Raikes,

anda furnished by Mr. Parsick, Deputy Collector, Lieutenant t Newmarch, Lieutenant Henderson, and Mr. Lane.

ave done is merely to arrange the matter in a continuous form; fore thought it necessary to mark the same as "quotations."

rmation of the outbreak at Meerut, the commencement of the Mutiny, was received at Agra on the 11th of May 1857.

Mutiny at Meerut first 11th May 1857.

5. The European Military Force, stationed at Agra, was as follows:—the 3rd European Bengal Regiment; one battery of Artillery, (Horse,) under the command of Captain D'Oyley.

Force Military in the Station, English.

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6. Brigadier Polwhele commanded in Cantonments.

Force Military in the Station, Native.

7. The Native force was:—the 44th and 67th Regiments of Bengal Infantry, a company of one of which also garrisoned the Fort.

Fort garrisoned by detachment of Europeans.

8. On the 13th of May, a company of Europeans was ordered into the Fort by Brigadier Polwhele, professedly to support, but in reality to overawe, the sepoys who formed the garrison.

14th May, Council of War. Proposal to enter the Fort, negatived.

9. On the 14th May the news of the massacre at Delhi reached Agra. The Lieutenant Governor had made up his mind to direct all Christian families to repair to the Fort, from which the Native garrison was withdrawn. This measure was propounded at a Council of War, held at Government house. It was strenuously opposed by the Honorable R. Drummond, the Magistrate; Mr. Harington, the Member of the North Western Provinces, and other officials; the order was recalled, and a plan of patrolling was organized, the effects of which were in a few days to cause those residents who had taken refuge in the Fort to leave it and its discomforts, for their homes.

Patrols organized.

10. The Officers who were employed in patrolling were, besides Mr. Drummond, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Chase, Lieutenant Fraser, and Mahomed Mobeen, Deputy Collector.

Detachments from Contingents called in.

11. To overawe the Native Regiments whose fidelity was suspected, as an agency for keeping open communications and repressing any exhibition of turbulence among the clans and tribes of the District, detachments were brought from Gwalior, of Cavalry and Artillery, from the Contingent and Scindia's Body Guard.

Mr. Drummond's endeavours to discover their fidelity.

12. Mr. Drummond had little confidence in the fidelity of these Contingents, and employed Officers to ascertain their real feeling. These were Ahmud Buksh, the leading Vakeel of the Sudder Court, the Deputy Collector, and Kour Kalka Pershad, a pensioned Deputy Collector. These were unanimous in declaring that no faith whatever could be placed on these men.

Unsatisfactory result.

9th Regiment mutinies at Allygurh 21st May. Panic; plan for rendezvous.

13. On the 21st of May intelligence of the mutiny of the 9th Regiment of Native Infantry at Allygurh was received at Agra; great alarm was felt by the Christian population, and hundreds rushed in a panic to such houses as were considered capable of defence. Under Mr. Colvin's directions, a plan of defence was drawn up by Mr. Reade, (of the Sudder Board of Revenue,) assigning certain points of rendezvous, posts of defence, and outposts. The Memorandum on the subject will be found in Appendix No. 1.

Police Force increased, and armed with muskets.

14. About this time Mr. Drummond, with the sanction of Government, armed a number of the City Police from the Arsenal, greatly increased the number of Police, both foot and horse, and called in a large number of Chowkeedars from the surrounding villages. The new levies thus raised, of whom nearly all were foot, were armed with muskets, and side-arms, and supplied with ammunition.

Mr. Colvin's sanction to raise a new levy.

15. In some portions of the District a disposition to create disturbances showed itself; Mr. Drummond having little faith in Contingents, obtained permission from Mr. Colvin to raise a new levy.

Syfoolla Khan, Deputy Collector, raises a force of

16. Syfoolla Khan had formerly been Deputy Collector in Rohilkund, and had been selected from his character and abilities to be Special Deputy Collector at Kerowlee; from this post he

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matchlockmen from Kerowlee, and horse from Bhurtpore.

was promoted to a higher salary in the District of Bhurtpore. There then arose antagonism between him and Captain Nixon, and it was ultimately resolved that he should revert to his former post as Deputy Collector in these Provinces. Before this arrangement could be completed the outbreak occurred, and he was selected by Mr. Drummond to raise a levy of 400 Kerowlee matchlockmen, and 200 Bhurtpore horse; this was afterwards greatly increased, and the whole put under command of Lieutenant Henderson, H. M.'s 10th Foot.

Kotah Contingent and detachments of the Gwalior Contingent, under Lieutenants Noble, Newmarch, and Captain Tonnochy, employed.

17. The Kotah Contingent and detachments of the Gwalior Contingents were also summoned to Agra, and employed as occasion required, under the command of Lieutenant Noble, Lieutenant Newmarch, and Captain Tonnochy.

On the 30th May, the two Companies, one of 44th and another of 67th, despatched to bring treasure from Muttra mutinied, together with the company of 44th stationed there, taking the treasure, marched for Delhi.

18. On the 30th of May a company of the 44th Native Infantry, and another of the 67th Native Infantry were despatched from Agra to Muttra to take charge of treasure, and escort it into Agra. On their arrival these companies and the company of the 44th stationed at Muttra mutinied, and marched for Delhi, taking with them the treasure.

19. By midnight the news arrived in Agra; Mr. Colvin promptly warned the inhabitants of the Civil Lines to repair to the different rendezvous, and in concert with the Military Authorities it was decided that the dawn should behold the disarming of the 44th and 67th Regiments of Native Infantry.

News of the above arrived at midnight. Civil Lines inhabitants warned to repair to their places of rendezvous by Mr. Colvin, and the disarming of 44th and 67th Regiments before dawn, decided in concert with the Military Authorities.

Mr. Drummond's influence instigated, and bore down all oppositions to this measure.

20. I believe I am correct in stating that the influence of Mr. Drummond instigated and bore down all opposition to this measure.

The 3rd Europeans were marched to the Grand parade with loaded muskets, and the European Horse Artillery joining them there, the Sepoys of the 44th and 67th disarmed.

21. The 3rd Europeans were ordered under arms at two on Sunday morning, the 31st of May; at four they marched to the grand Parade with loaded fire-arms; there the European Battery quickly joined them, and formed ground on the right; the 44th and 67th Native Infantry shortly came up and formed line opposite; the Brigadier, and Brigade Major now came on the Parade, and informed the Regiments of the order of the Lieutenant Governor. The word "Pile arms" was given, and sullenly obeyed; and the men were marched back to their lines.

In the Civil Lines the disarming of the Company of Sepoys, as Jail guard, was less successful, for they ran with their arms towards Cantonments.

22. In the Civil Lines a less successful manœuvre was being executed. A detachment of the 3rd Europeans was marched suddenly in front of the company of sepoys, as guard in the Jail; and stood for a short space of time, at the attention, without any orders being given to the sepoys; these imagined an attack was intended, and ran in every direction, carrying with them their arms, and threatening to shoot all whom they met. On their way they encountered Lieutenant Williams, they surrounded him, levelling their muskets at him, abusing and threatening to shoot him; he quietly told them to do their worst, and they departed. On their arrival at Cantonments, finding the rest of the Regiments disarmed, they quietly gave up their arms.

Leave allowed to the sepoys to go to their homes, quietly dispersed, some remained.

23. The sepoys were allowed to go on leave to their homes, and quietly dispersed in a few days; some remained.

June 5th, formation of Militia bodies, commanded by Major Prendergast.

24. Early in June, it was projected to form Militia bodies, both horse and foot; after much delay in the organization, it was arranged that two separate bodies should be organized, one for the Civil Lines, and one for Cantonments; for the

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safety of the former, a body of Volunteer horse, to the amount of 60 men, had already been raised by Mr. Raikes, Judge of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut the command of them, with the full consent of that gentleman, was now given to Major Prendergast, with Lieutenants Oldfield and Hugo James under him.

Detachment of Gwalior Contingent under Lieutenant Noble reinforces Jugneyr.

25. The operations of the Auxiliary forces, noted in paragraphs 16 and 17, may be now briefly noticed. Lieutenant Noble, with a detachment of the 1st Gwalior Contingent Cavalry, was ordered to Jugneyr to guard the borders against incursions on the part of the Goojurs of the Bhurtpore territory. Mr. Lane, Assistant to the Magistrate accompanied this force. There assistance, promised by the Political Agent of Bhurtpore was awaited; but this not coming, and the force being too small to act on the offensive, it returned to Agra through Futtehpore Sikree.

Force under Syfoolla Khan, proceeds to Furrah, accompanied by Lieutenant Henderson.

26. At the beginning of June, Lieutenant Henderson of Her Majesty's 10th Foot, who had been placed under Mr. Drummond for duty with the force of Syfoolla Khan, joined and brought with him two 9-powder guns; their first proceedings were towards the coercion of the disorderly villages in the Furrah Pergunnah; by Lieutenant Henderson some 80 cart loads of confiscated grain were sent into Agra from the Pergunah. It may be here remarked that Mr. Drummond proposed to victual the Fort with these supplies,—a measure which was afterwards found too tardy for adoption. Syfoolla Khan's force was subsequently ordered towards Kheraghur and Shumshabad on the mutiny of the Gwalior rebels. Intelligence of their movements and afterwards of the Neemuch rebels was chiefly obtained by spies from this force.

Mr. Parsick, Deputy Collector, ordered to Futtehpore Sikree.

27. Mr. Parsick, Deputy Collector, under Regulation IX. of 1833 had been stationed at Futtehpore Sikree, and was under orders to proceed to Mirzapore. Under the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor, he was detained, and on the 15th of May remanded to Futtehpore Sikree; he found every body alarmed, and the disorderly characters; preparing for an attack on the Town, which the Police, the Nujeebs having been withdrawn to strengthen the station guards, were quite unable to resist. Mr. Parsick taking the Tehseeldar with him rode through the Town, and by talking to the better-disposed among the Mewatee Zemindars influenced them

His influence restores order.

to organize an armed opposition in case of any outbreak of the disorderly. So effective were his measures that the quiet was restored, and dread of an outbreak averted. Mr. Parsick was incessant in his visits to any village which showed signs of any intention to disturb the peace. His intimate knowledge of the inhabitants of the Per-

Energetic conduct of Mr. Parsick.

gunnah (during his long residence as Tehseeldar) enabled him to call in the well-disposed Zemindars to his assistance The following were those to whom he expresses himself more particularly obliged:

1. Buldeo, zemindar of Dabur.
2. Girwur, ditto of Nagleh Serae.
3. Golam Meheeoodeen, and the Sheikh zemindars of Nuggur.
4. Ram Sehaee, zemindar of Busseyra Raja.
5. Kishen Singh, and the zemindars of Santha.
6. Sookjeet, of Singharpore.
7. Bhowanee, of Abbooapore.

Services of diverse Zemindars in the Futtehpore Pergunnah.

28. By these men the road to Agra from Futtehpore Sikree was kept perfectly secure, and remained so even after the withdrawal of the Government officials. They also watched the borders to resist incursions from the Goojurs of the Bhurtpore district, and prevented a large body of the disarmed 44th and 67th Regiments of Native Infantry from advancing on Futtehpore Sikree. In his

Notice of Irshad Alee, Tehseeldar of Futtehpore Sikree.

untiring exertions Mr. Parsick was zealously assisted by the Tehseeldar, Irshad Alee; as regards this Officer, it will cause confusion in the Narrative if I do not complete my notice of him in this place.

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29. This Officer comes of a race which, in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, has been the most signal proofs of loyalty, his uncle having been there killed by the rebels; while his cousin in Jubbulpore, and another cousin in Bijnore, Toorab Alee have received valuable rewards and promotion for eminent loyalty. When the near approach of the Neemuch Rebel Force compelled Mr. Parsick to fly to Agra, the Tehseeldar remained behind to secure, if possible, the safety of the records; he was seized by the mutineers, grievously ill-treated, plundered and forced to walk on foot in their train, from Futtehpore Sikree to Furrah, where he was on the 7th July released. During the battle of the 5th of July at Sucheyta he was a prisoner in the Rebels' camp. From Furrah he went to his home in Bhurtpore, till his recovery from the effects of the treatment he had received, long doubtful, was assured; he then rejoined his appointment.

Notice of Irshad Alee, Tehseeldar.

30. The mutiny at Gwalior occurred on the 15th June, and the fugitives thence arrived in a few days after; this event caused great anxiety for the safety of the Officers who commanded detachments of the Contingent, in the Allygurh and Agra districts. It may be adduced as a sign of the times, that although these detachments had up to this time behaved generally in a satisfactory and occasionally in a highly creditable manner, no one doubted they would mutiny as soon as news of the outbreak at the Head-quarters of their Contingent reached them; urgent appeals were sent, with the knowledge of Mr. Colvin, by different Mahometans of rank in the City, urging them to spare and protect their Officers: none of these Officers were attacked. Captain Burlton in Command of a detachment of his own Regiment, the 2nd Cavalry, by whom he was much beloved, was civilly dismissed, the men declaring that they must join their brothers, but would not injure him, if he went quietly away. They escorted him up to the neighbourhood of Agra and then departed.

Mutiny at Gwalior, 15th June.

Proceedings relative to Officers Commanding detachment of Gwalior Contingent in Agra district.

31. The approach of the rebels of the Neemuch and Nusseerabad Contingents from Neemuch had long been foretold, and was most anxiously watched. Their march was leisurely, as they were encumbered by a vast amount of baggage plundered of the Cantonments of Neemuch and Nusseerabad. These consisted of the Force (roughly computed) as follows:—

Approach of the Neemuch Rebels.

| | |
|---|---|
| Foot, ... ... ... ... ... | 2000 |
| Guns, ... ... ... ... ... | 10 |
| Horse, ... ... ... ... ... | 600 |

32. The Kotah Contingent being considered loyal, had been cantoned on the left bank of the Jumna for about a fortnight.

Kotah Contingent considered loyal.

33. On the 2nd of July the Rebel army had reached Futtehpore Sikree.

July 2nd, Neemuch Rebel Force arrives at Futtehpore Sikree.

34. On the near approach of the rebels, Syfoolla Khan's force was called in and cantoned in the neighbourhood of Shahgunj. The Kotah Contingent was also brought into Cantonments; it was intended that these forces should act on the flank of the English.

Syfoolla Khan's Force recalled.

35. On the morning of the 3rd July Mr. Colvin was threatened with an apoplectic attack, and by warrant made over the Government to a Committee, consisting of Brigadier Polwhele, E. A. Reade, Esq., and Major MacLeod.

Mr. Colvin's indisposition. Council appointed.

36. A copy of the Resolutions of the Government, on the 4th idem, is contained in Appendix No. 2. The measures thus carried out were as follows:—

Resolutions of ditto.

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I. The release of a large number of prisoners from the Jail, who were put across the river.
II. The admission of Native Christians into the Fort.
III. The breaking of the Pontoon Bridge to prevent the mutineers crossing in the rear.
IV. The removal to the Magazine of two guns lent to the Force of Syfoolla Khan.
V. The orders for advance to the Kotah Contingent.

On the evening of the same day, Mr. Colvin resumed charge and retired into the Fort.

Mutiny of Kotah Contingent.

37. The Kotah Contingent on receiving the orders to advance, mutinied at once. Store Sergeant Carr was shot by a Havildar, and the whole body made off to join the Rebels' camp.

38. Their guns were, as is said, spiked by a Gun-classie, named Muthra, and the powder, ammunition and case shot dispersed in the sand by Doctor Mathias, the Medical Officer in charge. No further injury was attempted to their Officers.

Ammunition and baggage captured by Militia Cavalry.

39. The ammunition and baggage of the fugitives were captured, and some of the fugitives cut down by a gallant charge on the part of the Volunteers led by Major Prendergast.

Guns of Syfoolla Khan's Force returned to Fort.

40. On the 3rd July, the Neemuch rebels were reported at a distance of 18 miles, and Lieutenant Henderson officially reported his guns to be unsafe, not considering his undisciplined matchlockmen capable of protecting them against the enemy's numerous Cavalry. After some difficulty, great risk from the mutinous sepoys of the Kotah Contingent who passed close by the camp, and the desertion of all the sowars of the Force, 300 in number, in a body, the guns were brought into Agra.

Syfoolla Khan's Force ordered to Kerowlee.

41. During the night, Syfoolla Khan reported unfavorably of the disposition of his levies, stating that the Bhurtpore Horse had deserted, that his matchlockmen were useless to oppose the advance of the rebels, and much discouraged at the guns having been taken away. He received orders to move immediately back to Kerowlee, which he did that night.

Approach of the Rebel Force, July 5th.

42. The Brigadier had determined to give battle to the rebels; on their advance a strong picket of the Volunteer Cavalry had been posted beyond Shahgunj, and on the afternoon of the 5th July, intelligence reached the Brigadier of the approach of the Rebel Force. The Force commanded by Brigadier Polwhele was as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3rd European Bengal Bayonets, ... ... ... ... | 600 | |
| Volunteer Cavalry Sabres, ... ... ... ... ... | 33 | |
| D'Oyley's Battery Guns, ... ... ... ... ... | 6 | manned with English gunners and native drivers. |

July 5th, march of the English Force.

43. The Force moved on the road to Futtehpore Sikree, till they arrived at the Begum Sumroo's walled gardens; then they left the road and formed in order, moving to the right over sandy plains. The enemy were then in sight, and soon opened fire from guns planted directly in our front. Our Force advancing

Enemy in sight.

opened fire, and the enemy, after a short exchange of shots, retired to the distance of 2 miles, to the village of Sucheyta, when the firing recommenced; then the 3rd Europeans were

Action.

ordered to lie down behind a slightly rising ground, which did not however protect them from the fire of the

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Rifle Company of the 72nd, posted on the tops of houses and in trees. In this position the 3rd remained, and numbers were thus killed by this concealed and destructive fire.

44. The three guns commanded by Captain Pearson took ground on the left, while Captain D'Oyley commanded on the right; nineteen of the Volunteer Cavalry covered the flanks of the right, and twenty of the same with the mounted Officers the left.

Action.

45. The Artillery of the enemy was also divided to meet the two fires. Their guns were screened by rising ground, forming natural breast-works, and by thickly growing trees. Their Infantry at first were posted behind the village, while their Cavalry in great force formed behind and on our right flank.

Action.

46. Owing to the position of the guns of the enemy, our Artillery could do little, but fire into the village and the grove of trees. Their Infantry emboldened by impunity, advanced and occupied the village; their Artillery which had first fired high, acquired the exact range, two tumbrils on our left half-battery were exploded. On this a cloud of sowars poured with yells from behind the village, and made a resolute attempt to charge the hampered guns; they were met by a discharge of grape and a volley from a company of the 3rd, and retreated in confusion.

Action.

47. Soon a sowar, whose red chupkun marked him as one of the Kotah Contingent, approached the right half-battery at a hand gallop, and halted at the distance of 200 yards from the front of the handful of Volunteer Cavalry. Having satisfied himself as to their number, he turned his horse and galloped away; now the enemy's Cavalry was observed to form on our right, and advanced with the evident intention of charging the half-battery. Their number could not have been less than 200. Major Prendergast, who commanded the 18 Volunteer Cavalry on the right, ordered an advance, which accelerated to a charge brought this small number soon into the midst of a crowd of the rebel horsemen, the ranks of the Volunteers were broken by the impetuosity with which they advanced, the enemy closed round, and but for their remarkable cowardice, not one of the eighteen could have returned; as it was, six were killed, one desperately and five slightly wounded; the remainder formed again as before.

Action.

Charge of Volunteer horse.

48. The word was at last given for the Europeans to advance, and they occupied the village with complete success; had this order been given earlier in the action, who can say how much slaughter might have been spared? For now it was discovered that the Artillery ammunition was exhausted, and nothing remained but to retire into the Fort. Fortunately the enemy were as ill provided as ourselves, for though their guns opened on our retreating Forces, they did not follow to any distance: the last discharge unfortunately killed three men in the 3rd Europeans.

Action.

49. The entire loss on our side was as follows:—

*Artillery.*

1 Officer, Captain D'Oyley, ... } killed.
3 of other rank, ... ... ... }
1 Officer, ... ... ... ... }
9 Non-Commissioned Officers and } wounded.
Privates, ... ... ... }

*3rd Europeans.*

1 Officer, Major Thomas, ... } killed.
29 Non-Comd. Officers and Privates, }
65 Ditto Ditto, ... ...wounded.

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*Civil Lines Mounted Volunteers.*

6 Volunteers, ... ... ... ... killed.
9 Ditto, ... ... ... ... ... wounded.

*Civil Lines Foot Militia.*

1 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... killed.
5 ... ... ... ... ... ... ... wounded.
4 Unattached Officers,... ... ... ditto.

Total, 41 killed.
99 wounded.

50. On the approach of the retiring Force to Cantonments they were met by the Foot Militia, who formed across the road, and exchanged shots with the pursuing sowars, by which fire some loss was sustained.

Retreat of the British Troops followed by the burning of the Bungalows, July 5th.

51. Before the English Troops had reached the Fort, the Normal School for Native Education was in flames, the first of the Holocaust; Mr. Drummond's Bungalow was the next; but the Rebel Troops did not follow the retreating British Force beyond Shahgunj; indeed, properly speaking, there was no pursuit at all.

July 5th, the Rebels depart to Furrah.

52. The rebels procured a hasty meal at Shahgunj, and that very night marched for Furrah, in the direction of Dehli, where they arrived on the 8th July, and were received with a grand salute in celebration of the victory of Shahgunj.

July 5th, general plunder of the Station.

53. The march of the insurgent Rebel army had been accompanied by hordes of villagers, ready to take advantage of a reverse on either side, and to plunder the vanquished; they were seen before the battle, by many, to the amount of some thousands near the European lines. The entry of the British Force into the Fort was a signal for a general onslaught and plunder.

July 5th, the station houses are burnt.

54. All that night the fires of the blazing Bungalows lit the sky, watched with bitter feelings from the ramparts by the occupants of the Fort.

July 6th, immediate attack expected by the Garrison of the Fort.

55. On Monday morning an immediate attack on the Fort was fully expected. The guards of Militia and the 3rd Europeans stationed at the outposts fired without ceasing at every native who approached their posts, thereby cutting off communication entirely with those in the City, who were anxious to send information, stopping the entry of supplies and servants, and placing us per force in a state of self-constituted siege.

July 6th, confusion inside the Fort.

56. Inside the Fort great confusion prevailed;—loose horses were fighting and galloping about, artillery cattle lying wounded, and dying with thirst; drunken soldiers, bivouacking in the rain, while all day and all night the Bungalows of the Station blazed incessantly. It is lamentable that this waste of property and (as will be hereafter seen) of life, resulted solely from the supineness of those in Military command.

July 7th, intelligence first sent from the City.

57. On Tuesday a note was conveyed into the Fort by means of a native employed at the Dehli Gate, written and despatched by Rajaram, resident of Peepul Mundee in the City, and Tehseeldar of Khundowlee in this district, to the effect that no rebel troops remained, that the disorder which reigned was merely caused by the rabble of the City, and that the entry of the Magistrate with a competent force into the City would completely restore order.

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58. On Wednesday morning the 8th July, Mr. Drummond, accompanied by a company of the 3rd Europeans and two guns, made a circuit of the principal streets in the City and Station, and the restoration of order and the British rule was proclaimed.

July 8th, Mr. Drummond marches through the City.

59. From this moment, rapine, murder, and outrage ceased.

Disorder ceased.

60. The state of affairs in the City was as follows:—

State of affairs in the City.

On Saturday the 4th July, Busharut Alee, as stated by him, after communication with Mr. Drummond, had gone round to the different police Stations, in the Cotwalee, and given the different officials orders to the effect that they were by the Magistrate's orders to consider themselves discharged, and go to their homes.

61. The company of the 3rd Europeans had been withdrawn from the Jail on Sunday shortly before mid-day. At the first sound of the firing, the prisoners broke out of the Jail; they were not indeed at all coerced by their guards, who joined them with mutinous outcries, and compelled the Darogah of the Jail to share among them all the money in his Treasury, under pretence of arrears of pay. The prisoners stayed in or about the Station till next day, and then departed to their separate homes, without doing any great mischief.

Mutiny of the Jail guards.

62. At the same time Mr. Browne, Deputy Collector, was employed in conveying the remains of the Treasure from the Collector's Cutcherry to the Fort; in this work he persisted after the battle had begun, and did not cease till the whole was safely stowed there: the amount is noted in the margin.* For this service Mr. Browne was allowed a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month.

Mr. Browne takes the Treasure to the Fort, after firing had begun.

* 35,000 Rupees.
25,000 Rs. property in deposit.
17,027 Rs. Stamp paper.

63. The first victim to the fanatical hatred against all Christians, was Mr. F. C. Hubbard, Professor of Literature, Agra College. At the first sound of the guns, he proceeded from the College to the Fort, when in passing by the Chowkee of Kalay Khan Durwaza, he was fired on, and wounded by the police there stationed, and was followed and killed by one of their number.

Mr. Hubbard first murdered.

64. On the morning after the battle the town-crier, at the order of Morad Alee Cotwal, proclaimed the reign of the King of Dehli, through the City. The armed procession that accompanied the crier was composed of most of the leading Mahomedan Police Officers, attached to the Cotwalee, headed by the Cotwal himself, and followed by a crowd of inferior grades and rabble; there is no reason to suppose that a single Mahomedan of any respectability was in any way engaged or accessory to this proceeding.

Proclamation of the Dehli Raj, by order of the Cotwal Morad Alee, on July the 6th.

65. The other principal Police officials at that time in Agra, were Mahomed Moobeen, Deputy Collector, Vikar Alee Baig, Tehseeldar, and Busharut Alee, Superintendent of Police. Mahomed Moobeen seems to have preserved a strict neutrality. Of the conduct of Vikar Alee Baig I cannot well speak, as his case is under investigation by the Special Commissioner, but there are, to say the least, strong grounds of suspicion against him of active complicity with the rebels.

Conduct of the principal Police Officers in Agra.

Busharut Alee has been proved to have been the main channel of communication between the Rebel camp and the traitorous Police of the City.

66. Mr. Parsick who, while at Futtehpore Sikree, had good opportunities of judging, is of opinion that so early as the arrival of the rebel Troops at Becanah, 24 miles beyond Futtehpore Sikree, and 41 miles from Agra, where

Mr. Parsick's opinion that the rebels were in communication with the rebels early.

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the road to Dehli viâ Bhurtpore turns off from that to Agra, communications passed between them and the disaffected of the Police, which induced the rebels to alter their proposed route to Dehli viâ Bhurtpore, for that to Agra. The mutiny of the Jail guards, and the murder of Mr. Hubbard by the Police, simultaneously with the battle, and the proclamation of the Dehli King the next day, (an act spontaneous on the part of the Cotwal and the Police, and not to be imputed to any impulse from the Rebel force,) fully to my mind prove the complicity of the heads of the Police, while I am as strongly of opinion that, as a rule, the leaders of the Mahometan citizens stood aloof from the whole conspiracy.

Complicity of the heads of the Police.

Leading Mahometans in the City not concerned.

67. From the time of the proclamation, the property of Christians wherever they could be found in the City, was plundered, and themselves, both man, woman and child, ruthlessly murdered.

July 6th, plunder of the property of the Christians, and murder of themselves.

68. All the Christian population who lived outside the City, in the Civil Lines and Cantonments had, without exception, taken refuge in the Fort; but there were many, whose habit of life, native in every way, made them averse to the society of Europeans, and whose confidence in the friendship of their neighbours in the City, induced them to remain in their houses.

Some Christians had remained in the City.

69. In these murders the leaders were the Police, who had been, in great numbers, armed with muskets, ammunition and side-arms; these were joined by the Butchers, and Mewatees of Wazeerpoorah and other places, and by the low Mahometan rabble.

Leaders in these murders, the Police.

70. From Monday the 6th July, to morning the 8th, these scenes of plunder and bloodshed continued without intermission. The number of Christians who were thus murdered, were altogether:—

Amount of murders.

| | |
|---|---|
| Men, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| Women, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 4 |
| Children, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 3 |
| Total, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 22 |

In Appendix No. 3, I have noted the particulars of each crime, and the result of the investigations into each case.

71. Some circumstances, worthy of remark, occurred during these scenes of horror. Generally speaking, the inhabitants of the City showed if not utter indifference, at all events no disposition to oppose the marauders by force.

Remarkable cases.

72. The head of a Mr. Christie, murdered near the Cotwalee, was placed on the Chubootra of the Cotwalee itself, after having served as a play-thing for the boys of the Mohulla.

Case of Mr. Christie.

73. Mr. and Mrs. Derridon and their three children were murdered at the door of their house, while the Mahometan nurse, herself severely wounded, took two other children to that same Cotwalee, where they were safely preserved till delivered to Mr. Drummond; and the third a boy, aged 12 years, escaped by creeping through the legs of the murderers, and alone traversed the City in safety, till he arrived at the Fort.

Case of Mr. and Mrs. Derridon.

74. In the Mohulla of Hukeemon-gulee, a Mr. Butterfield was preserved by the Mahometan inhabitants, though his life was repeatedly demanded by the rabble from without the gates of the Mohulla.

Case of Mr. Butterfield.

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75 Mr. Hare, an old and paralytic man, was murdered by two Nujeebs; his wife and two children, who had fled, were found on the banks of the river by a Bhungee, and by him concealed for two days in his house, and ultimately conducted to the Fort.

Case of Mr. Hare.

76. When the Fort was first re-opened, reports that the City would be visited with general and condign punishment, were actively spread by parties, of whom Fureedoollah, Sudder Vakeel, was the principal, who professed to have heard the same openly threatened by Officers high in the Civil Service. In some instances, these rumours too readily believed; in others the consciousness of having been implicated in treasonable practices, induced many Mahometans, both servants of Government and others, to fly the City.

July 7th, reports that the City would be visited with general vengeance, spread by designing or timid persons.

77. On the 9th July a proclamation was issued by Mr. Drummond, desiring the Burkundazes of the Police to present themselves at Mr. Browne, the Deputy Collector's bungalow, and give up all the arms and ammunition in their possession.

Proclamation issued by Mr. Drummond and ordering the disarming of the Police.

78. This produced 100 stand of arms. A Persian proceeding was also recorded by that Officer, calling on the principal inhabitants of the City to assemble to deliberate on the means best adapted for restoration of order.

100 stand of arms given in by the Police.

79. This document also contains the sanction of two months' leave to Moorad Alee, Cotwal, and Busharut Alee, Superintendent of the City, (as therein stated) by order of the Lieutenant Governor.

Cotwal and Busharut Alee are given leave to go to their homes.

80. On the 10th of July, Mr. Drummond was appointed Civil and Sessions Judge of Banda, and I was appointed to the Office thus vacated.

July 10th, I am appointed Magistrate.

81. On the 11th of July a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the City was held, over which Mr. E. Reade, the Financial Commissioner, presided. At this Session the wishes of the Head of the Government were conveyed to them, that they should all unite to preserve order and peace, each in the Mohullas in which they lived. They were instructed, in concert with the Punches of the City, to raise guards for this purpose, pending the reinstitution of regular Police machinery, and they were called upon to use their utmost influence to support Rajaram in his authority as Cotwal.

July 11th, meeting of the principal inhabitants called, over which Mr. Reade presided.

Paragraph 31, see above.

82. At the same time Mr. Colvin appointed Rajaram to the office of Cotwal of the City; this was done, I believe, after communication with the most respectable inhabitants of the City, and at their urgent request it was a marked proof of the confidence reposed by them equally with the Head of the Government in his integrity and influence;—a trust which his subsequent conduct in that onerous and dangerous post fully justified. Mr. Lowe was also appointed Joint Magistrate, and Mr. Chase continued his office as Assistant.

Rajraram appointed Cotwal.

83. The state of the District outside the City was, in one word, anarchy. The repulse of British Troops and the entry into the Fort joined to the inaction of the three days, wherever reported, everywhere gave the signal for combined attacks on the Tehseelees and Thanahs.

State of the District outside the City. General anarchy.

84. The Tehseelee of Furrah had been plundered on the 8th of July. When the Rebel troops arrived there on their way to Dehli, Mahomed Ishaq, the Tehseeldar of Furrah, the nephew of Mahomed Moobeen, Deputy Collector, joined the Sudder Ameen of Agra, and went to their homes in Shahjehanpoor.

In Pergunah Furrah, Tehseelee deserted.

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Thanahdar deserted.

85. The Thanahdar, Shunkur Sahie, went away, and has not been heard of since.

Naib Darogah deserted.

86. The Naib Darogah of Achneyra, in the Furrah Pergunah, Wuzeer Mahomed, joined the Rebel army and went to Dehli. The Tehseelee and Thanah buildings were plundered by the Butchers of the Town.

Pergunnah Iradutnugur.

87. *Iradutnugur.*—Moozuffur Alee Khan was Tehseeldar, the Thanahdar was Banee Pershad. Although some considerable disorder prevailed in the Pergunnah before the 5th of July, still the Government officials had not been threatened up to that time.

Attack of insurgent Rebel villages in Iradutnugur.

88. The news of the battle of July had no sooner reached the country, than the Tehseelee was attacked on the 6th of July by the inhabitants of the villages as follows:—Tor, Suddoo-poorah, Ahgagun.

The first attacks were made by the Goojurs of the neighbouring villages; the Tehseeldar was abandoned by the Nujeebs of his guard, who joining with the insurgents plundered what money remained in the Treasury, the property of the Tehseeldar, and of the Umlah; this continued from the 6th to the 15th July.

Tehseeldar rescued by Newull, Zemindar of Posyta.

89. On the 14th of July, Newull, Zemindar of Posyta, brought assistance and took the Tehseeldar with him to his own village, where he kept him in safety and comfort till he was able to return to Agra.

Advance of Deohunse Goojur, Soobah of Dholepoor.

90. In the meantime the Goojurs had been joined by some of the followers of Deohunse Goojur, Soobah of the neighbouring State of Dholepoor. I have already in my letter, dated the 17th of April 1858, detailed the atrocities committed by this monster, but I may here repeat the particulars. On the 9th of July the Soobah advanced to Jajow; he had some three thousand rabble with him and two guns; he commenced proceedings by plundering the Town, blowing down the fine old archway to the Serai, an ancient edifice, and finished by killing three Bunneeahs, and setting fire to the Town; no resistance was offered to him.

First attack on Jajow.

Three Bunneeahs killed and Jajow burnt.

Buham, Zemindar of Rajoopoora, with three of his men, advances to protect Iradutnugur, is killed by Deohunse.

91. On the 14th of July, Buham of Rajoopoora at the request of the Bunneeahs of Iradutnugur, came with about 300 of his own followers, to protect the Town. On the news of his approach, the Goojurs sent for Deohunse, and on his prompt arrival, Buham was killed in Iradutnugur with three of his men.

The Town of Iradutnugur plundered by Deohunse, Soobah.

92. Deohunse then gave up the Town of Iradutnugur to plunder; he summoned to his assistance Bhowany Shunkur, Tehseeldar of *Rajakhero*, who came as far as Mayhown, in Pergunnah Iradutnugur, with one gun. The Soobah himself stayed at Iradutnugur for one day only, and then returned to Dholepoor; but his men and chief Officers stayed at Iradutnugur and superintended the plunder of the Town up to the 3rd August.

For five weeks, carriages laden with spoil of the plundered villages continually passed along the road to Dholepoor. The value of this property is certainly not over-estimated at two lacs of Rupees.

93. The cases were, as I have before mentioned in my letter to your address, have been fully investigated. Agreeably to directions contained in the letter from the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, dated the

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30th of April 1858, the cases, forty-one in number, were made over to Major Macpherson, Political Agent at Gwalior, and there the matter has rested.

94. *Mahomed Hussun* was Tehseeldar of Bah Pinahut, a man of resolution and integrity. The Pergunnah, the furthest removed from the Sudder Station, early fell into disorder. To subdue the same the Tehseeldar received all the assistance that the Rajah of Bhudawur was able to afford. Bah was attacked and plundered by surrounding villages, headed by Luchmun Singh, and the Thanah attacked and put to flight.

Occurrences in Pergunnah Bah Pinahut.

Proprietors of estates bought at auction were ejected by the former owners. Anarchy prevailed, and plunder on all sides. The Tehseeldar at Pinahut was surrounded by a horde of Thakoors from across the Chumbul, headed by the men of Lukhunpoora Busona, on the 14th June; but they were not attacked.

The villages of Oodypoora and Oothur were plundered by the forces under Deohunse, Soobah of Dholepoor, who set up his Thanah at Sumona, in Pinahut.

95. On the 3rd July, the Tehseeldar went at the summons of the Rajah of Bhudawur to Nyagaon on the 11th and 12th July. Rebel forces of the Gwalior Contingent crossed at Bubyna, with the intention of plundering the Treasury at Pinahut; in this design they were prevented by Dowlutram, in whose charge the Treasury had been left, and finally crossed the Chumbul; they were joined by several Nujeebs and chuprassees.

96. On the 27th July, what remained of the Treasury, after deducting pay of Government servants, Dufter and Government servants arrived at the Nyagaon. Thence the Tehseeldar came to Agra, but was plundered on the way.

97. *At Ferozabad*, Kasim Husun Khan, brother of the Principal Sudder Ameen at Agra, was Tehseeldar, Mohzun Alee was Thanahdar. Some assistance was derived from Lieutenant Tonnochie, who commanded a detachment of the Gwalior Contingent, but they were not of sufficient strength to effect permanent good. On the 30th June, these sowars mutinied, and Mr. Tonnochie and the Tehseeldar left for Agra. After their departure the Town and Tehseelee were attacked by the neighbouring villages; but their attack being resisted by the Thanahdar, aided by some sowars who remained, it was repulsed; ultimately the sowars departed having looted the treasure. The Town was again attacked by the Chohan tribes from Mynpoory and the Mullahs from the river side, who plundered most part of the Town, except the Mohulla where the Mahometans lived. These last attacked and drove back these assailers with great slaughter; another attack was made, ultimately also repulsed. In these affairs, Khemkurun of Mulikpoor, and Busharut Alee, pensioner, greatly distinguished themselves. Plunder become general.

Pergunnah Ferozabad.

98. Goordyal Singh was Tehseeldar of Khyragurh, found it impossible to control the turbulent tribes in the direction of Jugneyr, the Thanahdar of which place had been compelled to leave for Agra. On the 2nd July some sowars of the Rebel force arrived from Futehpoor Sikree; intelligence of the ill-treatment of the Tehseeldar of that place being known, the burkundauz and Tehseelee chuprassees rapidly deserted, and finally the Tehseeldar left for Agra. After their departure, the Zemindars of Oontgir, Belowtee, and Lukhunpoora, plundered the Treasury.

Pergunnah Khyragurh.

99. In this Pergunnah the conduct of the servants of Government was less creditable than in the neighbouring Pergunnahs. The Thanahdar had early left for his home in Bareilly;

Pergunnah Futteeabad.

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the Tehseeldar also left for Agra stating, as his reasons, fears of an attack by Luchmun Singh Goojur, Zemindar of Khera. This individual, however, on the departure of the Tehseeldar, occupied the Tehseelee, preserved the records, and protected the Town. There was an old grudge between him and the Tehseeldar, which probably gave rise to the Tehseeldar's panic.

Pergunnah Etmadpoor.

100. In the Pergunnah of Etmadpoor, the disturbances headed by Zurawur Singh of Himmutpoor, as in Ferozabad, the Nujeebs of the guard had been withdrawn. The Tehseeldar left to procure assistance from Agra on the 4th July. On the 5th July the Thanah was attacked by a vast concourse of the surrounding villagers. The Town was plundered, and the Thanahdar obliged to take refuge with the Zemindars of Sitholi; from thence he reached Agra with great difficulty.

Ramnarain appointed Tehseeldar of Huzoor Tehseel.

101. On the 15th of July, at Mr. Harington's recommendation, Baboo Ramnarain, a Pleader in the Sudder Court, was offered and accepted the post of Tehseeldar of the Huzoor Tehseel; he was a person of great zeal and energy, and willingly accepted a post of responsibility and risk. I shall find occasion to observe on his services in the sequel.

Thanahs and Chowkees of the City re-established.

102. The Thanahs and Chowkees belonging to the Cotwalee were speedily organized; the next step was to re-establish the district Thanahs. So great was the disorganization consequent on the entry into the Fort, that it was considered necessary that an armed demonstration should be made with as little delay as possible. At Futtehpoor Sikree, the rebel Thanahdar and Tehseeldar still held office; an expedition thither was therefore contemplated, and after a delay of two days, a force as noted in the margin* started on the 29th of July. It was commanded by Captain Patton, and accompanied by Lieutenant Griffin, of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Salmond of the Gwalior Contingent, as Volunteers. I attended as Civil Officer. The river Kharee at Kerowlee was successfully crossed, and Futtehpoor Sikree reached soon after daybreak. After a long search, two Mahometans against whom full proof of complicity, were apprehended.

29th of July. Expedition to Futtehpoor Sikree.

* 50 3rd Europeans B. I., 20 Volunteer Cavalry.

Two principal Rebels had escaped.

103. The delay of two days had allowed the Tehseeldar, left by the rebels, to escape.

July 30th. A small party of ours is attacked by the Mewatee.

104. The next day intelligence was brought that the Mewatees of Sonthke-mundee had transported and lodged in the houses of the Mewatees outside the town of Futtehpoor Sikree, vast quantities of plundered property from the Cantonments and Civil lines; a search was instituted there, and on return thence, I myself with 5 of the Volunteer Cavalry, were entering the narrow streets of the town of Futtehpoor Sikree, when we were met by a large body of Mewatees, armed with guns, &c. who commenced a sharp discharge of matchlocks at us. We turned back to the open ground, and on the arrival of reinforcements from above, charged and pursued the flying enemy for a considerable distance till stopped by a morass. In this affair Lieutenant Salmond was wounded in three places, and about 15 of the enemy killed; a Police sowar, by name Sirshad Alee, was also desperately wounded by the Mewatees, and two syces killed. The expedition returned the same evening.

Attack repulsed; pursuit of the enemy.

Two prisoners hung by Special Commissioner.

105. The two prisoners were tried by Mr. Harington, as Special Commissioner, on a charge of high treason, and sentenced to be hung.

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106. The Mewatees of Futtehpoor Sikree entirely evacuated the country, and effectual measures were taken to prevent their return; a Tehseeldar and a Thanadar were left installed in their offices, and suffered no further molestation.

Mewatees of Futtehpoor Sikree, abandon the country.

107. On the 1st of August, the demolition of the houses in the immediate vicinity of the Fort was commenced and carried out. The memorandum on this subject will be found in Appendix No. J.

Houses near the Fort of Agra demolished.

108. On the 10th of August an expedition, consisting of the force noted in the margin* under Mr. Lowe, Joint Magistrate, visited the Ferozabad and Etmadpoor pergunnahs. They were fired upon by the village of Choolhowlee, which was carried without further resistance. A Thanahdar and Tehseeldar were left at the Tehseelee Etmadpoor, and the police speedily organized.

Expedition towards Etmadpoor.

* 100 3rd Europeans.
2 guns.
30 Volunteer Cavalry.

109. At this time the mutinous proceedings of Tej Singh, the titular Rajah of Mynpoory, and the head of the Choohan tribes in that district, gave great uneasiness as to the safety of our Eastern borders. At Mr. Harington's recommendation Sheikh Inayut Hoossein, the Sudder Ameen of Mynpoory, then residing at Agra, was offered the post of Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Ferozabad, the Pergunnah bordering on the Mynpoory district. This offer he accepted. Gunga Pershaud, Wasil Bakee Nuvees of the Sudder Office, accompanied him as Tehseeldar. Rahcem Khan, an old pensioner, though still hale, and a Zemindar of the Ferozabad pergunnah, who had behaved very well when Ferozabad had been attacked before, was appointed Thanahdar.

Tej Singh, rebel Rajah of Mynpoory.

Sheik Inayut Hossein appointed Deputy Collector of Ferozabad.

110. On the news of their purpose, Hookum Singh, Talookdar of Jarkee, came himself to Agra for the purpose of escorting the Government Officers to their posts; and ever since then supplied men, guns, and ammunition whenever danger threatened.

Hookum Singh, Talookdar of Jarkee, escorts Government Officers to Ferozabad.

111. I have ere now in my letter dated the 18th of February 1858, to the address of the Secretary to Government North Western Provinces, entered into the meritorious services of Inayut Hoossein. They will bear further notice here. On his arrival he found the Pergunnah had been thrown into great disorder by the robberies and aggressions committed by Zorawur Singh of Himmutpoor; but the Deputy Collector found the feeling of the country decidedly on the side of order, and in his favor; of this he availed himself, and soon forced Zorawur Singh to disband his rabble and fly. Under authority from Agra, he raised levies of armed men to resist expected attack of the Mynpoory rebels, who had advanced as far as Shekhoabad, 6 coss off; prepared guns, and got together a small body of well mounted sowars; in fact so successful were his measures, that in a very short space of time, without any Military demonstration from Agra, order had been completely restored in the Pergunnah, and the threats of invasion on the Mynpoory side ceased.

Services of Inayut Hoossein.

112. In these proceedings the proximity of the Rajah of Awah, then in charge of the Juleysur and Sydabad Pergunnah, whose powerful influence was exerted zealously on the side of our Government, was of great assistance; the Northern borders of the Pergunnah were protected, and kept in quietness chiefly through his means.

Assistance to the cause of order by Rajah of Awah.

113. The accounts given by Hurnarain, the Tehseeldar of Futteeabad, as to the conduct of Luchmun Singh Goojur, Zemindar of Khera, were proved to have been greatly exaggerated. A private quarrel had existed between him and the former Tehseeldar, and it may be that that officer entertained some doubts of

State of Pergunnah of Futteeabad.

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his own safety in his hands. But after the departure of the Tehseeldar, Luchmun Singh had preserved the Tehseelee, and Thanah records from injury, and the rest of Government property remained untouched.

Records preserved by Luchmun Singh Goojur.

114. The Moonsiff of Futteeabad, Alee Buksh, expressed his readiness to return to his post; with him were sent as Tehseeldar Goordyal Singh, and a Thanahdar Noor-oolah. The Tehseelee at Futteeabad, an old Mahratta Fort, was a place of considerable strength. Luchmun Singh was eager to efface the remembrance of any misdeeds he had committed, and he and his clan were able and willing to hold the post against any hostile claim of villagers in the District. Under these circumstances the Tehseelee and Thanah officials were established in security, and the roads were also safe for travellers. It could not however be said that the authority of the Police carried any weight.

Alee Buksh, Moonsiff, returns as Deputy Magistrate.

115. The Pergunnah of Furrah in the same manner was occupied by a Tehseeldar Petum Singh, and a Thanahdar Buldeo Buksh. These were both determined men, but they found it advisable not to use compulsory measures to enforce obedience beyond the Town itself. In both the Pergunnahs of Furrah and Futteeabad, the Government servants and authority existed by sufferance.

Pergunnah Furrah.

116. To the Pergunnah of Kheragurh, Hurnaraen went as Tehseeldar, and Buldeo Sahaie as Thanahdar, and Furzund Alee to Jugneyr as Thanahdar.

Pergunnah Kheragurh.

117. In the Pergunnahs of Bah Pinahut, the furthest removed from the Station, with a turbulent population and by position exposed to the aggressions of the disorderly tribes inhabiting the Dholepoor Territories, the support of the authority of the servants of Government was specially committed to the Rajah of Budawur Mehendur Singh. This Chief, the head of the Thakoor tribe of Badawureas, of an ancient and well-connected family, and a Jagirdar of considerable property in this District, lives at Nyagaon in Pergunnah Bah, is himself of not sufficient force of character to have acted decidedly and consistently on the side of the British Government; but the influence of his chief adviser, Hukeem Meher Alee, and his brother Hukeem Nuseeroodeen, resident of Agra, was exerted to the utmost to keep the Chief in the path of loyalty.

Pergunnah Bah Pinahut put specially under the charge of the Rajah of Budawur.

118. The Pergunnah of Iradutnugger was also confided to him, as far as related to the protection of the borders.

Pergunnah Iradutnugger.

119. During the months of August and September, as the Chumbul and Jumna rivers subsided, the Rebel forces then occupying the District of Etawah, made frequent attempts to cross into the Pergunnah of Bah, while the Toumur and other Rajpoot tribes of marauders menaced it from the other side of the Chumbul. Aggression from the direction of Etawah was resisted by open force by the Rajah; considerable levies were collected, the Ghâts strongly guarded and vigilantly watched; and though shots were frequently exchanged, the rebels never succeeded in effecting a landing on this side. To avert incursions from across the Chumbul, the influence of the Rajah's position, as head of the Badoureea Thakoors, of whom great numbers live on the borders of the Chumbul, and are nearly connected with the Toumurs, was used; precautions being at the same time taken of guarding the Ghâts. This good service performed at a most critical period, cannot be very easily over-rated. The strength of the Garrison in the Fort at Agra, originally consisting of only a weak English Regiment, 6 guns weakly manned, and about 30 Volunteer horse, had been greatly weakened by the despatch of a detachment of all arms to occupy Allygurh. What remained in

Precautions taken to guard incursions from Rebels and insurgent Tribes from across the Chumbul and Jumna.

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the Fort was not sufficient for the Garrison alone, and not a man could have been spared to act outside. If the rebels had crossed and acquired a footing in this District, the consequences must have been increased confusion, and have disorganized all the neighbouring Pergunnahs on the right bank of the Jumna. Two guns were under Government orders sent by the Rajah to the assistance of the Authorities in the District of Etawah, and were taken by the Rebel force. No remuneration has been made to the Rajah for these losses.

120. Such being the paucity of armed force in the Station, it was necessary to trust almost entirely to the assistance of loyal Zemindars, and the force of armed levies obtained through their means, and paid by Government for the security of the Tehseelees and Thanahs, and the protection of travellers on the high roads in the District. About this time I also directed the different Tehseeldars to make such arrangements as would render their post, defensible against a Rebel force unarmed with guns.

Scarcity of Military Force in the Fort obliges levies of Zemindars to be raised.

Tehseelees ordered to be made defensible.

121. The Zemindars, who particularly distinguished themselves in assisting the Officers of Government, have been already mentioned by me in the list furnished to the Government.

122. In the beginning of September the Pontoon Bridge was completed in its new site, under the guns of the Fort. Matters continued in this semi-quiescent state till 14th of September, when the City of Dehli was entered by our troops. On the 25th of September, a large force of rebels with many guns were reported on their way from Dehli to Muttra, which they reached on the 26th of September, and commenced building a bridge to cross the Jumna. The Thanah of Furrah, distant 14¼ miles from Muttra, was withdrawn to Roonkootra, and measures taken to enforce a vigilant watch on the road. Some rebel fugitives were captured, who were convicted and hung.

Fall of Dehli, and flight of the rebels viâ Muttra across the Jumna.

Necessitate the withdrawal of Thanah Furrah.

123. The rebels crossed the Jumna into the Allygurh district on their way to Rohilkund, on the 6th of October, and the Thanah of Furrah was immediately re-established.

124. Early in the month of August a Rebel force, consisting of whole or parts of the Mehidpoor, Malwa and Bhopal Contingents, and the regular Troops stationed at Indore, (23rd N. I.) with large additions of the Vilayutees and others in the pay of the Bhopal and Indore States, had reached Gwalior: there they remained till about the end of August, and in the beginning of September these forces joined by part of the Gwalior Contingent, both horse and foot, but not by any of the Artillery, marched to Dholepoor, on the road to Agra; there the Head-quarters of the force remained till the 6th of October. The advanced guard and sowars had however as early as the 11th of September, advanced much nearer, so much so as to capture the Tehseeldar and Thanahdar of Kheragurh, who were ultimately released. They spread over the Pergunnahs of Kheragurh, Futtehpoor Sikree, Iradutnuggur, and Futteeabad, and up to the Kharee Nuddee, compelling the withdrawal of all the Government establishments from the southern parts of the District.

The Rebel Forces from Malwa, Mehidpoor and Bhopal, reached Gwalior in August.

They marched to Dholepoor in September.

Advanced guards reach Jajao.

Take prisoner the Tehseeldar of Kheragurh, and release him unhurt.

125. The main body of the Rebel fugitives from Dehli, as I have mentioned above, crossed the Jumna at Muttra; but a force of all arms, led by Heera Singh, Soobadar of the 72nd Regiment Native Infantry, formerly stationed at Agra in 1856, and afterwards at Neemuch, who had commanded the Neemuch Rebel forces in July 1857, joined the rebels at Dholepoor; with him came a Shahzadah of Dehli, who went by the name of Ferozeshah,* and almost immediately

Force joins the Rebels from Dehli, led by Heera Singh.

* *Note.*—Feroze Shah joined the Mutineers at Gwalior, on his return, it is said, from Mecca.—Ed.

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afterwards, on the 6th of October, the whole body began their march for Agra, with the avowed intention of attacking the Fort of Agra. They took with them two brass guns of enormous size, belonging to the Dholepoor State, drawn by elephants, of which one broke down and remained immovable just out of Dholepoor. Their numbers were very considerable, and they had 13 guns.

September 1857, the Rebel Forces march from Dholepoor.

Column, commanded by Colonel Greathed, marches by the left bank of the Jumna.

The Column commanded by Colonel Greathed, which had been detached to clear the left bank of the Jumna, had advanced through Boolundshuhur to Allygurh.

126. Every arrangement to procure speedy and certain intelligence of the movements of the rebels in our power had been effected, we could only act by spies. Myself, Mr. Muir, and Major Macpherson had each different channels. Over mine was Bhyron Singh, Jemadar of Meenas; his men, seven in number, kept up a string of unbroken intelligence from the beginning to the end. This was all communicated to Mr. Muir.

Intelligence of the Rebels' movements towards Agra punctually reported.

127. Intelligence of the movement of the Head-quarters of the Rebel camp from Dholepoor on the 6th of October reached us on the evening of the same day. A communication by order of the Chief Commissioner was sent to Colonel Greathed, urgently requesting the speedy presence of his Column at Agra. As day by day the rebels approached, urgent messages were despatched to the same effect, till on the 9th of October the two following letters were addressed by Mr. Muir to Colonel Greathed then at Hattrass:—

Ditto.

"The enemy is encamped on the other side of the Kharee, and professes to intend a passage of that river today. They will probably find it a more difficult matter than they fancy to transport their heavy guns (of which they have got three or four from Dholepoor) across the stream, which is deep. But the main body of their force may, if they choose to risk the thing, cross over today, and tomorrow beard us in our Fort, and plunder the City. Hence our urgent anxiety to be provided with Cavalry and another troop of Horse Artillery. We want this in advance of you, lest these desperadoes should cast themselves suddenly upon us.

128. "As far as we can see, our enemy is playing the part of a mad man, and thrusting his head into the lion's jaws. But you must come on rapidly in order yourself to play the lion's part. There are not wanting indications of some advisers in the enemy's camp, who wish to carry the force either towards Bhurtpoor or Etawah. Some detachments in these directions were expected, it is said, by them to return today. But it would be even more disastrous to allow their escape than to have to bear their menaces here for a day or two. You have therefore every inducement to hurry on.

129. "Arrangements can be made to assist your Infantry the last stage, or more, by bullock train waggons, if you will give us details as to your period of reaching each stage. This letter, enclosing Colonel Fraser's despatch, goes by mail cart, and the coachman will have instructions to bring back your reply in the same manner."

Yours, &c.,

*Agra, 9th October* 1857. W. MUIR."

"P. S. They have given out that they wish to fire their first five shots at the Fort on Sunday* next, (i. e. the 11th.)

* Many of the spies said, Saturday, (i. e. the 10th.)

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"I send a line in case it may catch up the mail cart before it starts.

"Our reconnoitring party has come in;—numbers of the Cavalry *have crossed the Kharee,* and our party was fired on. About 300 Infantry had crossed.

"This all looks as if they meant to come in.

"The Cavalry are spreading over the country, and will be committing all kinds of excesses and outrage.

"Come on quickly."

Yours, &c.,

W. MUIR."

130. The note on the system of intelligence received and given to the Military Authorities, will be found in Appendix No. 4.

Want of notice of the approach of Rebels erroneously ascribed to Civil Officers.

131. I have entered so far into the circumstances which attended the approach of the rebels, because the subsequent surprise which they effected on Colonel Greathed's Column, has been imputed as reflecting great discredit on the Civil Authorities at Agra, and has been, in a letter from the late Colonel Cotton, officially described as such.

October 10th, Colonel Greathed's Column enters Agra.

131. On the morning of the 10th October, Colonel Greathed's Column crossed the bridge, and encamped on the old Parade ground in Cantonments, in fancied security.

Erroneous statement in Mr. Raikes's book.

132. In the 73rd page of "Notes on the Revolt of the North Western Provinces of India," written by Mr. Raikes, it is stated that "the Magistrate and other Government Officials assured Colonel Greathed that the enemy had fallen back." On this point I can only state that certainly no such information was either received or communicated by me, and the following note appears in a Memo. by Mr. Muir on the same subject:—

133. "There was no intimation given to Colonel Greathed by any of the Authorities on the morning of the 10th, that the enemy were recrossing. The City rumour to that effect, brought in by the Sikh Gooroo, Jotee Pershad, Eesree Pershad, and other men whose loyalty has not been doubted, was unquestionably occasioned by the march through the town of Greathed's imposing Column. The town's people never dreamt that the Dholepoor rebels would have the audacity to run their heads against *such* a rock as that splendid force."

The Rebels take up their position unmolested.

134. In the meantime the Rebel army were advancing with all rapidity up the road to Agra; and concealed by the high crops of Indian corn, and adjacent buildings, had full license to get into position opposite to the British Camp before any notice was taken of their presence. From the evidence of captured sepoys, it has now been ascertained that until they were actually in the field of battle, the rebels had received no intimation of the reinforcements which had reached Agra.

Attack by a party of Ghazees.

135. The first intimation received of their approach was a party of Ghazees, some five in number, who entered the Camp, playing tomtom, and, entering a tent, killed two men of the 9th Lancers, and desperately wounded a third. The guns of the enemy opened immediately after, and the rebel sowars dashed through and round the Camp, when the alarm was thus given. The British Forces had not long dismounted, and had only partly dispersed; the Artillery and some of the Cavalry to the left flank had been aware of suspicious bodies of men moving in their front. Such was the promptitude with which the different arms formed themselves into position, that the Artillery on the right flank replied to the fourth gun fired by the enemy; it was on this flank that Captain Green and Lieutenant Jones of the 9th Lancers, at the

Commencement of the battle; surprise suffered by Colonel Greathed's Column.

The British Artillery answers to the 4th shot.

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head of only 25 men, charged a large body of the rebel sowars, who were preparing to charge the battery, and completely dispersed them, riding through, and returning to another charge. In this exploit Captain Green was killed, and Lieutenant Jones desperately wounded. Gun after gun came into action, and the clouds of Cavalry formed on the flanks; the rebels found out their mistake too late, for 1½ hour they retreated, answering to our Artillery at intervals, but their retreat became a flight, and by the time that they reached the Kharee Nuddee, a distance of 8 miles, every gun was captured, including the big Gun of Dholepoor; and the force totally routed and disorganized.

Action of the 10th October 1858.

The road the next day, and the field for a distance of ½ a mile on both sides, was literally covered with dead bodies. The number of killed could not have been under a thousand. On our side we had:—

Ditto.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Killed. | 1 Officer, 9th Lancers. | |
| | 4 Europeans, Non-Commissioned Officers. | |
| | 6 Sikhs. | |
| Wounded. | 4 Officers. | |
| | 22 Europeans, Privates. | |
| | 28 Sikhs. | |

136. The villagers on the other side of the Kharee collected to plunder the fugitives. Many rebels were thus killed, and property to the value of upwards of Rs. 4000 was subsequently recovered by the Police, and sent into Agra. During the whole action, the City was completely quiescent. The Cotwal, Rajaram, displayed a passive courage, for which I think no one gave him credit before. It must be remembered that if success had attended the arms of the rebels, he would undoubtedly have been one of the first victims. Undismayed by the peril of his position, he remained steadily at the Cotwalee, and immediately on the issue of the battle being no longer doubtful, caused the success of our Arms to be proclaimed through the streets and lanes of the City. My original report on his conduct, and that of Ramnarain, is contained in Appendix No. 5. In November he was transferred to the Collecterate Office, holding his substantial appointment as Tehseeldar; he left his appointment, carrying with him the respect of all respectable citizens, and the good opinion of all his immediate superiors. I may here also be allowed to allude to the services of Ramnarain, Tehseeldar Huzoor Tehseel. He was appointed Tehseeldar at the same time as Rajaram, and though a man of a private character less popular, most certainly must be entitled equally with Rajaram to the credit of having come forward at the most critical of times to lend his support to our Government. He is entitled, in my opinion, as well as Rajaram, to a valuable acknowledgement from Government.

Fugitives plundered.

City remains quiet.

Notice of Ramnarain.

Since the battle of October, the District has been undisturbed by the presence of any rebels in force.

137. A detachment of the fugitive mutineers from Dehli, which had crossed the Jumna at Muttra, had reached Futtehpoor Sikree, and were there harboured by the Mewatees of the Town itself, and the neighbouring villages; the old buildings formed positions of great strength, and it was considered necessary to deal quickly with such dangerous neighbours.

Detachment of Mutineers harboured by the Mewatees at Futtehpoor Sikree.

138. In the end of October, a force under the command of Colonel Cotton, marched to Futtehpoor Sikree, and after a severe resistance, the Tehseelee, where the rebels were established, was carried, some 50 of the rebels were killed there, and about 30 of them, entirely Vilayutees and Mewatees, were killed by the Cavalry.

Force under Colonel Cotton, proceeds thither.

139. The force marched thence through Pergunnah of Furrah into the Muttra district.

And through the Pergunnah of Furrah.

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140. The effect of the progress of this Column was most beneficial: resistance on the part of the landholders ceased at once, the Thanah and Tehseel officials were re-established, and assumed the usual control without molestation. If, as did occasionally happen, the country people in the Kheragurh and Jugneyr Pergunnahs showed signs of restiveness, I considered that it was better to leave the remedy to time and conviction than to use the Military arm as an instrument of persuasion.

Order and discipline re-established.

141. In the Pergünnah of Futteeabad, two villages remained obstinately and pestilently rebellious, Khandier and Dhunola. Every means was tried to induce them to listent o reason; well-disposed Zemindars were used as mediators, and promises of forgiveness made, with no effect; finally, when it was ascertained that the proprietors, assisted by a great many fugitive sepoys, were strengthening their Gurrees and collecting ammunition and guns, I considered it necessary to apply to the Military Authorities for aid. With great difficulty, on the 26th of November, I obtained the loan of two guns, *without* Artillery men, and 2 Artillery conductors, who were sent under an escort of 100 matchlockmen furnished by Mehender Singh, Dewan of Parna, to Futteeabad. These I accompanied; I had before sent Lieutenant Furnell and 100 Sikh sowars to assist the Police. On my arrival on the 27th of November, I found that Lieutenant Furnell, while reconnoitring the village of Dhunola, had been fired on by parties concealed in the ravines.

Two villages in Futteeabad resist authority.

2 Guns granted.

Escorted to Futteeabad by Mehender Singh.

Lieutenant Furnell had been fired at.

142. On sending information of this to Colonel Fraser, C. B., he consented to dispatch a detachment of the 3rd Europeans, the company of the Sikh Sappers under Captain Chalmers, and a Howitzer; the whole under command of Major Hennessy. You accompanied this force.

Detachment of 3rd Europeans sent in support, Sikh Sappers, and a Howitzer.

143. The next day Major Hennessy, while reconnoitring the village of Dhunola, having got partially involved in the ravines, was fired at by men from near the village, and in the ravines no one was hit, but Captain Fuller's horse was grazed. The Zemindars of Khandier having been summoned to appear and answer for their conduct, refused to do so.

Major Hennessy reconnoitring is fired at.

On the morning of the 28th the force marched for Khandier. The village contained a strong Gurree, from which the enemy fired for some time. It was taken, and the enemy pursued with great slaughter through the ravines.

Force attacks Khandier.

144. The next day the three Gurrees, which formed the stronghold at Dhunola, were also carried after considerble resistance.

Dhunola attacked.

145. On the 30th idem, Inayet Hossein, the Deputy Collector of Ferozabad, arrived in Camp at Futteeabad, with the intelligence that the "Mullahis" of Chundwar, and other villages on the left bank of the Jumna, had murdered, in cold-blood, 45 of the Police burkundazes of Ferozabad. They had committed this atrocity under the following circumstances:—A highway robbery had been committed at Chundwar; a party of the Police, of one Jemadar and 45 burkundazes, were despatched thither to seize the offenders. These men arriving in the afternoon without proper guides, got entangled among the deep and intricate net-works of ravines, which extend for from 3 to 6 miles on the left bank of the Jumna. The Mullahis collected from all the surrounding villages, and attacked the Police with overwhelming numbers; they fired on them all through the night, and by the morning had completely exterminated the whole number. Not a single man returned to tell the tale, nor when a search was possible, was any trace of the bodies discovered: it must be supposed that they were thrown into the Jumna.

Intelligence received of slaughter of Police at Chundwar.

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On receipt of this intelligence, I was most anxious that the force, but a few miles removed from the scene of slaughter, should march thither, and avenge this atrocious crime. In this I was overruled, on the ground that Colonel Fraser's orders were that the force should not delay its return to the Fort. I was not even allowed to communicate to Colonel Fraser, and receive his orders. It is known that at that time the "Mullahis" had prepared to resist; thus the opportunity was lost for inflicting punishment. A subsequent visit found every village deserted.

My recommendation to advance to the spot of the murder overruled.

146. The Estate of Dhurpoora, Pergunnah Etmadpoor, had been let for arrears of Revenue to Jotee Pershad. The Lumberdar, Hurlall, a notorious malefactor, had escaped. On the 19th of December he returned, ejected the servants of Jotee Pershad, and commenced a course of plunder, which stretched far and wide. He was rapidly joined by all the loose and bad characters in the neighbourhood, and no less than 29 villages were plundered by him from that time to the 5th of February.

The Lumberdar of Dhurpoora begins to plunder.

147. But so utterly destitute of troops were we at that time, that no Military expedition could be organized against him. On the 4th of February, an opportunity offering, a force marched against Dhurpoora, and expelled him without difficulty.

Impossibility of organizing an expedition against him.

148. In the City of Agra, under the directions of Mr. Reade, Financial Commissioner, a City barrier, being an encircling wall with gates at the entrances of the principal roads, was planned and carried out by Captain Munbee, assisted by Mr. Maconnochie and Mr. Hall. The Memorandum on this subject will be found in Appendix No. 6. Half the expence was raised by subscription, and half borne by Government. Experience has now proved that the erection of this Barrier, or "Shahr Punah," as it is called, has been attended with the very best effects. The doors are closed at 9 P. M., and opened at gun-fire A. M., between which hours all ingress and egress is forbidden, except under express order. Burglaries committed inside the wall, are almost unknown.

City Barrier erected.

149. Since that time, although parts of the District have been occasionally disturbed by incursions of Dacoits from across the Chumbul by the passage of fugitive rebels, and by the restiveness of distant villages, all which have been reported to go as they have occurred, but the transition from anarchy to security has been gradual and sure.

Restoratin of order.

150. Here we may close the Narrative at the date of re-establishment of order.

Close of Narrative.

It only remains for me to notice those whose services on the part of Government have been of unusual merit. Of the Rajah of Budawur, I have already spoken sufficiently, both in this Narrative and in the former, compiled agreeably to the Circular Order, in which notice of all others, whose names have appeared in this Narrative, has also there appeared.

With regard to Rajaram, the late Cotwal, and Ramnarain, late Tehseeldar, I must be allowed to offer some further remarks. I can write in no stronger words than I have already done, on the nature of their services. They have been acknowledged by those of the highest official rank, who were in Agra during the most critical period. Of these, Rajaram has received no acknowledgment at all, but has been recommended for a "Khillut of one piece." Ramnarain has received none, and has been compelled to resign his office of Tehseeldar, because its duties and the work of a Pleader in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut were considered incompatible.

Further notice of Rajaram and Ramnarain.

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151. When high authority has pronounced opinion, it is difficult to speak in opposition without being charged with insubordination.

Further notice of Rajaram and Ramnarain.

152. Syfoolla Khan has been promoted in the scale of Deputy Collector, and received a khillut of Rs. 1,000 for services rendered in Agra, while our power was yet firm in the District; and for (as I understand) political services at Kerowlee, afterwards.

Ditto.

153. Rajaram, who performed the duties of Cotwal of the City from the time when we had no power at all outside the guns of the Fort, to when our power was completely restored, is recommended to be rewarded by a khillut of one piece, a reward which would be considered little less than an insult; and is debarred from the post of a Deputy Collector, as being too infirm. While Ramnarain is considered not worthy of any reward at all.

Ditto.

154. It is not too late for the Government to act so as to support its character for generosity and consistency.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. L. M. PHILLIPPS,

*Magistrate.*

AGRA MAGISTRACY:
*The 18th November* 1858.

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# APPENDIX No. I.

*Alluded to in Para.* 13.

# Memorandum

IN

DEFENCE OF THE STATION

OF

# AGRA.

1. As requested by His Honor, I proceed to give in detail the measures I would recommend for the tranquillization and defence of the Station and Town of Agra.

2. The Fort has been secured by the Brigadier's prompt deputation of a detachment from the European Regiment to guard it; and the requisite orders, I understand, have been issued for placing it in a proper state of defence, and provisioning it for a term of six months.

3. The Magistrate, by his determination and preparedness to act, is fully equal to the task of keeping the populace of the City under control; and if he associate the better classes of the citizens with him, he will with their aid maintain order.

4. Our difficulties are, the uncertain temper of the Native Regiments,—the Central Jail, with its large number of convicts,—the great and straggling length of the Civil and Military Stations,—and the number of Schools, institutions, and families, containing an unusual number of helpless females and children.

5. On the subject of the Native Regiments, I will state my opinion in a separate Memorandum. At present I confine myself to the suggestion of those measures which, while they maintain an attitude of vigilance, (which of itself is half a defence) should give public confidence, and display to the people and Native States around us, unity of purpose and undaunted resolution in trying times.

6. I do not think there is any reason to apprehend at present any sudden attack by disciplined troops in this Station. It is impossible that the mutineers and rebels at Dehli, who must be anticipating and preparing for attack on themselves by the Military Force collecting under the Commander-in-Chief, can have the inclination or hardihood to despatch an expedition. At all events our front is covered by the Bhurtpoor troops under Captain Nixon's command, and this ought to be efficacious as a political demonstration, and an assurance of early intimation of any such movement.

7. It is quite certain that the 9th Regiment has taken the direction to Dehli, which has been selected by the rebels as the point of contest with the Government.

8. We have therefore, I consider, only to prepare for the possible contingency of marauding bands of the predatory clans—Mewatees, Goojurs, and the like, being emboldened by the defection of our Military establishments

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and the want of confidence necessarily attaching to Regiments which have not mutinied to make an incursion, and by letting loose a crowd of prisoners to obtain allies in plunder, massacre, and incendiarism.

9. The opinion I know has been discarded, which I must, however, retain, that an outlay of Rs. 50,000 or 60,000 on a circumvallation of the Civil and Military Station, taking advantage of the mounds scattered through the whole line, and securing the principal thoroughfares with strong entrance and posts of defence, would be more efficacious in preventing incursions than any system of open posts and pickets.

10. It is, I know, the fashion to deride the "Shahr Punnah" system; but the people think differently, and point to localities, where it still obtains as a security from incursion from without, and against successful evasion of pursuit by criminals within.

11. This however having been negatived, the next best arrangement is a System,

1st—Of Rendezvous, in case of alarm.
2nd—Of Defence Posts.
3rd—Of Advanced Pickets.

12. Rendezvous should be buildings of sufficient accommodations for women and children within the interior apartments, the verandahs outside being kept and prepared for defence. They should be terraced buildings, so that there may be no risk of fire.

*List of Rendezvous.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. The Post Office, Agra Bank, and Medical Hall. | 4. Government House. | 8. Mr. Boldero's House. |
| 2. The Mofussilite Press. | 5. Candaharee House. | 9. The Convent. |
| 3. The Government College. | 6. Accountant's Office. | 10. The Custom House. |
| | 7. Mr. Grant's House. | |

13. Each rendezvous should be under the charge of one person, whose duty it should be to prevent needless hurry, to regulate the admission of vehicles and the families of houses adjacent, and to have supplies at this season much needed, in case of panic, of water, and other conveniences. To another party, or more than one, according to the extent of the building, should be assigned the charge of conducting the defence, and if the position becomes obviously untenable, of retiring with the whole party under the Fort.

14. The places noted above appear to be well suited for the purpose; and if the Magistrate concur in this arrangement, the Officer or person in charge should be at once instructed to register the houses, the inmates of which are to resort to the Rendezvous, and to furnish tickets to each person or family. The male adults of those houses or families should act as the guard of defence; the aged giving their aid to the families and children.

15. The Government doubtless will not object to the supply of a few fire-arms with ammunition from the Magazine to the Officer charged with defence of the Rendezvous.

16. Defence posts will be positions, which a few resolute men can maintain against numbers until relieved by the succour of Military force.

17. Each of these posts would have its assigned number and detail of advanced posts or pickets, the men of which would retire upon each, or report to each any danger approaching.

18. The alarm at one post would necessarily be taken up by the others, and be the signal for families to resort to their respective Rendezvous, which should always be ready for their reception.

19. It would be convenient to arrange, if practicable, to have at each defence post, horsemen to convey intelligence to any point, possibly more frequently to dissipate alarm than to raise it. It will be as well however to send written instead of verbal messages, if this can be done.

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| *Defence Posts.* | Men. | Horsemen. | *Defence Posts.* | Men. | Horsemen. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Tajgunje, | 30 | 4 | 6. Chunga ka Pool, | 10 | 0 |
| 2. Edgah, | 16 | 2 | 7. Buldeogunje, | 10 | 0 |
| 3. Assay Office, | 20 | 0 | 8. Madya Kuttra, | 16 | 2 |
| 4. Ajmere Gate, | 16 | 2 | 9. Sudder Dewany Cutchery, | 12 | 2 |
| 5. Gungo Durwaza, | 10 | 0 | 10. Bahadoor Khan's, | 16 | 0 |

20. I note in the margin the points that seem best suited for defence posts, with the strength of each.

21. Advance posts, or pickets, according to locality and distance, should be manned by mounted Police or foot. Their duty would be to watch against surprise, and to convey, without needless clamour and alarm, intelligence of any suspicion gathering, or approach of parties.

22. It is indispensable to prevent confusion and panic that alarm should be given from the defence posts; the Officer posted at which should give the signal to the others.

| *Advance Posts.* | Horse. |
|---|---|
| 1. Secundra, ... ... | 10 |
| 2. Bodla, ... ... | 10 |
| 3. Pittowlee, ... ... | 10 |
| 4. Junamulpoora, ... ... | 5 |
| 5. Poeya Ghât, ... ... | 5 |

23. The advanced posts I recommend to be established as noted in the margin.

| *Advance Posts.* | Foot. | | Foot. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Outside Tajgunje, ... | 5 | 9. Shoossuhay ke Tukeeya, | 10 |
| 2. Back of Prendergast's ... | 5 | 10. Sout ka Mundyee, ... | 8 |
| 3. Shumsabad Road, ... | 5 | 11. Candaharee Bagh, ... | 5 |
| 4. Iradutnugur ditto, ... | 5 | 12. Ladlee, ... | 5 |
| 5. Gwalior ditto, ... | 5 | 13. Back of Murray's, ... | 5 |
| 6. Kutchpoora Sout, ... | 5 | 14. Kurballah, ... | 5 |
| 7. Khoja ke Serai, ... | 10 | 15. Jotee Pershad's, ... | 5 |
| 8. Shahgunje Begumbagh, | 10 | | |

24. With these arrangements completed, and with the aid of patrolling parties within the circle of posts, the Civil and Military Station should be secure against ordinary danger. That which would arise from a hostile Military force advancing against it, would be best encountered in the field.

23*rd May* 1857.

E. A. READE.

---

*Order by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor,—26th May* 1857.

Captain G. M. Prendergast is appointed by the Magistrate to be his representative in the details of all protective arrangements of a Military nature for the Civil Station, from the Ajmere Gate to Poeya Ghât.

2. Captain Prendergast will communicate daily with Mr. Boldero, the Joint Magistrate, so as that they both may be kept informed of all occurrence and arrangements of importance.

3. Captain Prendergast will submit, through the Magistrate, for the orders of the Lieutenant Governor, a detailed statement of rendezvous, out-posts, and pickets. He will also regulate the employment of the Volunteer Horse in patrolling the Civil lines.

4. Captain Prendergast will take up his quarters in the Civil lines, so as always to be accessible to the community; and on emergency, will give his own directions as to defensive arrangements, as to the persons to assemble at particular rendezvous.

5. Mr. Boldero, as Joint Magistrate, will act promptly on his own discretion in enforcing Police rule and order, as distinct for the duties of rendezvous, out-posts, and pickets. In the event of emergent necessity, Captain Prendergast, as a Military Officer, will take the command in all points.

6. An establishment should be maintained solely for keeping up free communication between Captain Prendergast and Mr. Boldero, and the Magistrate, at all hours, day or night.

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# APPENDIX No. II.

*Alluded to in Para.* 36.

*Proceedings of the Council of Administration of 4th July* 1857.

PRESENT:

BRIGADIER POLWHELE, *Commanding at Agra.*

E. A. READE, ESQUIRE, *Senior Member Sudder Board Revenue.*

MAJOR N. MACLEOD, *Engineers, Military Secretary.*

*Warrant by the Lieutenant Governor.*

Brigadier Polwhele, Mr. Reade, and Major Macleod, to be a Council, to carry on the necessary business of Government during the following 24 hours, but it is to be understood that no radical change of policy is to be carried out.

J. R. COLVIN,
*Lieut. Governor, N. W. P.*

*Dated 3rd July* 1857.

The information regarding the movements of the Neemuch mutineers received through the Police being ambiguous and contradictory, Volunteers were called for from the Officers, who reported from personal observation the arrival of their Camp within a distance of 15 miles from Agra. Brigadier Polwhele has decided in the event of their advancing nearer, to meet and attack them.

2. The Superintendent of the Central Jail attended the Council. Nothing has been done towards diminishing the number of prisoners, nearly 4,000 in number, or organizing a guard to relieve the European soldiers there, and whose services will be required in the field. Doctor Walker was directed at once to release prisoners sentenced for short time, or whose conduct had been good, and to pass them over the Jumna with a certificate, and subsistence of 2 rupees each, and the requisite funds were placed at his disposal. He was also authorized to pardon 60 or 70 of the Sikh prisoners, on the condition of six months' faithful services, to take an oath from them, and, together with some Sikhs who have accompanied Major Raikes, to form them into a guard outside the Jail, instead of the European soldiers. Full discretion was given to Doctor Walker to liberate as many prisoners as he might deem fit, observing the precautions above mentioned.

3. Mr. Longden and the Reverend Mr. French represented the general distress and anxiety of the Native Christians, in consequence of the order prohibiting their admission into the Fort; and it was directed that their admission should be allowed on the condition of their undertaking to perform menial offices and any duty required of them.

4. Mr. Longden also represented the importance of removing the mass of type metal at Secundra, several tons, with some of the more valuable presses, to the Fort, which was allowed; and ten of the Commissariat carts authorized to be used for that purpose on the following day.

5. The various accounts of the Gwalior Contingent detachments, which have mutinied in the Districts on the opposite bank of the Jumna, render it necessary to adopt effective measures regarding the bridge of boats; the only precaution at present taken being the drawing up of the bridge at night. Orders were therefore simultaneously issued to the Magistrate, and to the Superintendent Mr. Maconnochie, to leave a clear space of 150 to 200 feet on either side, and Lieutenant Glover was deputed to see the work done.

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6. Two guns, 9-pounders, having been sent to the Magistrate for a temporary use, and the requisitions for their return to the Ordnance Department having hitherto proved unavailing, Lieutenant Henderson was directed to remove these guns from Syf Ollah's levy, and to bring them to the Artillery lines; which, after some opposition, has been effected with the aid of the Militia.

7. The Kotah Contingent having been brought into Cantonments from the opposite bank of the Jumna by the determination of a Council of War, the question of their disposal was considered. It was decided that the test proposed by Major Macleod should be applied, *viz.* that their guns should remain with the Reserve of Europeans left for the protection of Cantonment, while their Infantry and Horse should accompany the force on its march out to meet or attack the mutineers. The arrangement was declared by Captain Dennys to be accepted to the men. To facilitate its adoption, orders were issued to move their Camp to the rising ground on the road leading towards Futtehpoor Sikree. The force mutinied on this spot, the Cavalry, after killing the Artillery Sergeant, fled towards the Mutineers' Camp, and were followed by the Infantry in disorder. Major Prendergast, with his body of Militia Horse, by a gallant charge cut down some of the latter, and captured their camels and ammunition. An order will be issued by Brigadier Polwhele, commending the conduct of the Militia on this occasion.

8. Orders were issued, requesting the residents of Cantonments to repair to the Rendezvous of the 44th Mess Railway House, or Mofussilite Press, for the night.

9. Lieutenant Henderson having brought Nawaub Syf Oollah Khan, after midnight to the Railway House to report the desertion of the Bhurtpoor Horse, and the Nawaub having acknowledged that his matchlock Infantry were unfit to fight against mutineer soldiers, he was ordered to quit Shahgunge at once, and to return to Kerowlee without delay. Permission was given by Brigadier Polwhele to his levy passing in front of Cantonments, and Mr. Drummond directed to see that this order was at once carried into effect.

THOS. POLWHELE,

*Brigadier, Commanding Agra and Muttra Districts.*

E. A. READE,

*Senior Member Sudder Board Revenue.*

N. C. MACLEOD,

*Military Secretary.*

# APPENDIX No. III.

*Alluded to in Para. 70.*

*List of Murders committed in the City during July 1857, with Notes of Reward recommended for apprehension of Criminals.*

| No. | Names of Murdered Persons. | Date of Murder. | Place of Murder. | Circumstances of Murder. | Names of Criminals apprehended and Convicted. | | Names of Criminals fled. | Proposed Reward. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Names. | Remarks. | | |
| 1 | Mr. Hubbard, Teacher Agra Government College. | 5th July 1857, ... | Chowkee Kullan Khan. | Killed by the Police at Chowkee Kullan Khan, by gunshots and latterly by sword. | Khemg Singh, ... | Hanged. | 1. Madho Khan, Havildar, ...<br>2. Hurdial, Naick, ...<br>3. Mendoo Khan, Chowkeedar, | 200 Rupees.<br>150 „<br>100 „ |
| 2 | Mr. Allen, Pensioner, ... | Ditto, ... | Pay Chowkee, ... | Doors broken open by a mob of Police and Mahometans, and killed. | | | 1. Secunder's Moonshee, ...<br>2. Ramzaan, his servant, ... | 200 „<br>100 „ |
| 3 | Mr. Alexander Derridon, Mrs. Derridon, one Girl and one Boy. | 6th July, ... | Kala Muhul, ... | Killed by 5 in his own house, others engaged in the murder. | Oorzoollah, Fakeer. | Transported for life. | 1. Durrooa, ...<br>2. Ram Purshad, Mookhtar, ...<br>3. Ellie Bux, Butcher, ...<br>4. Molah Bux, ...<br>5. Jan Mahomed, ...<br>6. Ahmud, ... | 150 „<br>50 „<br>150 „<br>150 „<br>150 „<br>150 „ |
| 4 | Mr. Christie, ... | Ditto, ... | Mayee Than, ... | Called from his house, chased, and killed by a mob in Mayee Than; his head was put on the Cotwalee Chubootra.—Further enquiry. | Luchmun, ...<br>Rambux, ... | Released.<br>Under trial. | Kullun, Burkundaz, ...<br>Malley Khan, ... | 150 „<br>150 „ |
| 5 | Mr. Lambourn, ... | Ditto, ... | Bagh Moozuffur Khan. | Killed in his own house by gunshots and sword-slashes. | | | 1. Balkishen, Goojur, ...<br>2. Peerbux, ...<br>3. Ruheem Khan, ... | } 150 „ each. |
| 6 | Major Jacobs, ... | Ditto, ... | Nowmehla, ... | Murdered by the Mewatees of neighbouring bustees, and his servants, also Mewatees, in his own house. | Joheree Khan, ... | Hanged. | 1. Emam Khan, ...<br>2. Khewanee Khan, ... | 150 „<br>150 „ |

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | Mr. Piaggeo, ... | 6th July 1857,... | Chilee Eeut, ... | Mobbed in Chilee Eeut while running away, killed by 3;——many others in collusion. | Ukber Khan, ...<br>Zehoor Khan, ...<br>Ruheem Bux, ... | Hanged.<br>60 Bait.<br>Hanged. | Munghoo, ... | 150 Rupees. |
| 8 | Roostum and Peter, ... | Ditto, ... | Kuttra Kummul, | Killed in their own houses, by the complicity of the Mohulla Nobehs. | Abdoollah, ...<br><br><br>Ruheem Buksh,<br>Golab, ...<br>Mohumdoo, ...<br>Meeroo, ...<br>Heengun, ... | Transported for life.<br>Transported for 14 years.<br>Hanged.<br>Ditto.<br>Ditto.<br>Ditto.<br>Ditto. | 1. Lall Khan, ...<br>2. Kureem Bux, ...<br>3. Boodhoo, ...<br>4. Rumzanee, ...<br>5. Kullamut, ...<br>6. Chotay Khan, ...<br>7. Nunnay Khan, ... | 100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „ |
| 9 | Mr. Lewis Maxwell, ... | 5th July, ... | Gunda Nullah,... | Followed into his house and killed by 2 Nujeebs. | | | 1. Kulloo, ...<br>2. Sultur, ...<br>3. Kureem Bux, ...<br>4. Gullee, ...<br>5. Mahomed Anis, ...<br>6. Mutho, ... | 100 „<br>100 „ |
| 10 | A Drummer, ... | 7th July, ... | Purtab Poora, ... | Went into Chumaries' houses and was killed. | Boodha Chumar, | On Security. | 1. Oomuda, ...<br>2. Poorna, ...<br>3. Ummur Singh, ...<br>4. Nunda, ...<br>5. Bhijun, ...<br>6. Khooshalee, ... | 100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „<br>100 „ |
| 11 | Mr. and Mrs. Dennis, ... | 5th July, ... | Rekab Gunje, ... | Killed in their own house by a mob, | Mamnoo, ...<br>Umursen Khan, | Released.<br>Ditto. | 1. Muddoo, ...<br>2. Gunnoo, ...<br>3. Ebadut Khan, ...<br>4. Zehoor Khan, ... | Further enquiry.<br>100 Rupees.<br>100 „<br>100 „ |
| 12 | Mr. Anthony, ... | Ditto, ... | Kucheree Ghât, | Killed while hiding in an Indigo vat, | Ubdool Humeed,<br>Kasim Alee, ...<br>Doorga Pershad, | Released.<br>Ditto.<br>On Security. | 1. Wazzee, ...<br>2. Ishree, ...<br>3. Hurdeo, ... | 150 „<br>150 „<br>150 „ |
| 13 | Mrs. Conlan, ... | Ditto, ... | Jat Poora, ... | Killed by Nubboo, Chowkeedar, ... | Munglee, ... | Ditto. | Nuthoo Chowkeedar, ... | 150 „ Further proof required. |
| 14 | J. Danslem, ... | Ditto, ... | Wuzeerpoora, ... | Mobbed in Wuzeerpoora, and killed by Mewatees and Butchers. | | | 1. Butteea, ...<br>2. Meeno, ...<br>3. Kadur, ...<br>4. Mithoo, ... | 150 Rs. each. |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Names. | Remarks. | | |
| 15 | Mrs. Matthews, ... | 5th July, ... | Bagh Moozuffur Khan. | Went and killed in her own house. | | | 1. Ramzanee,<br>2. Choutay, ...<br>3. Fazul, ...<br>4. Kahnah, ..<br>5. Toolsee, ...<br>6. Rooppa, ...<br>7. Kooray, ...<br>8. Hunsookha, ...<br>9. Lulloo, ...<br>10. Azeemoollah, ...<br>11. Hyder Khan, Fakeer, ... | 100 Rs. each. |
| 16 | Mr. Hare and Son, ... | 6th July, ... | Gutteah, ... | Mr. Hare was killed in his own house: he was paralytic. | Gheepa, ... | Hung, | Mulbunga, ... | 150 Rs. |
| 17 | Mrs. Thornton, ... | ... ... ... | Baylungunge, ... | Uncertain. | | | Mussumat Chumchum, ... | 150 „ |

AGRA MAGISTRACY:
*The 5th June* 1858.

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# APPENDIX No. IV.

*Alluded to in Para.* 129.

## MEMORANDUM.

*Dated the 13th October* 1857.

The surprise of Saturday morning may appear to call for some remarks from me, it having been my duty to collect and bring promptly to notice, in a convenient form, all the intelligence regarding the movements of the enemy, furnished by the local Authorities and others.

I will begin from the first start by the Indore forces from Dholepoor, and I hope to show that, amidst many difficulties, and the perplexity of conflicting evidence, timely warning was given to and acted upon by the Military Authorities.

The Indore mutineers had been talking of marching on Agra ever since they arrived at Dholepoor, now above a month ago. After the Neemuch Brigade left Muttra to join them, they gave out every day that they were going to march the next to Agra. "The wolf" had been so often called out, that when it did actually move, it was at first difficult to distinguish fact from mere report.

It is the more satisfactory therefore to find that, the very day on which the Indore force broke ground, on the same evening warning was given both by Major Macpherson and myself.

They moved on the 6th October. About 8 o'clock that evening, I reported that intimation had been brought to me of the whole Indore force being at Munnia, 10 miles this side of Dholepoor, and of a considerable picket being at Jajow; and at the same time said that there were other and conflicting statements, and that a portion of the Indore force might have been mistaken for the whole. The intelligence was regarded by Major Macpherson and myself as so important that we both (he unknown to me) troubled Colonel Fraser and Colonel Cotton with it, at an unusually late hour of the night.

*7th October.*—On this day I submitted a Memorandum, recounting the conflicting evidence. There was no doubt that a large body was at Munnia, but it was questioned whether the entire force had evacuated Dholepoor. The common talk of the Camp was stated to be an attack in a few days *on Agra;* and various preparations at the Ghâts leading to Agra,—one or more huge ladders, stores of pegs and planks, were mentioned, showing unequivocally their intention to cross.

Upon the whole I concluded that, although there might be a doubt as to whether the Indore mutineers had moved with their *entire* force on Munnia, "at the same time there were so many concurrent testimonies received both by others and myself of the whole force being at Munnia, that we ought to be prepared for that contingency."

On this day successive letters and telegraphic messages were despatched towards Khundowlee, and to Colonel Greathed, stating the dangers in which the Town and environs of Agra were placed from the threatened attack of the Indore troops, urging an early advance by the Moveable

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Column, and directing that, in case of any delay, 500 Cavalry and a troop of Horse Artillery should be pushed on with the utmost rapidity. These were all despatched between 10 A. M. and 2 P. M.

*8th October.*—On this day frequent intelligence came in to us. At mid-day I reported its purport in a Memorandum.

I reviewed the movements of the Indore force on the 6th and 7th.

I stated that the main body of these mutineers, with the Artillery, were believed to be at Munnia, and that a portion of them were expected to move on *that day* to Jajow, which is about 18 miles from Agra.

I stated that parties of sowars had crossed the Ootunghan, and talked of passing over by different Ghâts; that one party was at Kagarole, about 13 miles distant, on the banks of the *Kharee*, and close to the Akbala Ghât, by which they talked of crossing; that Camp equipage was reported to have reached Tehra, about 11 miles from Agra on the metalled road, and close to the Oosra Ghât; "and it is stated," I said, "that they have caught the Zemindars of Koora and Shamshabad, (villages *on this side the Kharee)* and ordered them to have supplies ready for them at Kukooba, a village *a short stage from this* on the Jajow road." Kukooba is only about 5 or 6 miles from Cantonments.

The danger appeared to me so imminent that I raised the question of opening the Futtehpoor sluices, and throwing such a volume of water into the Kharee as to render it impassable; and I said I would have recommended the measure "had Colonel Greathed's Column not been so close at hand."

This Memorandum was, as usual, sent to Colonel Fraser and Colonel Cotton, the former of whom regarded the danger as so immediate and pressing that I was directed to forward a copy to Colonel Greathed, which I did at 2½ P. M.—"Again urging on him the necessity of sending 500 Cavalry and a troop of Horse Artillery on at once, so that they may, if possible, reach this tomorrow (the 9th), *for if not we may be compelled to fight the Dholepoor mutineers alone and under great disadvantages.*"

Thus the danger was anticipated of a not improbable attack on Agra on the 10th, if not on the 9th.

Another letter was written to Colonel Greathed on the same day, in which I said that "the enemy had made preparations for crossing the Kharee tomorrow, (9th;) and *will then be within an easy march of Agra.* The whole force declares its intention of attacking the Fort, and we must be at once prepared to repel and chastise them." "The speediest movement to Agra" was on these grounds again urged, and the Cavalry and Horse Artillery directed to be sent forward with all despatch in advance of the main Column.

More alarming reports and messages can hardly be conceived than those in the afternoon of this day. Hutteh Singh, one of Mr. Phillipps's best spies, was sent to me; I considered his evidence so important that I submitted it (not withstanding that it was little more than confirmatory of my previous Memorandum) to the Chief Commissioner and Colonel Cotton.

It stated that Shahpoor was quite evacuated, the *whole* force with all the guns having advanced on us; that the enemy had been joined by the Neemuch Brigade; that the force had left Munnia, crossed the Ootunghan, and were now encamped at Syan, which it reached early in the morning. Syan is some 15 or 16 miles from this.

Their intention was distinctly stated of proceeding next to the passage of the Kharee. Their contrivances for the purpose were indicated,—huge ladders to be thrown across the narrowest part of the stream, stores of planks were collected on the border to facilitate the passage. "Tomorrow morning (the 9th) they would be at the Kharee;" they were to have store godowns at Tehra on

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the other bank, and keep their supplies there. "They all talk of coming to Agra, and say they will take the Fort in three days."

In submitting this evidence, I stated that I considered it reliable, and regarded the danger as so imminent that I suggested a reconnoissance, or continuous mile pickets, to give us intelligence of our enemy's movements.

*9th October.*—On this morning a reconnoissance was made under Lieutenant Vere, by the Militia Cavalry. They found, I believe, the enemy's horse in force on this side, for they were fired upon and obliged to turn back, and they were pursued to *within two or three miles of Agra.*

I considered this as a complete substantiation of all the intelligence and warnings which I had submitted; and, now that bodies of Cavalry were insolently sweeping this bank of the Kharee, and advancing close even to the Cantonment, I believed that Military precautions, as a matter of course, would be maintained to prevent a surprise.

Numerous messengers came in during the day, but they did little more than corroborate the alarming fact already established by the attack and pursuit of our reconnoitring party, that the enemy were already in great force on this side the Kharee river. I would only have misled had I mentioned all the reported intentions of the enemy, for though one witness said that they spoke of having their guns on the 72nd Parade ground on Saturday, the most of them alleged that *Sunday* would be the day, and it may really have been the day originally intended, the mutineers having hastened their passage on the night of the 9th to anticipate our reinforcements.

On the forenoon of the 9th, I wrote as follows to Colonel Greathed:—"The enemy is encamped on the other side of the Kharee, and professes to *intend a passage of that river today.* They will probably find it a more difficult matter than they fancy to transport their heavy guns across the stream, which is deep.* But *the main body of their force may, if they choose to risk the thing, cross over today, and tomorrow beard us in our Fort,* and plunder the City. Hence our urgent anxiety to be provided with Cavalry and another troop of Horse Artillery. We want this in advance of you, lest *these desperadoes should cast themselves suddenly upon us.* As far as we can see, the enemy is playing the part of a mad man, and thrusting his head into the lion's jaws."

At 9 P. M. I. wrote again. "Our reconnoitring party has come in. Numbers of the Cavalry *have crossed the Kharee,* and our party was fired on. 300 Infantry about had crossed. This all looks as if they meant to come on. The Cavalry are spreading over the country, and will be committing all kinds of excesses and outrages."

Finally, so urgent was the danger felt to be that Captain Patton rode out to Colonel Greathed's Camp, to convey personally the Chief Commissioner's pressing demand for a prompt advance.

On Friday evening, (9th) Mr. Thornhill informed me that the Dholepoor Vakeels came to him when I happened to be out, and reported that 2,000 men had crossed. The circumstances were communicated to the Chief Commissioner at once by Mr. Thornhill.

*10th October.*—This morning no messenger, nor any report from any quarter, was received by me till 9 or 10 o'clock, that is, till very shortly before the attack of the enemy. This occasioned me however no anxiety, as I understood that Military precautions were being maintained.

As Greathed's strong Column of all Arms was also pouring in, and I believe the anxieties of all parties were dispelled by the long wished-for sight of our reinforcements, no one dreamt that the enemy would venture near so well

* *Note.*—I had always understood from Colonel Cotton, who examined both the Oosra and Akbala Ghâts, that the passage would be very difficult for heavy, or indeed for any, Guns. Hence this sentence.

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equipped a force; and this, I conceive, naturally lulled the apprehension, and prevented the precautionary measures, which might otherwise have been set on foot. It was never suspected that the enemy would be so foolish as to fall into a trap by walking up to our four-and-twenty guns. The reception they met with even under the disadvantages of a surprise, is some justification of the feeling of security.

It would no doubt have been more satisfactory if our people had brought intelligence of the near approach of the Column. But presuming that the guns were being crossed during the night and up to 6 or 7 in the morning, and that they moved onwards, as I believe they did, steadily from the river to the Cantonment, a distance of only 8 or 9 miles, it is quite possible, first, that at the time the start from the river was made none of our spies were on the spot; and that even if they were, they could not without suspicion have hurried on in advance to give the intelligence. The business of the spy is dangerous and uncertain, and when an enemy has come to such close quarters, Military precautions are to be trusted to rather than the irregular and furtive reports of unarmed messengers.

In fact our spies were going out to their work early that morning, and I have the consistent depositions of two of them, who met the advancing enemy a couple of miles out of Cantonments, that, after considerable danger, they effected their way back, but only in time the one to report to the Chowbee (the blind Tehseeldar) what was coming, almost as the guns were about to open; and the other, to warn a gentleman, whom he met driving in a buggy near the Church, and whose life perhaps he was the means of saving. These messengers describe the guns as coming on at a rapid pace along the road, the big one drawn by one or more elephants.

The report that the enemy hearing of the advance of Greathed's Column had fallen back, doubtless grew out of the probability of such a move.* Probabilities often grow into reports. The report came from two sources, much about the same time, 9½ o'clock; one the statement of the Sikh Goroo to Mr. Lane, the other of Eesree Pershaud Deputy Collector to me.

W. MUIR.

AGRA:
*The 13th October* 1857.

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* *Note.*—Precautions had been taken to prevent intelligence of the movements of Greathed's Column from getting abroad, so as to reach the enemy and scare them away. The ordinary bulletin of the 9th was purposely silent as to its approach.

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# APPENDIX No. V.

*Alluded to in Para.* 136.

## No. 1.

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

*North Western Provinces, Agra.*

Sir,

I have the honor to bring to the notice of the Government, North Western Provinces, the meritorious conduct and services of Rajaram, late Cotwal of the City, and Ramnarain, Tehseeldar of Pergunnah Huzoor Tehseel.

2. Rajaram took charge of the office of Cotwal on the 9th of July. He was nominated by the late Lieutenant Governor, at the request of the most respectable inhabitants of the City. His real position was Tehseeldar of Etmadpoor; his infirmities and age might well have served as an excuse for refusing so onerous and responsible an office. The City had for three days been traversed by bands of marauders and murderers, headed by the late Police, and although they had been driven out, or transformed for the time into quiet citizens by the terror of the armed Force which marched through the City on the 8th July, the ferment of the late disorders had not subsided. The City was still without any organized Police, excepting a remnant of chowkeedars; a great degree of panic prevailed; and the main body of citizens, however respectable, were afraid to come forward in support of Government. To re-organize a police Force, to restore confidence to the well-disposed, and to control the evil-minded, so lately in open and armed resistance to authority, was a task of no little difficulty and danger. I consider that the success of the attempt was in a great measure owing to the general respect in which Rajaram was held by the citizens, and the influence he thereby possessed. If the peculiar features of the time be recalled, the recent shock our cause in Arms had experienced at Agra itself, and the wide-spread conviction in the Native mind that our rule in this country was drawing to an end, the Government should be, in my opinion, ready to admit the claims of Rajaram to gratitude and liberal compensation.

3. Ramnarain took office as Tehseeldar of the Huzoor Tehseel on the 15th of July. He was up to the date of the outbreak a Pleader of the Sudder Nizamut, and not a Government servant. His energy and the cheerful confidence in the success of our arms, which he preserved during the darkest parts of the present conflict, have been remarked on by those holding high office. During the battle of October, both *Ramnarain* and Rajaram continued at the Cotwalee, and by their presence and confidence undoubtedly prevented any stir among the disorderly part of the citizens. To the hearty co-operation of these two men, I must express myself much indebted. The Government, I trust, will think fit to acknowledge the services of Ramnarain, as they may think expedient.

4. Rajaram is well fitted for the office of Deputy Collector; his name is already in the list, in the Office of the Sudder Board of Revenue. It is his ambition to arrive at that post. Ramnarain is also anxious to obtain the same

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equipped a force; and this, I conceive, naturally lulled the apprehension, and prevented the precautionary measures, which might otherwise have been set on foot. It was never suspected that the enemy would be so foolish as to fall into a trap by walking up to our four-and-twenty guns. The reception they met with even under the disadvantages of a surprise, is some justification of the feeling of security.

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W. MUIR.

AGRA:
*The 13th October* 1857.

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# APPENDIX No. V.

*Alluded to in Para.* 136.

No. 1.

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4. Rajaram is well fitted for the office of Deputy Collector; his name is already in the list, in the Office of the Sudder Board of Revenue. It is his ambition to arrive at that post. Ramnarain is also anxious to obtain the same

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appointment. The practice of a Pleader in Sudder Court will necessarily be much noticed under the new system about to be introduced. I believe him to be well fitted in capacity and character for the post.

5. I need only add that, as these two men have come forward in so marked a manner as supporters and servants of our Government during the worst of times, a mark of approval of their services would have a more than ordinary beneficial effect on the Native community.

I have, &c.

AGRA COLLECTORSHIP:
*The 19th January* 1858.

A. L. M. PHILLIPPS,
*Collector.*

# APPENDIX No. VI.

*Alluded to in Para.* 148.

## MEMORANDUM.

I have requested Mr. Maconnochie to submit his report on completion of the City barrier to me, as the measure originated in the directions issued by me when in charge of the Government under date 22nd September last.

The grounds upon which this measure was adopted are set forth in the Minute of that date. Special mention of it was made in my official Narrative of 30th September, to the Supreme Government, whose approval of this and other measures have been received.

It was arranged with the leading citizens of Agra, at the time, that half the expence should be repaid by subscription, the advances being made at once from the Treasury to ensure the rapid completion of the work.

The plan, as shown in the annexed Maps, was laid down by Capt. Munbee in person, and the agency of supervision selected by him.

I have inspected the work, and so far as an unprofessional person is warranted to give an opinion, it appears to me to have been admirably designed and executed. It certainly has been completed in a wonderfully short space of time, and, I think, looking at the magnitude of the undertaking, at singularly small cost; but this is partly attributed to the skill with which existing walls or lofty sides of houses have been united by substantial fences, and the ready aid of the town's people in collecting, and often contributing, the requisite materials.

The effect of the measure is already more than was anticipated. It was most important that there should be an increased sense of security in a town which is the seat of Government, it being obvious that the successful plunder of the Town of Agra would be damaging not only throughout the North Western Provinces, but through Native States. But it is already producing another effect, that of making Agra, within the City wall, a large Depôt of grain and merchandize, and very probably, ere long, a repository of specie, as Benares and other places.

Captain Munbee on leaving Agra specially commended to my notice the exertions of his co-adjutors, and as I have constantly watched the progress of the work, I can bear individual testimony to the energy and devotion of Mr. Maconnochie and Mr. Hall, in superintending the progress of a work, portions of which on the verge of fœtid Nullahs and the like, rendered such supervision a trying task.

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I recommend, from the balance in hand, the reward of 500 Rupees to Mr. Laconnochie, of 300 Rupees to Mr. Hall, and Rs. 150 to Sergeant Dallas.

The total expense of the work will thus be :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 17,901 | 9 | 7 |
| Add proposed above, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 900 | 0 | 0 |
| | 18,851 | 9 | 7 |
| Add to the reserve for repairs, &c., ... ... ... ... | 148 | 6 | 5 |
| | 19,000 | 0 | 0 |

Of this amount Rs. 9,500 should be struck out of the Inefficient Balance, and the remainder held to be realized by contributions from the City.

Certain precautions are needed to maintain the effectiveness and durability of this measure, and *mutatis mutandis* the system which obtains at Benares should be introduced at Agra.

1. No buildings, sheds, or any kind of material, or plantation, should be allowed to approach the exterior walls from the outside.

2. There should be a periodical inspection to see that the previous rule is rigidly observed.

3. For each gate there should be selected from the City chowkeedars, two, at least, as Phatuckbunds, receiving 1 Rupee additional pay from the Chowkeedaree collections; their duty should be to open and shut the gates, and to keep an eye on parties going out and coming in.

4. The key of the gate should, after close, be consigned to some respectable resident near, or (as in Benares such an one is styled) to the Mooktar Mohullah, without whose consent the gate should not be opened after the hour fixed for closing it. The Phatuckbund will keep the key of the wicket.

5. The Magistrate will determine the hours of opening and shutting gates, according to the season of the year.

AGRA :
*24th December* 1857.

E. A. READE,
*Financial Commissioner.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE

# AGRA DIVISION,

IN 1857-58.

No. A.

FROM

G. F. HARVEY, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner, Agra Division,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces, Allahabad.*

SIR,

I have the honor to submit, to be laid before His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General, a Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak and continuance of Disturbances, during the year 1857, in the Agra Division, as required by Government Order No. 212, of 30th April 1858.

2. The Reports from District Officers have been previously forwarded direct to Government, and I have not had an opportunity of referring to those from Mynpoory and Furruckabad, while compiling the Narrative under despatch.

3. The length of time unavoidably occupied in copying the Manuscripts, has prevented the earlier transmission of this Return, which has also been necessarily prepared somewhat hurriedly. My absence, on Medical leave, until 16th November, and the non access to District Returns until the commencement of the following month, having also caused unavoidable delay, while the pressure of other important business made impossible to give more than an hour or two a day, for three weeks, to a paper to which I should have been glad to have devoted more time and attention. The Narrative was completed on the 21st December.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. F. HARVEY,
*Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
AGRA DIVISION,
*The 7th January* 1859.

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# NARRATIVE

BY

G. F. HARVEY, Esquire,

*Commissioner of Agra.*

1. From materials derived from the Official Reports of Officers who held charge of Districts in the year 1857, and from facts within my own personal knowledge, I proceed to endeavour to compile such an Epitome as shall give an outline of the disorders, with as near an approach to accuracy and comprehensiveness of detail, as is presently practicable.

2. Contemporaneous History is not always the most trustworthy, and I am impressed with the belief that hereafter we shall discover that, independent of any particular plot for execution at any particular period, the seeds of Sedition not only among our Native Troops, but among the dangerous classes of our Subjects, have for some years past been scattered broad-cast.

3. Ever since our occupation of Affghanistan, certainly since 1842, an impression has existed that our continuance in India, as a Ruling Power, was mainly dependent upon the fealty and trustworthiness of our Native Army; and, as a mercenary Army, connected by ties of blood with some of the most turbulent spirits in India, many intelligent Natives, however friendly to British interests themselves, always declared that a day might probably come when Creed and Blood would outweigh Favour and Reward, and our disciplined adherents become organized Opponents.

4. I venture to premise this much, as all the facts within my knowledge lead me to the conclusion, that in its first outburst and continuance, the Insurrection of 1857 was neither exclusively of Mahommedan or of Hindoo contriving; that there have always existed causes sufficient to account for it; that circumstances, and opportunity, and insidious mendacity, roused Mussulman Troopers to insanity in order to avenge what was designated as indignity offered to their Religion; and that some mysterious Hindoo prophecy largely circulated, and discussed, induced the already disaffected of that Creed to embark in the Mutiny and Rebellion which followed: and if, as I believe to be true, that a tithe at least of all human beings, wherever situated, have supposed and suppressed grievances in their hearts,—a desire for misrule, and an aversion to control, working within them,—there can be no need to doubt that in India there are elements of disturbance ripe for any favourable opportunity, and of incalculable extent.

5. In 1855, the late Captain Fletcher Hayes, then Military Secretary to the Resident of Lucknow, communicated to me the fact that a seditious Pamphlet had been extensively circulated in and about Lucknow; and as it was of Mahommedan origin, and probably not unknown in Dehli, where I then held the Office of Commissioner and Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, I took immediate steps to discover the authors or disseminators. This Pamphlet, the "*Rissalah Juhad,*" was found in Dehli. A very old copy of it is now before me; it was lying for sale on the Bookseller's stalls, and was supposed to have been written by one Moulvee Mahommed Ismail, a Wahabee, some thirty years ago. It had been translated in 1850, or thereabout,

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into Hindee, and some 6 or 800 copies were discovered by Mr. Spankie the Magistrate to have been (1855) recently struck off at a Native Press in Cawnpoor. It was inordinately violent in language, and was a vehement exhortation to all true Moslems to take up arms and do battle for their Faith:—"You "are always (it says) striving, by prayer and penance, and burdensome cere- "monies, to wipe off your sins and arrive at Heaven at last; why not scale it at "once by dying in Battle with the Infidel? You will have eternal happiness "in the life to come, and success and pleasure in the present. Throughout Hin- "doostan, let there be no sound but, Allah"!

6. The resuscitation of such dangerous and unauthorized Doctrines, not generally participated in by respectable Mahommedans, however bigotted, in India, was to some extent occasioned by feuds with Hindoos in *Oude* regarding the site of a Temple at *Awud*; but it had a deeper meaning, and was a certain indication of the restlessness which periodically ruffles the surface of Mahommedan society, and it was accompanied by invitations to influential Mahommedans at Dehli to aid in the common cause. The periodical Press in India spoke of possible risings even at Agra in 1855, and called for the Annexation of Oude as the sure and safe remedy.

7. The Hindoo a safer subject,—because less impulsive and less prone to indulge in paper, and print, and preaching,—has his means of communicating disaffection or dangerous opinions also. In the commencement of 1857, while marching through the Mynpoory District, my attention was drawn by Zemindars in Villages adjoining the Road to a mysterious distribution of chuppattees, (or small wheaten cakes,) with astonishing rapidity through the country. The bearers knew apparently no more than those from whom they last received the cakes what the purport of the injunction was which directed the preparation of five cakes to be carried on to the villages in advance. "*They would be called for,*" it was stated, and in this way chuppattees or their counterparts travelled often over 160 or 200 miles in a night. Those I saw had that morning been delivered on the *Etawah* side of *Mynpoory*; yet on the following day, I heard of them at the extremity of *Etah* and *Allygurh*. The recipients were for the most part Hindoos, though innocent of any knowledge of an intended Mutiny. The course taken suggested a probable starting point in *Bundelkund* or *Nagpoor*. All endeavours failed to discover any explanation of this mysterious movement, and yet it was generally acknowledged to be of Hindoo origin, and I have reason to believe that it had some bearing upon the Hindoo prophecy limiting British Rule to a centenary of years; also that the 34th N. I., formerly the "*Bundelkund Legion,*" or many of those in its ranks, could supply a solution. I do not doubt that this Regiment went tainted to garrison Lucknow, there infected with the poison of the 19th N. I., and that the course of Relief took both Corps into Bengal before any schemes could be matured.

8. Subsequently to this Chuppattee mystery, nothing occurred in the early part of 1857 to cause any shadow of suspicion as to the coming events which followed in May. I had marched through Muttra and Bhurtpoor with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, General Anson, in December and January, and the sulky and scowling looks of the Troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, which formed a portion of the Escort, were frequently noticed. The Army of Bhurtpoor was drawn out to receive the Commander-in-Chief, and the indiscipline and ragged appearance of it left no favourable impressions of any probable prowess in war.

9. On the 11th May, a broken Telegraphic message from Meerut to a Lady at Agra, was couched in these words:—"The 3rd Cavalry have broken out in mutiny, and are killing all the Europeans they meet. We are————" These words left a severed wire behind them. No further intelligence was received till 13th and 14th, when the atrocities committed at Meerut and Dehli were rumoured, and to some extent confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Wigram Clifford, C. S., an Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of Goorgaon, Mr. Ford, (who had also reached Muttra that morning,) Mr. Ford

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being compelled by sickness to halt at Muttra. Mr. Clifford came on to communicate what he knew of events at Dehli. Of the extent of the disaster, he could only guess or repeat the statement of native servants who had fled from Dehli: but there seemed to be no doubt that Mr. Fraser the Commissioner and most of the Officials had been massacred; that the three N. I. Regiments and the Native Artillery (Light Field Battery) had fraternized with the insurgents; and that riot, uproar, and plunder were rife. The Magistrate at Goorgaon had, from the misbehaviour of the Jhujjur sowars, and the approach of an insurgent Detachment from Dehli, been compelled to abandon his post.

10. While discussing the aspect of affairs, and taking the instructions of the Lieutenant Governor at the Government House, where most of the Heads of Departments were assembled, a camel sowar arrived express from the King of Dehli with a communication, in his own hand, *to my address.* The statement corroborated the leading facts before announced. It mentioned the violent death of the Commissioner, Mr. Fraser, and others; stated that the Cavalry troopers were in complete possession of the Fort and Palace; were treating him with almost personal indignity; prayed for assistance, and the restoration of order; expressed horror at what had taken place. This communication was placed immediately in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, by whom it was never returned to me, much as I should desire to possess a document addressed to myself of such historical interest.

11. This news naturally created considerable sensation and some consternation at Agra. The Garrison consisted of one, the 3rd, Regiment of Europeans, and two Native Infantry Corps, the 44th and 67th, a newly equipped Light Field Battery, under the Command of a most gallant and universally regretted Officer, Captain D'Oyly, and the whole Force was under the orders of Brigadier Polwhele, who immediately, on 13th, directed one company of Europeans to move into the Fort heretofore garrisoned by Native Troops.

12. On 14th and 15th of May, fuller, though still incomplete, particulars of the occurrences at Meerut and Dehli, reached Government; and at a meeting at Government House, arrangements were made for organizing a Militia Force, and patrolling the Station. Any threatened advance by insurgents on Agra was to be met and encountered, and all idea of falling back upon the Fort was abandoned.

13. When the meeting broke up, Mr. Colvin intimated to me a wish that, escorted by 200 of the Gwalior Contingent and two guns daily expected, I should proceed towards Dehli by the right bank of the River viâ Muttra. It was, he said, very desirable that the Government of the North Western Provinces should give some sign of life in this emergency; that the communication with Dehli, and through it with Meerut, should be re-opened; and that the actual truth of rumours causing dangerous excitement should be ascertained; while it was of essential importance that the movements and wishes of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should be known to Government. I was, on arrival, to assume charge of the Dehli Agency, and to remain permanently in the appointment should I desire it.

14. I expressed myself anxious and ready at an hour's notice to undertake any duty the Lieutenant Governor might charge me with; and made my preparations at once. Between the 13th and my departure on 20th May, I was in constant communication at all hours with Mr. Colvin. He slept in Cantonments at the house of Brigadier Polwhele, and during the day I conveyed his instructions to the Magistrate, Mr. Drummond, and to other Officials, and was engaged in concerting measures for the protection of the City, and for the check of disaffection whenever it might show itself. I was frequently called for by Mr. Colvin during the nights, and took down from his dictation Telegraphic messages to the Governor General in Calcutta, and, so long as the state of the wire permitted, to the Military Authorities at Meerut.

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15. On 16th of May, I was momently expecting instructions to proceed towards Dehli, when I received a note* from Mr. Colvin in these words:—"There "can be no occasion now for your moving out before to-"morrow afternoon. The urgency, if ever indeed it exist-"ed, but we are apt to be over-apprehensive at such "times, has passed away. On all other points, when you come this after-"noon. Your proclamation is very good." This refers to one I had drafted, warning landholders of the penalties which the harbouring or aiding rebels and mutineers would entail. All the printed copies were destroyed by the Bhurtpoor Troops at Hodul on 31st May.

* Original note dated 16th May 1857.

16. I was to have had an escort of 200 men of the Gwalior Contingent, (Sowars,) and 2 guns; but on 18th†, Mr. Colvin felt it to be necessary to strengthen Allygurh and Mynpoory, and detached "30 or 50 men of the Cavalry of the Gwalior "Contingent to Allygurh, and the same number to Mynpoory to start to-night, "so as to scour and protect the Road from mere marauders. The Thakoors in "both Districts may be informed by you, that their temporary Levies for the "purpose of protecting the country shall be liberally paid for. The same in Eta-"wah. Pray do this by proclamation under my authority in the three Districts. "A strong Force will certainly be at Kurnal to-morrow, (18th May.) This "could generally be announced. With this Force the Meerut Troops will of "course co-operate; and then hurrah! for Dehli;—that taken, all else will "rapidly subside."

† Note from Mr. Colvin, May 17th, 1857.

These sanguine hopes were written to me by Mr. Colvin on 17th May, four months before Dehli was re-occupied by British Troops. This necessity for detaching parties of the Gwalior Contingent left me without an escort, as the Native Officers demurred to taking two guns with less than 200 men, while their orders were positive not to leave Artillery behind them. It was arranged therefore, as the only alternative, that I should take 14 men of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, who formed part of the Lieutenant Governor's Escort under Sheikh Bahadoor Alee, a Naib Rissaldar, and at once proceed to join the Bhurtpoor Contingent, (under Captain Nixon, Assistant Political Agent,) who were then a march or two beyond Muttra. This was a small party; but, under Providence, probably a safer one than the originally intended Escort of Gwalior Sowars, who all rose upon their Officers within the ensuing month. The Naeb Rissaldar, Sheikh Bahadoor Alee, behaved most gallantly. His services have been recognized and rewarded; and of fourteen of his party, four returned with me to Agra, the remainder having fallen from their allegiance and deserted to the enemy. Not needlessly to lengthen this portion of the Narrative, I have relegated to an Appendix, the correspondence referring to my march to Hodul with the Bhurtpoor Troops; their misconduct there; the subsequent gallant behaviour of *Rissaldar Hedayut Alee*, Sirdar Bahadoor of the 4th Irregulars at *Mohona* in Goorgaon, and of *Sheikh Bahadur Alee*, who commanded my Escort.

17. On the 20th of May I received, late in the afternoon, a note from the Lieutenant Governor, which contained these sentences:—"I shall "look for you *here* (at Government House) *this evening*, and shall have a "Memorandum of my wishes and plans ready for you. I am, *I assure you*, "*extremely sensible of your thorough co-operation with me in the present crisis.*" I left Agra at 8 P. M., in company with several Officers of the Customs Department; Mr. Money, Commissioner of Customs, joining us with the purpose of reposting Patrols, &c. along the Customs line between Agra, Muttra, and Hodul; also several Officers of the East India Railway Company, who desired to reach Dehli, if possible, where they had left property. Mr. Colvin's instructions were verbal and general, and he said I should be in daily communication with him. He authorized me to make any arrangements,—"you think "best for the administration of the Border Pergunnahs of Muttra and Goor-"gaon, in concert with Messrs. Ford and Thornhill; and also to address the "Chiefs of the Dehli territory, as Agent to the Lieutenant Governor North "Western Provinces."

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18. I venture to quote the above note, because I remained in Camp with the Contingents of Native Chiefs from 20th May to 24th July 1857. After the 31st May, my equipments consisted of a horse and arms, and hardly a change of clothes. I was indebted to the kindness of Captain Eden, Political Agent at Jeypoor, for a corner of his tent, and long after all the other British Officers had left us, Lieutenant F. T. Goldsworthy, 72nd N. I., Lieutenant J. H. Jenkins, 44th N. I., not better provided than myself, (who had volunteered and been appointed in consequence to accompany me,) two very excellent Officers, persevered with me in the endeavour to carry out Mr. Colvin's wishes, against many and grievous difficulties. We kept open the line of Road connecting Agra with Dehli. We furnished daily accounts of events occurring in our front, and we advanced as near to Dehli for the purpose of Military demonstration, as the spirit and temper of the Troops of our allies permitted; and,—not until a note from the Lieutenant Governor, dated 2nd July, (the last I ever received,) was put into my hands on 8th or 9th of July, containing these words:—"You may, perhaps, in the actual state of things, "think it best not to linger in the Jeypoor Camp. In this case you will feel "yourself at liberty to return to Agra with Lieutenant Jenkins and Lieute-"nant Goldsworthy,"—did we ever for a moment contemplate a return to Agra;—and not one word of acknowledgment, has to this day, that I am aware of, ever been bestowed upon any of us.

19. I left Agra with the hearty hope and high aspiration that the Forces I was to accompany would enable us to render valuable co-operation to the General Commanding before Dehli. Within a week the defection of the Bhurtpoor Troops damped, but did not discourage, these hopes. The Jeypoor Force closed up to Pulwul, and with, perhaps, a pardonable disinclination for actual encounter with the disciplined mutineers, and certainly but little or no heart in the cause, were kept there by the admirable tact, temper, and management of Captain Eden, the Political Agent, to whom I would beg respectfully to record an opinion that the Government of India, as well as His Highness the Maharajah of Jeypoor, are under very great obligations. Desertions at one time on religious grounds were frequent; supplies were with difficulty procured; cholera was ravaging our Camp; and frequently accompanying Captain Eden as I did to meet the Leaders and Chiefs of each Pultun, and quota of fighting men of various castes, and clans, and interests, I was a witness to the influence which he had gained among them by his personal character, and the exceeding tact with which he brought it to bear upon men whose tendencies were all homeward, and who were heartily sick of the exposure and privation to which they were subjected. A letter to Government dated 1858, with Appendix, will show how the month of May closed with us, clouded by the misconduct of the Bhurtpoor Troops.

## MAY 1857.

20. Muttra was startled by a report, generally credited, on 14th May, that the Rebel Army was marching down from Dehli on Muttra, with the object of attacking the seat of Government at Agra. Upon this the females and non-combatants were sent off to Agra. The 16th May brought the Bhurtpoor Force to Muttra, under Captain Nixon, Assistant Political Agent. The various rumours which floated about the District were productive of slight outbreaks, more perhaps directed by one turbulent village against others at feud with them, than with any purpose of opposing Government. The seeds of disorder were however sown, and took root rapidly.

21. The Muttra Treasury contained Rs. 6,25,000, and was guarded by a company of Native Infantry, (67th N. I.) The payment of this money at Agra might have been negociated through shroffs on 14th and 15th May; I know this from personal communication with the Accountant N. W. Provinces. The rate asked was, I think, 8 annas per cent.; and as Government had never paid more than 4 or 6, the offer was unhappily refused and the opportunity lost, for next day not even a higher offer was entertained, and the Muttra money was lost to Government, and went to feed the cause of Rebellion and Mutiny. I ventured

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strongly to advise the Lieutenant Governor on the night I left Agra, 20th May, (when I called at the Government House en route) to allow me to give directions to have this treasure sent by boat to Agra, pointing out the certainty that in any event, as the year of collection was passed, funds would unquestionably be required for Military purposes. Some inexplicable fear of creating a panic, and want of confidence in the native mind, operated to prevent this being acceded to; and the same argument, strongly supported by Mr. Drummond, kept valuable property out of its most proper receptacle in times of such obviously approaching trouble,—the Fort at Agra,—and has occasioned grievous loss, public and private.

22. Koour Dildar Alee Khan, an opulent, but overbearing and unpopular, Zemindar in Pergunnah Maat, was the first victim; and though I do not doubt but that he met his end at the hands of his own dependents and neighbours, the Police showed no alacrity in apprehending the murderers. On 22nd of May, I went carefully over the Police arrangements for the safety of the Town of Muttra; and supported Mr. Thornhill in his desire to substitute an abler and more physically efficient Cotwal, Syud Ariff Alee, &c., and on 23rd I joined the Bhurtpoor Troops.

23. On 26th of May we reached Hodul, and were joined by the Magistrate and Collector of Goorgaon, Mr. Ford, Lieutenant Young of the Survey, and Mr. Clifford the Joint Magistrate of Goorgaon, together with Messrs. Michel, Spencer, and eight other Railway Officers, in addition to those noted in the margin,* making our party, in Europeans, 30 strong. We found in the neighbourhood of Hodul generally a good disposition towards the British Government; but the Mewatee and Goojur tribes, after their instincts, were turning out for pillage and plunder. I endeavoured to open a communication with Mr. Sapte, the Magistrate of Boolundshuhur. Great confusion and dismay *(Hurtal)* were described as prevailing at Dehli, and all travellers corroborated the statement that the mutineers were prepared to escape the moment a British Force should show itself.

* W. Money, Esq., C. S.
Lieutenant Goldsworthy, 72nd N. I.
Lieut. Jenkins, 44th N. I.
Capt. Nixon, Asst. Political Agent.
Captain Munbee, Bombay Engineers.
Messrs. Bradford, Vere, Hurst, Eckford, Penson, Sinnett, Wemyss, Kinloch. (Customs Department.)
Messrs. Lemeasurier, Curll, and Johnstone.

24. We were encamped at Hodul on the night of the 31st of May. It had been determined at Agra to relieve the company of Native Infantry which was in charge of the treasure at Muttra; and unfortunately, instead of sending picked men or a whole company, the men composing the two companies of 44th and 67th N. I. sent from Agra, were apparently taking either indiscriminately from the Regiment or were sent on this duty to put them out of the way of doing mischief at Agra. They revolted immediately on arrival, or so soon as the carts had been laden with the treasure; killed one of their Officers, Lieutenant Burlton of 67th; wounded Lieutenant Gibbon of 44th, and fired at the Civil Officers, (some of whom had narrow escapes.) Messrs. Dashwood and E. Colvin, with Mr. Thornhill from Kosee, joined by Lieutenant Gibbon, who was wounded, and Messrs. Wemyss and Leeson, Patrols,—roused us up with this unexpected ill news shortly before daylight. The Bungalow at Muttra had been set on fire, and the two mutinous Companies were reported to be approaching, with the intention of carrying their plunder to the Rebel Camp at Dehli.

25. The events which followed are described in my letter No. 65, of 12th July, to E. C. Bayley, Esquire, Deputy Secretary to Government, which I append. The defection of the Bhurtpoor Troops, in spite of all we could urge, left no alternative, after repeated exhortations, remonstrances, and promises of immediate reward, but to draw off from their Camp, as they had turned their guns upon us, the Artillery being composed for the greater part of discharged Poorbeea sepoys. The Foujdars and Leaders advised our departure: their men were no longer under command; and thus the hope we had all confidently entertained of being able to rescue the Government treasure, and punish these

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mutineers, was at an end. We offered to take the brunt of the fighting ourselves, (the European portion and my escort.) We promised a large share of the treasure; yet with 11 guns and some 3,000 men, this pusillanimous Army refused to offer any opposition to rebels, and drove us out of their Camp, setting fire to our tents and baggage before we left. Thus ended May in Muttra.

26. The majority of the European Officers, who had accompanied me so far, after a brief consultation, agreed with me that in the then aspect of affairs, our first duty was to proceed towards Pulwul, 18 miles nearer to Dehli, in Goorgaon, to which place Messrs. Clifford and Young had proceeded the day before with a small detachment of Bhurtpoor Troops, as an advance guard. Our plan then was, after rescuing these Officers, to move towards the Jumna, and endeavour to reach the Camp of the Goorkhas, (Sirmoor Battalion,) from whose Commandant (Colonel C. Reid, C. B.,) I had received a communication two days previously, and who, when he wrote, was posted at a Ghât on the Jumna, in the Boolundshuhur district. Mr. Mark Thornhill, with Mr. Joyce, wished to proceed direct to Muttra and Agra, taking a circuitous route to avoid the two companies of mutineers who had left Muttra, and were now probably within a mile or two of Kosee. As Mr. Thornhill's presence at Muttra was desirable, and as his family were at Agra, I interposed no objection. The remainder elected to proceed towards Dehli with me, many of them having left Offices and property in the neighbourhood. The Customs' Officers, with Mr. Money, also strengthened our party, as being thus nearer their duties than a retrograde movement would have placed them. Mr. Thornhill had an escort of his own sowars, and it was doubtful in which direction travellers would be most likely to meet with danger or opposition. The country behind us was quiet enough a day or two before when we had marched through it; and I did not anticipate any impediment to Mr. Thornhill's progress. There was great uncertainty as to the prospect before my party, but I felt it my duty to push on towards Dehli. A return to Agra almost within a week of leaving it, never entered into my thoughts for an instant. What followed belongs to the month of June.

## JUNE 1857.

27. AGRA.—Mr. Thornhill and Mr. Joyce reached Muttra at 3 A. M. on 1st June; found the Civil Station burnt and deserted, and went on to Agra. He describes the disturbances to have spread to the villages on the Road, from some of which he was fired on. He returned from Agra to Muttra on the following evening. No reinforcement or aid being available at the seat of Government.

28. I had been in daily communication with Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor, since I left Agra on 20th May, and two or three of his notes written in this month, as also several dated in June, have been preserved by me. He wrote on 23rd May:—"I am most anxious to communicate every "thing to you, and shall endeavour to do so daily." In this note he mentions that,—"The Mynpoory and Allygurh detachments of the revolted 9th N. I. "seem to have marched off to Dehli with the treasure seized by them; I trust "they may be met on the road by the Goorkha Regiment, and a good account "taken of them. Power and his Brother seem to be quite safe, or in some fort "near Mynpoory. The dâks pass, and the wire is not interrupted. I authorize "you to make the arrangements you think best for the administration of the "Border Pergunnahs of Muttra and Goorgaon. I shall strengthen you in every "way, but my means are *at present very limited*. We shall in a few days have the "*Kotah Contingent*." On the 24th the Lieutenant Governor writes:—"We have "no special news to send, having no communication from Meerut or the Com-"mander-in-Chief. This entire silence cannot last long. Some 80 Mahomedan "sowars of Alexander's Regiment, (Gwalior,) Pathans of Shajehanpoor, were "openly off yesterday, it is supposed to Dehli: these men have many *Bhaee-"bunds* (connections,) in the 3rd Cavalry; the traitors *being such* are best away. "Pray see to your posts in your rear towards Muttra. The removal of the "Thannah and Tehseel Establishments from *Suhar* to the old Surai at *Chattah*, "(on the Road to Dehli) was quite proper. News from Futtehgurh continues

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good. At Etawah Mr. Hume marched the companies of the 9th N. I. away, to take them out of the way of temptation; and up to 23rd instant there had been no rising. Some of the men had behaved remarkably well. An excellent (the Grenadiers) Regiment of Gwalior Infantry was also close at hand." These Gwalior grenadiers, as the Kotah Contingent, proved in the end dangerous allies. On 26th, the Lieutenant Governor's letter principally notes approval of my propositions, and adds:—"It is a great thing to have the "rear cleared in this way." On 28th he writes:—"We have received letters "from Meerut to-day of 24th. The Commander-in-Chief's latest letter was dated "22nd, still from Umballa. The advanced part of his Force was at Kurnal on "21st. Captain Nixon knows, I hope, that he his not to push on his Native "State Levies into *direct collision* with the mutineers: these are to be put down "by our Troops." This was the last note received in May. All had been quiet in Agra itself, though considerable uneasiness naturally prevailed. Many doubted the trustworthiness of the Native Troops. Every day brought announcements, which strengthened the belief that disaffection in the Native Army was general, and that the poison had infected all.

29. Several meetings had been held at Government House, at which the Heads of Departments and the higher Officials had assisted; but nothing of the nature of a Council of War had assembled, though the Brigadier had on one or two occasions been present. Mr. Drummond, as Magistrate, was in frequent, and almost hourly, communication with the Lieutenant Governor and myself; but had duties to perform elsewhere, which did not permit of his being present always; and the 14th paragraph of Mr. Phillipps's Narrative would leave a wrong impression unless contradicted. That gentleman was at Etah on 14th May, and has derived his information from sources unknown to me, but not the less unreliable.

30. There was never any thought on the 14th May, or on any day before my departure, of sending the European inhabitants into the Fort, though the Lieutenant Governor at one moment thought of placing the women and children there,—an order almost still-born, and nothing had occurred beyond vague and mischievous rumour which could have justified such a course. Rumour certainly stated, and was partly credited, that no European remained alive at Meerut or Dehli; but I was among the most positive, and earnest in scouting the notion that H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards, or H. M.'s 60th Rifles, and the Artillery at Meerut, could have been annihilated by any number of rebels and mutineers.

31. Rumour also asserted, and the rumour was circulated by Telegraph on what should have been safer authority, (that of the General Commanding at Meerut,) that the *King of Dehli* and the *Rajah of Ulwur*, with a large Army were in *full march on Agra!* The combination was most improbable, and the army an impossibility. Up to the date of my departure, I am glad to say, no such weak counsels were given or entertained; and it was resolved, with the full approval of Brigadier Polwhele, to go forth and meet any Force which should threaten Agra, and this move *was* carried out when the occasion did arise, but not till nearly eight weeks had elapsed. A system of watch and patrol was organized, and a plan for constituting the able-bodied men in all Departments, a Militia Force. A scheme for the defence of Agra was also drawn up, but upon so extensive a scale, as to have caused considerable excitement, and perhaps trepidation, by announcing the weakness of our position.

32. On the 15th May the Troops were paraded in order that the Lieutenant Governor might address them. This was done; but I think the general impression as to the loyalty of these men was hardly removed by the half-hearted cheers with which they left the ground. The Officers attached to these Regiments were, however, to the last confident,—none more so than the late Colonel Cotton,—that the Native Troops at Agra were untainted.

33. A company of Europeans were placed in the Fort, and Colonel Glasfurd was appointed its Commandant. Every exertion was made for laying

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in supplies, and it is unfortunate that this occasion was not taken for inviting all Residents to send in their valuables for safe custody. It was wholly a mistake to suppose that the Native mind would have imbibed impressions of alarm from such a course. It would have been explained by the known occurrences at Meerut and Dehli, the certainty that we should have to wait, in any case for some weeks, for European reinforcements, and "Fore-warned is fore-armed." Few bulky articles would have been sent, and the terrible and irreparable destruction of private valuables, libraries, &c., to say nothing of important public records, would not have occurred.

34. Mr. Drummond, a very able, energetic, and intelligent Officer opposed himself strongly to this measure; more strongly after I had left. He fully relied upon the Police, and attended much to the advice of Busharut Alee, the Native Superintendent. Whatever may be the eventual decision regarding this man, I have no hesitation in saying that the Police, at all events, after the resolved advance on Agra of the Neemuch mutineers, were entirely against us; and that Busharut Alee, if not a deep traitor, was a deep intriguer, and had altogether misrepresented the influence he announced himself to possess over them.

35. The Lieutenant Governor had resolved to call upon *Gwalior*, *Jeypoor*, *Ulwur*, *Bhurtpoor*, and *Kotah*, for assistance (under the terms of their treaties) in the emergency which had arisen. To the employment of the Durbar Troops of the four last Chiefs, I saw no objection, if they were used for the purpose of demonstrating the friendliness of our allies. I respectfully advised that the Contingents at Gwalior, composed of precisely the same class and stamp of men as those now in arms against us, and every where revolting, should not be called *into Agra;* and I thought the accepting of Scindiah's offer to send his own Body Guard to be impolitic as exhibiting the British Government in a position of greater strait and necessity than I can admit it ever to have occupied at any time since the 10th May 1857; whereas if the need were demonstrable, we virtually offered the Military Government of the N. W. Provinces to a State which was in arms against us but a few years back, and which owed its existence to our clemency.

36. Of the proclamations issued, I need say nothing. The subject has been under the consideration of the Supreme Government, and there are no documents in my Office having reference to them. There was extreme difficulty in giving circulation, during the early months of disturbance, to any Notifications; and any persons having such papers in their possession were so maltreated that, when these printed papers were found in villages, they were frequently destroyed.

37. Many persons, who had sought refuge in the Fort, soon after the first authentic intelligence of the mutiny, returned to their own houses, which being distant from the European Lines, and separated from each other, the movement did not tend to allay the panic which prevailed. Women and young children, fed by the exaggerated horrors concocted by Native domestics, lived in perpetual alarm, and prevented prudent measures of precaution from being adopted and thoroughly carried out.

38. The loyal of the Native Residents of the place had no confidence in the Contingents of Native Chiefs which were being gathered round Agra, while the insolent bearing of the soldiery was not calculated to create a more favorable impression on the public mind.

39. Unhappily it occurred to Mr. Drummond, that the Native Police were inefficiently armed, (this was after my departure,) and assent was granted to equip them with muskets and carbines from the Arsenal. It is needless to say that a large number of these weapons were never returned into store, and were used against us at Dehli and elsewhere.

40. Syfoolla Khan, formerly Deputy Collector in Bhurtpoor, was authorized to raise a Levy of Horse in Kerowlee. It was at first intended that they

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should accompany me on my progress towards Dehli. He was to have met me at Muttra on 23rd May 1857, with at least 200 mounted men. He did not make his appearance, and I have never found reason to regret the circumstance.

41. On learning the defection of the two companies of 44th N. I. and 67th N. I., despatched to Muttra for treasure, which tidings reached Agra, I believe, at midnight of 31st May, the Native Regiments at Agra were at once disarmed. The appearance of a company of 3rd European Regiment at the Jail, on the same morning, led to the immediate flight of nearly all the Native Police guards, carrying with them the arms and ammunition with which they were provided; most of these men found their way to Dehli, and swelled the ranks of the Rebels; and so closed the month of May in Agra.

42. MYNPOORY.—Mr. Power's Narrative in original has been despatched to Government, and I have no means of reference to it. But up to 31st May, nothing had occurred at this Station, (after the departure of the Detachment on Treasury duty there,) to render Mr. Power's position actually untenable, or to necessitate the withdrawal of European Officers. The Messrs. Power had been equal to the emergency, and Lieutenant DeKantzow of the 9th N. I. had remained a whole night in the Treasury with his sepoys, many of them thirsting for his life, but restrained by the general feeling in his favour. His youth, his undaunted spirit, his fluency in the Native language, his knowledge of his men, and his repeated acts of kindness to them,—all concurred to save him: and he has since shown that the young Hero of the Mynpoory Treasury has matured and ripened into the active, enterprising, and successful Leader of Irregular Horse.

43. Mr. Power was for some time in the Palace of the Rajah of Mynpoory. The building, though almost adjoining the Town, was upon a raised platform, commanding it, and was surrounded by what, if in repair, would be a rather strong mud Fort, commanding the Town. But little business, connected with the interior of the District, was or could have been transacted. But no ill feeling had as yet demonstrated itself among the Chowhan Thakoors,—a powerful, and, anciently, a warlike tribe.

44. FURRUCKABAD.—Very infrequent communication could be kept up with this District. The Civil Station was at Futtehgurh, some six miles lower down the Ganges than the Town itself. Futtehgurh had its Fort, which contained the Gun Carriage Agency, but only two "*Post*" guns were stationed there. There were however model or pattern guns in the Fort, ill furnished with ammunition, and not mounted upon its walls. The 10th N. I. formed the Garrison of the place, and it was confidently hoped that under its able Commanding Officer, Colonel George Acklom Smith, and in its isolated position, with a feeling of separation from other Regiments of the line known to have sprung up in the charge of loss of caste for having proceeded to Burmah by water, this Corps would have proved staunch and true to its colours.

45. Mr. Probyn's Narrative, the truth of which I can avouch, gives all that can now be known of the circumstances under which the sanguine hopes of so many were disappointed, and which resulted in the terrible destruction of nearly all the Residents of Futtehgurh.

46. The, so to speak, "*Nawabee*" character of Furruckabad, the vast number of dissolute, desperate and distressed Mahomedans there;—men who had lineage to boast of old traditions to excite them, who were too proud to labour and too poor not to be discontented; the very indolence and depravity, in short, of a large number of the connections of the "*Bungush*" family,—made me always from the first feel more apprehension for the safety of Futtehgurh than for that of any other District in the Division.

47. Nothing however during the month of May, beyond the excitement consequent upon authentic tidings of the progress of the Mutiny

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and the exaggerated rumours of increasing disaster, occurred at Futtehgurh to give cause for serious alarm.

48. ETAWAH.—The commencing paragraph of Mr. Hume's Narrative speaks of the state of Etawah up to the date of the outbreak. All the concomitant indications of successful management, and prospective progress, were apparent; and I am bound to say that the condition of no District, in my Division, caused me less anxiety or more satisfaction than that of Etawah, under Mr. Hume's administration of it: crime was decreasing, Revenue was paid in cheerfully; Education was advancing, and improvements were expanding.

49. On 16th May, the first actual disturbance of this serenity took place. A party of the recreant 3rd Native Light Cavalry, who had participated in the outrages at Meerut, found their way to Etawah. Being probably connected with persons in the District, they had been selected to proceed as emissaries for the purpose of corrupting the Detachment of the 9th N. I., and in the hope of sharing in the distribution of spoil when disorder had been created. Strange to say, some men of the 9th N. I., (which not long after revolted at Allygurh and Mynpoory,) on this occasion behaved with extreme apparent loyalty. It is indeed a singular feature in the progress of the Mutiny, that detachments of Regiments at out-posts never misbehaved, till they heard of the faithlessness of the men at their own Headquarters. This section of the 9th aided the regular Police, and some Troopers of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, in disarming and seizing the criminals; but in the fray Captain Corfield, 9th N. I., was shot through the shoulder; Lieutenant Allan narrowly escaping, a pistol bullet having glanced from the stock of a double-barrelled gun which he carried. The miscreant who fired it was killed by the Cotwal, having been felled by Lieutenant Allan. The full details are given by Mr. Hume in Appendix I. of his Narrative, being a communication to myself, dated 16th May 1857, which was immediately forwarded to the Lieutenant Governor N. W. Provinces.

50. On 19th May, a second party of the same Regiment (3rd Light Cavalry) reached *Juswuntnuggur*, about ten miles from Etawah, and came into immediate collision with the Police, (shooting one and wounding three of them.) They then took up a position in a Hindoo Temple near at hand, which after some time was stormed by Messrs. Hume and Daniell, very inefficiently supported by the Police. The place, though small, was very massive, and the open brick work gave great facility to the use of fire-arms by those within it. The town's people began to show symptoms of sympathy with the mutineers, and managed to convey to them food and ammunition. The Magistrate's party was very weak, at least in effective strength and spirit; but as a retreat would probably have determined the population of the town, some 2,000, to take part against them, Messrs. Hume and Daniell resolved to attempt to carry the Temple by a rush. In the melee which followed, Mr. Daniell received a dangerous wound in the face from a pistol or matchlock ball, from which, to my knowledge, he still suffers. After this unavailing gallant exposure of themselves, Messrs. Hume and Daniell returned leisurely and composedly, through an excited populace, to Etawah. During the night, favoured by a violent storm, the mutineers effected their escape, probably aided by the designed want of vigilance in some of the Police who had been left to surround the Temple.

51. The conduct of Messrs. Hume and Daniell was recognised in a letter from the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, No. 351, dated 10th June, wherein the Lieutenant Governor "received the account of their gallant conduct with the greatest admiration." A full detail of the occurrences referred to will be found in Appendix II. of the Etawah Narrative, and it would perhaps needlessly amplify this Report, were I (as I should otherwise have wished) to embody the full particulars therein.

52. On the 22nd May the tidings of the defection of the 9th N. I., at Allygurh and Mynpoory, reached Etawah; but the Detachment of the same

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Regiment at the latter place were supposed still to be in ignorance of what had occurred, and it was proposed to remove it from the Sudder Station in the hope of preventing a knowledge of the fact, if possible, from reaching them. This scheme proved a failure, for the men of the Detachment refused to march, and the result was that the Magistrate, the Officers of the Force and Station, and the Ladies, were compelled to proceed alone to *Burpooriah*, an out Thannah situated in the Dooab between the Chumbul and the Jumna. It would seem that the *non*-removal of the treasure from Etawah prevented the immediate outbreak, and saved the Europeans from molestation.

53. After remaining two days at Burpooriah, Major Hennessey, with the Grenadier Regiment of the Gwalior Contingent, reached that place, and restored confidence. On the following morning, (25th May,) Etawah was re-occupied, but the Treasury had been plundered, as had been also nearly all the public Offices and private dwellings; the prisoners in the District and Thuggee Department Jails had been released. The sepoys had left, but the evil-disposed of the community were aroused. From this date disorder more or less prevailed. Martial Law was proclaimed on 27th May, and energetic operations restored, in some degree, confidence.

54. The influential Landholders, whose conduct then and subsequently deserved high praise, enlisted themselves on the side of Government, and I believe that for a brief period Etawah enjoyed more repose than prevailed in any of the neighbouring Districts,—Cawnpoor, Mynpoory, Furruckabad, and Agra; but underlying all this seeming quiet, was a rather generally felt doubt of the trustworthiness of the Grenadier Regiment of Gwalior.

55. The Ladies and Children were therefore sent to Agra. Thakoor Levies were enrolled, and every prudent measure taken to give a feeling of security. The Gwalior Troops defeated all these endeavours; and then came the news of the outbreak in Scindiah's Camp, and thus matters were precipitated, and retreat to Agra necessitated. Thus ended the month of May in Etawah.

## ETAH IN MAY 1857.

56. The tidings of disaster from Meerut and Dehli did not reach Etah till 17th or 18th May, and nothing occurred of any startling importance till 21st May, on which day the recently opened communication with Allygurh ceased. This arose from the mutiny at Allygurh, and a scout brought in the report that he had encountered a large body of sepoys moving down the road. He had joined them and learnt that the main body of the Regiment had proceeded to Dehli, and that the party he met were on their way to warn the Detachments of the same Corps stationed at Mynpoory and Etah, and to induce them to join in the movement. This party reached Etah, and proceeded on their way quietly, creating no disturbance at Etah.

57. There could be small room for doubt as to the effect to be produced at Mynpoory and Etah when this party should reach those places, and to every certainty that they would all return with their ranks swelled *viâ* Etah in progress to the focus of disaffection at Dehli. This happened on 23rd; and the Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Mr. Phillipps, with his Assistant, Mr. Hall, were compelled to leave with an escort of 8 sowars, seeking shelter at *Bilgram*, the residence of two men, who have from that day to this been unswerving in their loyalty to the British Government,—*Lahoree Mull*, and his brother *Dilsook Roy*.

58. Halting on their ride to this place, Mr. Phillipps was overtaken by the report of the complete destruction of the buildings, public and private, at Etah, and of the supine conduct of the Rajah, who might have checked, if not prevented, the scenes of plunder which followed.

59. Mr. Phillipps was most hospitably welcomed by *Lahoree Mull* and *Dilsook Roy*, and he records in his Narrative his high sense of their loyal

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conduct. Lahoree Mull has since died; but his son, *Kashmeeree Mull*, should be the recipient of Government favour in recognition of his father's good services

60. Internal disturbances soon commenced, and a body of plunderers threatened *Khasgunje*, a place of some importance and wealth; and Mr. Phillipps was shortly after engaged in beating off a body of marauders who threatened *Bilgram* itself. Soon after, on 26th May, Mr. Phillipps feeling the importance of protecting Khasgunje, moved to that place with what following he could muster; but disaffection was breeding even among them, and at last all confidence in the Sowars with him having been lost, Mr. Phillipps resolved to move on to *Budaon* in the hope of procuring aid from *Bareilly*. On 30th May the answer to Mr. Phillipps's request for assistance was received from the Commissioner of Rohilkund, to the chilling effect that *absolutely no such aid could be rendered*; and so closed the month of *May* with our Officials at Etah.

## JUNE 1857.

61. Commissioner's Proceedings.—The first day of this month found us leaving *Pulwul*, to which place, distant 18 miles from Hodul, we had ridden during the intense heat of the previous day, having left the Bhurtpoor Camp at about 1 P. M. when the gross misbehaviour of the Force had driven us out. My party consisted of 28 Officers of various Departments, with the addition of *Sheikh Bahadur Alee*, Naeb Rissaldar of 8th Irregulars, and his 14 Troopers, and a small body of Jhujjur Sowars, who were attached to Mr. Ford, the Collector of Goorgaon.

62. On reaching Pulwul, a populous and strong Town, containing a strong community of very bigotted Religionists, (Mahommedan,) we found that the Officers we had come so far out of our way to rescue, (Mr. Clifford, C. S., and Mr. Young, Survey Department,) having heard of the disaffection of the Bhurtpoor Troops, had ridden out of Pulwul with the intention of crossing the Jumna into the Boolundshuhur District. After a halt of an hour or two only, we therefore moved on towards the river. Riding all night and passing through the said to be disaffected village of Allahpoor, we reached soon after day dawn the village of Chaynsee, near the Jumna, about 30 miles from Pulwul. The appearacne of the country was not promising. Villages were on fire in our front. The Rajpoots of Chaynsee and its neighbouring hamlets refused us any aid in procuring boats, and indeed but *one* vessel was to be seen on the right bank of the River. While on the opposite shore, a large collection of boats embayed in a bend of the River could plainly be descried. We endeavoured to cross by swimming our horses, and then it was discovered that the other bank of the River was occupied by large bodies of rebels and mutineers, composed chiefly of the 9th N. I. and the 2nd Oude Irregulars, all on their way to join the insurgents at Dehli.

63. In this dilemma, a man named Naraen Singh, a trooper of 12th Irregulars on leave, came to me out of the village of Chaynsee, and volunteered to join us; he strongly advised us not to bivouac in or near any of the adjacent villages, but to go to *Mohona* (or Moyona,) where a Rissaldar and Sirdar Bahadur resided, *Meer Hidayut Alee*, and of whose loyalty he asserted that no doubt existed. Appendix B. gives an account of our reception from Meer Hidayut Alee, and I also append a letter which I addressed to the Commissioner of Dehli, and to the Commandant 4th Irregulars, referring to this gallant soldier's excellent conduct on the occasion.

64. Captains Nixon and Munbee, on the invitations and strong protestations of the Native Officer in command of the Detachment of Bhurtpoor Troops, left at Pulwul, and with my full concurrence and advice left at 6 P. M. to rejoin the Bhurtpoor Troops who were moving homewards after their misconduct. The party remaining at

* Messrs. W. Money, C. S.
W. Ford, C. S.
H. W. Dashwood, C. S.
E. Colvin, C. S.
Captain Glover, Engineer.
Lieuts. Goldsworthy, 72 N. I.
Jenkins, 44 N. I.
Gibbons, 44 N. I.

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Mr. Curll.
„ Lemeasurier.
„ Michell.
„ Spencer.
„ Cumming.
} E. I. Railway Department.

Mohona with me therefore was reduced to the strength noted in the margin,* making with myself 28 Europeans, all well armed; in addition to about 30 roods-artist Jhujjur Sowars and Sheikh Bahadur Alee's Escort of 14 men of 8th Irregulars. We occupied a small and open *Dullan*, native building, about 20 feet in length, by probably 12 in breadth. The heat was terrific, and we had no supplies, or hardly a change of clothes. Here I received by Cossid from Dehli the tidings of General Anson's (the Commander-in-Chief) death on 27th at Kurnal, and I at once despatched the letter to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra, endeavouring also to communicate with the General Commanding at Dehli, and the Magistrate of Boolundshuhur.

* Messrs. Vere.
Leeson.
Eckford.
Bradford.
Wemyss.
Johnson.
Hurst.
Kinloch.
Penson.
Sinnett.
Nunn.
} All of the Customs Establishment.
Dr. Lowdell, Civil Surgeon, Muttra.
Mr. Kitchen, Head Clerk to Collector of Goorgaon.

65. The country around us was becoming every day more disturbed; we were within 28 miles of Dehli, and cannonading was heard during a great part of the day and night even before we knew that the British Forces could as yet have taken up a position before Dehli. We heard then of the defeat of the Rebels at the Hindun by the Troops with General Wilson, and received a letter from Captain Nixon announcing his safe arrival, and that our baggage at Hodul had been plundered and destroyed by the braves of Bhurtpoor; and that the Mewatees plucking up heart at the pusillanimity of the Bhurtpoor Force, were threatening to attack them and capture their guns, which I believe they would not have found any difficulty in doing. Captain Nixon thought the best chance of fighting was in the fact that the Mewatees were between the Troops and their homes at Bhurtpoor. Of three letters despatched by me, one we heard had been intercepted by the Goojurs.

66. On 5th June we were warned of the approach of a body of 500 Irregular Cavalry and in mutiny, who, hearing of our presence at Mohona on crossing the River, had resolved to exterminate us. We prepared to show a bold front, and I doubt not should have made a stout and formidable resistance. There were many stout-hearted English gentlemen, well armed, among us, not likely to throw away their fire, or to exhibit any weakness in personal conflict, and we awaited very composedly, after taking all needful precaution against surprise, the attack of these scoundrels who had a few days before murdered their own Officers, Captain Fletcher Hayes, and Captain Barbor, in cold blood. I am sure many of us regretted almost, that in spite of the odds these miscreants thought it more prudent not to molest us, and that we lost the opportunity of inflicting some, however small, measure of retribution upon them for their dastardly misdeeds. A week passed in this dreary fashion, varied only by slight alerts, which always evidenced our readiness and watchfulness. We were without any of the commonest supplies and lived upon the curry and rice and water supplied by our gallant host, Hidayut Alee. I may be permitted in passing to say how gratifying it was to observe the cheerful endurance of discomfort shown by all parties, in spite of the almost intolerable heat and the necessary restraint and inactivity. We looked for a communication from Dehli to direct our movements; and until we should hear of the arrival of British Troops there, a move would have been highly and reprehensively imprudent. We might, perhaps, have retraced our steps to Agra; but my duty pointed to Dehli, and I listened to no suggestions pointing elsewhere.

67. On 7th June, Mr. Ford and myself consulted, on the receipt of certain intelligence, that our place of shelter had been discovered in Dehli and discussed by the ringleaders of the Rebellion, and that Detachments were spoken of as coming to attack us. These ill tidings were confirmed by a letter to *Meer Hidayut Alee*, and we saw at once that we should bring destruction upon his property and family by remaining at Mohona, while to

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take him with us would in these times have been as cruel as unnecessary. We agreed, therefore, without letting the arrangement be generally known, to move off at sunset towards *Sohona*, on the other side of the Goorgaon District. We knew, that if the Jeypoor Durbar answered the Lieutenant Governor's appeal, their Troops would probably move by that route, and that in any case we might more successfully approach Dehli from any other direction than that of *Bullubgurh*, or the line of the Jumna. It was therefore clearly better that we should not remain to be attacked at *Mohona*; and during the day, to confirm our plans, we heard from Captain Munbee, that in all probability Captain Eden, with Jeypoor Troops, would reach *Sohona* that very day, or on the one following.

68. Every effort to disseminate treason had been resorted to in this part of the country by emissaries from Dehli. We found it to be popularly reported, that the British Government had resolved to levy a tax on Mosques and Temples, (Musjids and Mundurs;) and so sedulously and successfully had these rumours been circulated, that several respectable Zemindars of the neighbourhood had been credulous enough to believe them. We were fortunately placed for giving considerable contradiction to these traitorous devices.

69. We traversed the country without molestation, but found most of the villages intrenched, and large parties of armed men protecting them. I am sure that our appearance was not without its use in restoring confidence. We reached *Sohona*, some 36 to 40 miles, by 3 A. M. of June 7th, and found Captain Eden with the Jeypoor Troops, consisting of about 1,000 Horse and 2,500 Infantry, with seven guns, 6 and 9-pounders. His arrival had been timely; the insurgent Mewatees having determined to attack the Town o *Sohona* on the very day of his entering the place. Unquestionably he saved the Town from ravage.

70. On 10th June we marched to take up a position on the road leading from Agra viâ Muttra to Dehli. At *Jillanee* we found evidences that the Zemindars had joined in plundering and destroying the Customs bungalows, and portions of the property of its late European occupants were found concealed in the surrounding villages. On the 11th we reached Pulwul, a large and populous Town, on the high road to Dehli, and little more than 30 miles from that place. The Railway buildings and property here had been destroyed and plundered; the former unroofed and greatly injured, evidently by the rabble of the neighbouring villages.

71. In this position I looked for instructions from Agra, and a regular communication with the Army before Dehli. Many of my party were anxious to return to Agra, so soon as opportunity should offer; but my own wishes and intentions were directed to joining the Troops investing Dehli; and on the 12th I heard from the Camp. The tidings were hopeful and cheering; all the out-posts had been carried, and so soon as the rebel batteries, at the Cashmere gate, were silenced, an assault was to be delivered. Heavy and continuous cannonading was heard from the side of the besieged City, from 6 to 9 A. M., and we confidently hoped to hear of a great success during the day. Then came reports, by flying travellers, that large bodies of Mutineers were approaching from Dehli, and by the road we had come over from Sohona, and that the Kotah Contingent in mutiny was closing upon us from the *Southward*, and had actually reached *Kosee* in our rear. I mention these rumours, because they were not without their effects in giving the first shake to the temper of our Jeypoor allies; they had evidently no stomach for a hostile collision, and it required all the tact of Captain Eden and the Bukshee, *Nawaub Fyze Alee Khan*, to quiet and pacify them.

72. On the night of the 13th, Mr. Money, Commissioner of Customs, Messrs. Dashwood and Colvin, C. S., Captain Glover, B. E., Lieutenant Gibbon, 44th N. I., and all the Customs Officials, in all some seventeen persons, (exclusive of their servants,) under an escort of Jeypoor Sowars, commanded by *Bhopjee*, the Nazim of Shekawattee, (who will be subsequently mentioned,) left Camp on

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their return to Agra. No advantage could result from their remaining; their wives and families were in Agra, and the presence of so large a party of European Officers, &c., with the difficulty of feeding and finding tents for them was obvious; while it was distasteful to a portion of our allies. I was not sorry that they should therefore return to the seat of Government, and their departure relieved me of some anxiety on their account. Mr. Hall, his wife, and family, who had been rescued by Captain Eden, near Sohona, also went in by this opportunity.

73. Lieutenants Goldsworthy and Jenkins, with the Railway Officers, who still did not abandon the hope of getting into Dehli, remained, as did also of course Mr. Ford, the Magistrate and Collector of Goorgaon, in which District our Camp then was. After the departure of this party, some Bhurtpoor Sowars, under a Foujdar, *Nutteh Singh*, came into Camp with a letter from Captain Nixon at Bhurtpoor, advising us to return to Agra viâ *Deeg*, and on no account to take any other route. The party, which left our Camp the day before, reached their destination without difficulty or obstacle, and the road was clear and safe for small parties armed. Messrs. Curll, Lemeasurier, Michell, &c. left our Camp, and returned to Agra with escort a week later.

74. We arranged with Captain Eden to communicate with Dehli, and he proposed to send on *Bhopal Singh*, a reformed free-booter, and a man of undoubted nerve, enterprise, and sagacity. He had his own dependants and retainers with him, and would doubtless represent himself as a rebel reinforcement, if questioned or molested.

75. We organized postal arrangements, and placed letter carriers at each stage on the line of road to Muttra. I wrote daily to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra, forwarding to him every scrap of news we received from the scene of action. Mr. Greathed, Colonel Becher, Quarter Master General, Colonel K. Young, Judge Advocate General, furnished me with information frequently; but many of our messengers were cut off, and the smallest possible pieces of paper with Greek characters or in French, or Dog-Latin, were necessarily used to communicate generally, and to report the progress of the siege. All were sent on by safe hands to Mr. Colvin at Agra.

76. On the 18th June the firing at Dehli was unusually heavy early in the morning. At midnoon Captain Stewart, 9th N. I. (now Lieutenant Colonel and Assistant Adjutant General of the Army,) rode on from Agra with despatches for Sir Henry Barnard. This Officer had accomplished the distance unattended, but with great rapidity; and having dropped the small escort furnished to him at starting, rode alone through a country rather disturbed. His object was to get into Dehli as speedily as possible, but the difficulties beyond our Camp were far greater, and without an escort and a strong one, the attempt would certainly fail.

77. By this opportunity the Lieutenant Governor requested me to continue with Captain Eden and the Jeypoor Troops, thinking our position at Pulwul to be well suited to effect the purpose of opening the road, covering as it did the greater part of the line to the South from Dehli.

78. Captain Eden and myself were very anxious to provide Captain Stewart with an escort, but at this time there was an uneasy feeling among the Jeypoor Troops, which soon assumed a threatening aspect. On 20th June about 100 or 150 Mahommedans left the Camp, and raised a green standard at a short distance, calling upon all true believers to desert and join the rebel cause at Dehli. A meeting of all the Leaders and Chiefs was called in Captain Eden's tent, (the only one we possessed) at the desire of the Bukshee, who commanded the Troops. This was productive of good effect, and it was discovered, that great offence had been taken at the terms of a proclamation, offering rewards for the capture of mutinous sepoys, and some ill-affected and influential *Syuds* at Pulwul had taken the opportunity of sowing sedition and enlisting false doctrines in support of it. All advised therefore that the Force

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should be moved to a few miles from Pulwul, and in spite of our strongly expressed wish that we should take ground nearer Dehli, the native Leaders declared such a move would be dangerous in the *then* temper of their men, and we were obliged to yield the point, and retire to *Mehroul*, 5 miles to the South.

79. On 21st we sent out a party to endeavour to arrest the ringleaders in the murder of two Railway Officers, when some of the Jeypoor Nagahs were fired upon, and a fight took place; the village being full of disaffected and turbulent ruffians, who were the terror of the neighbourhood. During the conflict, one of my sowars, *Soban Alee*,* behaved with extreme gallantry, and saved the life of Mr. Michell, of the Railway Department, by cutting down his assailant.

* Since promoted.

80. Our Force was still in by no means the proper spirit, and it became absolutely necessary to move again, and to our great annoyance still retrograding. By short marches we reached Hodul, the only place from whence we could procure supplies for so large a body. It was impracticable to induce a party to escort Captain Stewart into Dehli until 29th June, on which day he and Mr. Ford left with some 60 or 70 sowars, to endeavour to ride into Dehli, avoiding the leading thoroughfares and going round by the Nujjuffgurh Jheel. They reached their destination safely, but not without running very considerable risk and having a narrow escape, on the third day after leaving us. Captain Eden, Lieutenants Goldsworthy and Jenkins and myself remained with the Jeypoor Troops, who daily exhibited a greater disinclination for active service, and an increased desire to return to Jeypoor.

81. Most of Mr. Colvin's letters, during the earlier half of the month of June to my address, were intercepted, and the first I received was dated 14th. He writes:—"I hear from a letter from the Rajah of Bullubgurh, that you "have gone into Camp before Dehli; I regret this, though extremely glad that "you made your way out of your difficulties in safety, but the appearance of "two high Civil Officers in the General's Camp may cause doubts and double "attempts at influence and intercourse, especially in your position. This di-"vision has no head at present, and I should wish you to return or to remain "for the present with the Jeypoor Troops." These few lines, hardly legible, of course decided me, however unpleasant the course to my own feelings and aspirations, to remain with Captain Eden, until further instructions reached me. I knew that Mr. Greathed had accompanied General Wilson's Force to the Hindun, and had gone on with him to Dehli; but under the instructions given to me at Agra, I concluded that this was but a temporary arrangement, and that *Meerut* required a head more than *Agra*, where I found only *too many* on my return at the close of July.

82. On 16th June Mr. Colvin wrote:—"You are in an excellant posi-"tion for obtaining the earliest information for us of any important fact, now "that the road from Boolundshuhur to Allygurh is quite closed, through the "7th Cavalry having taken up its position at *Khoorja* in strength. Such a thing "as the result of the attack, which was probably made on the 13th, would "soon fly over the country, and Native Troops have better means of getting "such information than ourselves. Pray, do your best in this matter, and "send us the very first certain tidings that may reach you: you will well "know all our anxiety for them." On the following day a brief note reached me:—"Elliot, (his son,) thank God has come in, but he has somehow managed "to lose the letter to me which you gave to him. Stay for awhile with Captain "Eden's Force, and aid in realizing the latest authentic news from Dehli. This "is our *first* present want." On 17th June Mr. Colvin again writes. "He is "glad Captain Eden has pushed on a party towards Dehli for the purpose of "obtaining news. The report of the capture of the Town was evidently prema-"ture; they are making a stout fight of it, and religious feeling has evidently "been deeply excited. We should rejoice to be strengthened *here*, for we could "then really command the country, and commence getting in the Revenue "steadily. All the Gwalior Officers have escaped to this place from the revolt

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"there. *That* matter may much complicate our position, and give us increased "need of European reinforcements. I enclose a memorandum of the Force "that may be turned against us from our *own providing*,* "but the rains may soon swell the Chumbul. Please "send this on to the General Commanding, in duplicate, that he may know "our needs as they may possibly arise. The 10th N. I. at Futtehgurh con- "tinues faithful, though in a peculiar way, and '*master of the situation.*' *Mynpoory* "remains stoutly garrisoned by Power and a party of Major Raikes' Hindoo "Gwalior Troopers. *Etah* gone, and Phillipps is here. At *Etawah* Hume still "holding his own excellently, but the effect of the Gwalior mutiny on the "Corps at Etawah remains to be seen. It is a very fine Regiment, and under "an old and experienced Officer, Major Hennessey, well known to his men. "The Gwalior Contingent mutinied on the night of 14th June. Three Bullock "Batteries of 9-pounders are within the Gwalior Territory; there are two "18-pounder guns with elephant draft; there are two other Guns of the "same calibre in the Magazine, and three Mortars. This adds seriously to "the means against us, and shows the *absolute necessity* for more Europeans in "this quarter."

* Gwalior Contingent.

83. On 21st June Mr. Colvin writes, after giving a copy of news from Dehli viâ Allygurh :—"The Neemuch mutineers may perhaps come this way, "and we shall have a sharp look out for them; they have certainly gone to "Tonk." This was in answer to my communication, received from native sources viâ Jeypoor, to the effect that the Neemuch Troops were *determined to move on Agra*, and that the fact of the 72nd N. I., part of that Force, having so recently been in garrison at Agra, was of significance and worth attention. The Lieutenant Governor continues—"the earliest tidings of the result of the fighting of 18th before Dehli, will be most anxiously looked for by us. It will mainly determine the rapid progress of the siege."

84. Mr. Colvin's note of June 25th says:—"Your scrap, from Colonel "Becher, is our latest yet from Dehli. You will, I hope, still be able to render "good service south of Dehli: I could not have *two Agents* in Dehli. While "the Jeypoor Force holds together, you can have a chance of this by remain- "ing with them, according to the tidings that reach you of the progress of the "siege. Here our unpleasant event is the desertion of nearly all; Doctor "Walker's Jail guard, some 300 with muskets and ammunition; they were "partly *quite disaffected*, and partly frightened by more Europeans being sent "down. There has been no disturbance, but we shall have to make some spe- 'cial arrangements for the Jail."

85. On 26th June Mr. Colvin writes:—"Many thanks for the tidings "from Dehli to 22nd. *This is late news;* we are entirely indebted for it to your "position at Hodul; its tone is cheering, but the Nusseerabad and Bareilly "Regiments have added to the strength of the Mutineers very sensibly. But "we too were obtaining reinforcements, and the policy of a very bold and "prompt attack was obvious. The desertion of 3½ Companies of our Jail "guard, the night before last, is our new fact of local consequence. It will not, "I think, lead to disturbance." I received no further communications, and indeed but one more on 2nd July,—events were ripening at Agra.

86. MUTTRA, JUNE 1857. After the occurrences narrated on the mutiny of the two Companies of Native Infantry, detached to Muttra for treasure, Mr. Thornhill and Mr. Joyce, after having made their report to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra, returned to Muttra on 3rd, and took up their quarters in the City house of the opulent banker, Munneeram Seth. There had been much injury to public and private property; but with the exception of Lieutenant Burlton, who was killed by the sepoys, no loss of life had attended the out- break on 31st May, and all the European residents had succeeded in effecting their escape to Agra. The prisoners in the Jail had been released by the mu- tineers, and they, with the rabble of the suburbs, had set fire to all the Customs and Police Chowkees and the Bungalows in the Cantonment.

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87. Mr. Thornhill's Narrative, paragraph 18, states that 5 lakhs of treasure were carried off by the Mutineers, and that $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh in copper coins and uncurrent rupees, together with jewels and other property, deposited for safety in the Treasury, were either forgotten or overlooked; and he continues,—"As "soon as it was known that this money had been left, the whole city *headed by the* "*Cotwal* and the Bhurtpoor Detachment, flocked down to plunder, and continued "to do so till the flames drove them out." I am unable to endorse this version of what happened; it rests mainly on not very reliable hearsay, and from careful inquiry, I am induced to think that the Cotwal, Ariff Alee, a man especially selected by Mr. Thornhill himself, only ten days before, was guilty of no such misconduct. I believe him to have done all in his power so long as his authority was at all recognised, but that he was driven away by the crowds of miscreants aided by many of his own Police, and was perfectly unable to stem the torrent or to save any public property from a building which had been in flames for some time, and in the possession, till actually blazing, of mutinous and armed sepoys.

88. With disturbance more or less rife, as Native Officials were driven from their posts, and opportunity for feeding fat ancient grudges arose from the withdrawal of all check. The Magistrate held on at Muttra, living in the city and supported largely by the influence and exertions of the members of the great Banking House of Muneeram Seth, (Luchmeechund.) On 14th June, the arrival of Captain Dennys, in command of the Kotah Contingent, enabled the Magistrate to move out and reduce some of the insurgent villages, making some severe examples.

89. The town of Rayah especially had been the scene of great disorder. The Magistrate describes the country to have been at this time in a condition of confusion and anarchy, suddenly arising without any apparent cause. But it must not be forgotten, that men had armed to protect themselves and families. The Military resources of the Government were for the time in abeyance; and the Civil Authority, unable of itself to enforce order, necessarily collapsed. Those who had grievances, and many (under the strange operation of some half dozen different Civil decrees in the same case,) *had* undoubtedly grievances, conceived that they might now conveniently take law into their own hands. Those who were known to be wealthy and weak, became objects of plunder; those who were wealthy and strong, sought to aggrandize themselves at the expence of their poorer neighbours; and the large section of those who had nothing to lose, encouraged and assisted to foster panic and confusion for their own benefit. This will occur everywhere, and more suddenly wherever the ruling power is of another creed and breed, and is suddenly paralysed by the treachery of those upon whom it had every right, if not every reason, to rely.

90. Mr. Thornhill's measures were vigorous, but I cannot view those adopted in many parts of the District, especially at Saidabad, as discreet or prudent. Large estates were bestowed upon utter strangers for balances of revenue, which were utterly insignificant; a feeling of hostility to the Government was thereby engendered; and in many instances substantial injustice was done. No report of these wholesale transfers and bestowals was made through the proper channels. Mr. Thornhill believed that large and unusual powers had been given to him in a time of great emergency, and the warrant for their use consisted of a private note of instruction from the Lieutenant Governor to Mr. C. B. Thornhill, then Secretary to Government. I have always thought that note to have been misunderstood.

91. Upon this part of the subject I may repeat what I afterwards put on record, when the matter came before me officially, after my return to Agra from the Camp of the Jeypoor Troops, I have found no reason to change my opinion.

92. Referring to the Memoranda, appended by Mr. Mark Thornhill on the subject of Revenue and Police, in the Muttra district, and referred to

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me for opinion by the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, Mr. Reade, I would remark that I am unable to concur with Mr. Thornhill, in placing backwardness in liquidating arrears of Revenue, in the same category with *overt acts of rebellion*, and I do not perceive that any such wholesale confiscation of estates, as has been apparently indulged in, was at all contemplated by the late Lieutenant Governor. No *actual resistance of authority*, or of "*plunder in contempt of authority*," (the Lieutenant Governor's words,) were ever charged or proved against these defaulting Malgoozars; and I question the policy as well as the legality of transferring estates to *quasi* loyal Landholders, "*who, from wealth or hereditary influence, can hold them without the aid of Government.*" Many of the transferees are not immaculate loyalists, and such inordinate grants to such men would sow the seeds of discontent broad-cast, and not an ousted Landowner in these estates, but would eat his bread leavened, with a sense of injustice for the next hundred years.

93. If in times when Martial Law has been proclaimed, the most extreme coercive process can be resorted to at all, for realizing arrears from parties not actually in rebellion, certainly a free bestowal, unincumbered of another man's possessions' to a wealthy neighbour, is the most objectionable of all conceivable remedies, our Tehseel Officials are not at their posts, or have been frequently and suddenly changed, European Officers have been driven from the Sudder Station, payment of Revenue to unknown deputed peons would have been dangerous, while it can hardly be expected, that in time of disturbance, when there is but little safety for travellers, unprotected Malgoozars should become suddenly such miracles of loyal devotion as to risk their lives in carrying "Kists" (instalments) to Treasuries which, for all they can know, may be in the possession, present or prospective of insurgents.

94. Neither can I think it to be expedient or politic, that transfers or grants should be made at a time when confessedly there are no *buyers*, and when the only *modus operandi* would seem to be a recourse to half considered and wholly illegal munificence. The injury to public and private property, during the period of disorder, will require repair, and Government should not relinquish the sale prices of estates, *legitimate escheats*, in cases of proved disloyalty, and which may otherwise be at once realized by the *soi disant* Donees, immediately after the liberality of the District Officers shall have been announced to the fortunate recipients. I understand, that many such sales have taken place before confirmation by Government has been conceded to the grant. In one instance, the actual arrear in an estate in *Saidabad*, which involved deprivation of the proprietary rights of a numerous family for ever, amounted to the ridiculous sum of two Rupees eight annas, or *five shillings sterling*.*

95. On the 29th June the Kotah Contingent was called into Agra, I had repeatedly written to the Lieutenant Governor to warn him, (on information obtained from the Jeypoor Officers) of the notoriously uncertain temper of this body. They had been harassed by long marching, for some months they had envied the plunder, which rumour had assigned to other Troops and Contingents who had mutinied, they had no stomach for fighting against disciplined brethren in mutiny; they were, however, moved into Agra, and took the earliest opportunity by their defection to prove, that the suspicion, for some time attaching to them amongst natives, was well founded. Mr. Thornhill remained at Muttra till 5th July, when events at Agra and the advance of the Neemuch mutineers enforced retreat.

## AGRA—IN JUNE.

96. The disarmed sepoys of the 44th N. I. and 67th N. I. had dispersed quietly;—leave to return to their homes for 5 months having been granted to them.

97. It became necessary, therefore, to supply the deficiency in Military strength, by organizing a Militia of Horse and Foot, composed of all able-bodied adults, whether in Public Offices or elsewhere procurable. Major

* *Note.*—These proceedings have been subsequently remedied under the authority of the Governor General.—*Ed.*

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Prendergast, 44th N. I., and Lieutenants Henry Oldfield, of 9th N. I., and James, of 44th N. I., were appointed, the first to command, and the others as Subalterns of the new Force, which subsequently rendered good service on several occasions, not only in the action of 5th July, but on 10th October, and intermediately in the Fort and on detached duty.

98. So long as the Detachment of the Gwalior Troops were amenable to order, matters at Agra progressed quietly. The people in the City were peaceably disposed, or gave no indication of excitement. Patrol parties, in the direction of Bhurtpoor, under the direction of Lieutenant Noble, 44th N. I., and Mr. Lane, Assistant Magistrate, were to have been strengthened by Durbar Troops, and being weak, ultimately closed in upon Agra viâ Futtehpoor Sikree.

99. Lieutenant Henderson, H. M.'s 10th Foot, was employed with the Force recently raised by Syfoolla Khan, to which two 9-pounder guns had been attached. They moved through the Pergunnahs bordering the Muttra road, and coerced several villages, which had become turbulent and disaffected. But Syfoolla's men were a ragged lot of raw recruits, and though some of them were useful as spies, as a body they were contemptible, and I cannot understand why, in their infancy and uncertain temper, they were entrusted with British 9-pounder guns. Of their Leader, it is not necessary to say any thing. Imputations which rested on him have been investigated, and he has been absolved and rewarded. I desire to think the best of him, but am unable to perceive that he did better or worse than many others.

100. Mr. Parsick, Deputy Collector, under Regulation IX. of 1833, held his post at Futtehpoor Sikree, very successfully for a time, and the Tehseeldar, Irshad Alee, deserves all the commendation bestowed on him by Mr. Phillipps, and his services have been more substantially recognised by Government. The road to Agra from the west was thus secured against disturbance, and very good service was rendered by Mr. Parsick, until the approach of the Neemuch mutineers towards the close of June.

101. The next event of exciting tendency at Agra, was the report of the outbreak of the Contingent at Gwalior, which occurred on 15th June. All the British Officers who escaped, with many Ladies and Children, were obliged to fly to Agra,—the inclemency of the weather,—the insufficient and inconvenient carriage, causing incredible suffering and hardship to many of the latter. "This misfortune," as Mr. Colvin wrote, "considerably complicated matters." As an immediate result, the Detachments of Gwalior Troops in and around Agra were regarded with more than suspicion, and none doubted that so soon as the intelligence of their comrades' behaviour reached them, wherever stationed, their own would be guided by it.

102. It is satisfactory to know that the defection of these Detachments at *out-posts*, at Allygurh, Mynpoory, Etawah, &c., was unaccompanied by any acts of violence against their Officers, but it reduced the Military means of Government to the one weak Regiment at Agra, and the undisciplined extemporised Militia of the Civil Lines and Station.

103. There was, therefore, considerable depression at Agra. The closing of the lines of communication,—the absence of authentic news,—the knowledge that, until Dehli should be re-occupied, no reinforcements could reasonably be expected,—the vast extent of property to be protected,—buildings scattered over a line of from 7 to 8 miles, and the inadequacy of means;—all these, in addition to a fear that, in the losses we had sustained elsewhere, money might be wanting if the emergency deepened, must have weighed very heavily upon the mind of the Lieutenant Governor.

104. A most unhappy suggestion, with whom originating I do not know, was acted upon at least to the extent of creating a vast trepidation in the native mind, and the ascertainment beyond a doubt of the futility of such a project. A few lakhs of Rupees might readily have been procured, but a *compulsory loan* of twenty lakhs of Rupees, at such a time, could only produce

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distrust and alarm. This untoward Financial device had been reported in the Jeypoor Camp, and many letters were written to Muttra, stating that rather than submit to such a tax, the writers would abandon Agra altogether. It is perhaps well, for the credit of our name, that no measures were taken to enforce the engagements which had been signed, upon those who remained, and that the subsequent successful Financial management of Mr. Reade has obliterated all memory of the "impolitic proceeding."

105. It was unfortunate too, that Mr. Drummond's argument, that precautionary measures would evidence timidity, and betray a want of confidence in our native subjects, should have found any favour with the Lieutenant Governor. Looking beyond Agra, we had abundant indications of the gathering storm, and the moanings of the tempest were heard in the well-founded rumours of events at Jhansie, Futtehgurh, Shahjehanpoor, Cawnpoor, if Meerut and Dehli had not sufficed. It would have been plain prudence to have taken warning, and to have placed our Records and our valuable Property, public and private, where they could be most secure. When I left Agra, the Lieutenant Governor was full of high-hearted courage and resolute determination, and I regret that these should have perhaps unduly expanded into incaution under Mr. Drummond's well-meant, but mistaken, ideas as to the effect which mere prudential precaution would have been upon the town's people, for few elsewhere would hear of it. On the contrary, I hold the firm belief that the right course to pursue for a "daring Pilot in extremity" would have been to have eased men's minds by placing their families and their property in safety, and that finding us both "forewarned and forearmed," none of the succeeding disastrous indignities would have befallen us, nor should we ever probably have seen the Neemuch mutineers, or in any case should have utterly discomfited or destroyed them.

106. For Mr. Drummond personally I entertain a great regard from many years of intimate acquaintance with his high qualities. I have the highest opinion of him in his official character. His intelligence, zeal, and experience are unquestioned: no one bore himself with a more undaunted mind and demeanour during the difficulties of 1857 than he did. Up to the hour of my leaving the Station, he was most active and eager to co-operate with me in carrying out, with fearless promptitude, the wishes of Government. The influence of his bearing and inflexible honesty of purpose was undoubtedly great in the District. I regret not having been near him to have counteracted some of the errors into which he fell in June. I think he was premature in pressing for rewards to men for *prospective service*: the measure was misinterpreted, though it sprung from no desire to over-conciliate. He was still more wrong in listening to the evil counsels of Busharut Alee, whose advice had, I think, too much weight with him, and who strongly urged that, to allow European property of value, or even women and children to be placed in the Fort, would be to destroy the confidence of the natives and to beget a distrust which would give opportunity to the disaffected in the City to give trouble. Busharut Alee consulted his own convenience, having the charge of the City, in this insidious advice, and probably had ulterior views, knowing, as he must or ought to have done, the utter untrustworthiness of the Police Materiel in emergency.

107. Mr. Drummond's activity and energy were admirable; but, as I have since learnt, he allowed them to produce an overbearing manner, which engendered rather general dislike, and was very unfortunate at such a time. His control of the City and management of the turbulently-disposed were most successful till the Police fabric fell to pieces, (on the arrival of the Neemuch mutineers, and the defection of the Kotah Contingent,) and the Police had more than their full share in the work of plunder and destruction which followed,—and so closed the month of *June* at Agra.

## MYNPOORY—JUNE 1857.

108. The Sudder Station was still held by Mr. Power, with his brother, reinforced during the month by a party of the Gwalior Contingent Cavalry.

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under Major Raikes. They were intrenched in the Collector's Cutcherry, round which a wide and deep ditch had been dug, and although, as I have since ascertained, it was not possible to transact much of the usual business of the District, the presence of the Magistrate was undoubtedly beneficial in checking any open demonstrations of disaffection. The Chowhan Thakoors were naturally looking to the recognised Head of their Tribe,—the Rajah Tej Singh, of Mynpoory.

109. This Rajah, a young and rather dissipated man, without much intelligence or personal character, was in the hands of evil advisers, and subsequently threw off his allegiance and openly joined the rebel movement. There had, in old days, been a disputed claim to lands, at one time the property of the Rajahs of Mynpoory, which had subsequently passed into the family of the Nawaub Races of Furruckabad. This feud was resuscitated by the insurrection, and for some time prevented any cordiality between these two Chiefs,—eventually an understanding was arrived at, the opposing forces withdrew (July 1857) from facing each other, with threats of hostility near Bewur, and from that time every unanimity prevailed in the object of setting themselves up in defiance against the authority of the British Government.

110. An uncle of the Ex-Rajah Tej Singh had been set aside from the succession, on the demise of the last Rajah. This gentleman, by name *Rao Bhawanee Singh*, was an elder uncle of Tej Singh's, and by what process of reasoning the claims of an elder uncle could be displaced in favor of the son of a younger brother, I never could perceive. At all events the fact was so,—the Civil Courts gave the inheritance to the boy, and the uncle's claim had gone home in appeal to Her Majesty's Privy Council, when the Rebellion broke out.

111. *Rao Bhowanee Singh* has behaved with signal fidelity and loyalty during the whole period of disturbance, has saved the Government treasure and a good deal of private property belonging to Officials at Mynpoory; has rendered all the aid in his power to the Government, and has been rewarded by the grant of the title and estates of his misguided nephew.

112. Mr. Power's position and the maintenance of the Telegraphic wire until very nearly the end of the month, enabled him to supply much important information of what was taking place towards Cawnpoor and Futtehgurh; but on 25th or 26th, the advent of the Gwalior rebels necessitated a retreat upon Agra, which was safely effected. The bulk of the public money having been entrusted to Rao Bhowanee Singh for safe keeping, by whom it was safely restored to the Column, under Major General Sir Hope Grant, in the ensuing October. The end of June saw our Mynpoory Officials driven from their posts, not by any act of the population of the District, but by the Military advance of an armed body of disciplined mutineers.

## FUTTEHGURH—JUNE 1857.

113. Up to nearly the middle of June, no events of a serious character had occurred at Futtehgurh. The 10th Native Infantry were believed with confidence by those who had passed their lives in commanding them, to be faithfully disposed; but, as the Lieutenant Governor wrote, "they were *faithful in a peculiar way and masters of the situation*"—they promised *obedience*, and *refused* to allow the Government treasure to be placed in the Fort—they were sullen but not disorderly. A shadow must always hang over the history of occurrences at this ill-fated Station, from the period at which the Europeans were constrained to take refuge in the Fort. One survivor among the European community, and a few native servants, are all that escaped; and of the temper and behaviour of the more influential of the strong Mahommedan party in the City, nothing can be certainly known;—of the ruthless destruction of Christians not long afterwards, with the assent, or by the positive direction, of the Nawaub and his advisers, there can exist no doubt.

114. Mr. Probyn's Narrative, so far as it goes, I am convinced from personal inquiry at Furruckabad, in January and February last, gives a

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perfectly accurate account of all that came within his knowledge. A handful of Europeans, encumbered with women and children, in a Fort very much out of repair, having few guns and hardly an embrasure upon its walls and bastions, with a scant supply of munition and food, could hardly have maintained their position in the events which rapidly followed. Futtehgurh was not re-occupied by British Troops until upwards of six months had elapsed, though doubtless an earlier relief might have been effected by the Column under Sir Hope Grant from Dehli, had there then been any hope of saving the lives of besieged countrymen and their families.

115. The Fort was stoutly held until ammunition began to fail, and until several of its most gallant defenders had fallen. The conduct of the lamented Colonel Tudor Tucker was spoken of with admiration by all who witnessed it, and his death appears to have damped the spirits of all; for he was one of the few who knew how to work the guns. There was, moreover, treachery, it was feared within the walls, and some men of the Sappers and Miners lent their aid to the insurgents in running a mine under one of the bastions.

116. The actual outbreak of the 10th N. I. had taken place on the 18th June, hastened by the approach of the 41st N. I.; the former Regiment dispersed apparently satisfied with the Government treasure, entrusted to them for *safe* keeping, and the 41st N. I. were left to besiege our unfortunate countrymen in the Fort. Out of 100 Europeans, not more than one-third of the number were male adults, and for upwards of a fortnight this heroic handful of men, with an indomitable endurance, gallantry, and devotion, defied all the efforts of their assailants.

117. Their situation however day by day became more critical. The disasters to British prestige daily reported in exaggerated forms from all quarters, left no prospect of immediate succour, and it soon became apparent, that the only alternative was to evacuate the Fort at night by boats, in the hope of reaching Allahabad. This course was not taken till the 4th of July. The month of June left the European Residents in Futtehgurh cooped up and beleagured, in the small Fort, with daily diminishing ammunition and failing powers of resistance.

118. Of the actual behaviour of the native officials generally, it is difficult to speak with certainty. The Principal Sudder Ameen, Tujumull Hoossein Khan, kept his Court open for some days after the Officials had gone into the Fort; but the plunder and sack of all European buildings was complete on or about the 18th June, and hardly a vestige of the private property of our countrymen was to be found uninjured, when I reached Futtehgurh a few days after the reoccupation of the place by the Troops, under the personal command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in the first week in January 1858.

119. The Deputy Collector, Mirza Kullub Hoossein, an aged and infirm man, behaved as well as under the circumstances could have been expected; but he was looked upon with suspicion, was known to be allied by ties of blood or friendship with some of those who had joined the movements near his home at Shumsabad, and appears at last to have been driven to flight and concealment to save his life.

## ETAWAH—JUNE 1857.

120. The ladies and non-combatants had been sent into Agra. A body of local levies, recruited from the Thakoor tribe, was raised, as stated in paragraph 54. The District was gradually returning to order, and hopes were entertained by the local officials, that the storm might be weathered. The 16th June dissipated all their delusions; news of the Gwalior mutiny and outbreak arrived, and the Grenadier Regiment, with a perfectly respectful demeanour, declined any longer to obey their British Officers. Plots were known to have been entertained for the murder of the Europeans, overruled happily

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by the better feeling of some of the older soldiers, and, on the following day, nothing was left but to attempt a retreat to Agra. The mutineers from Jhansi, blood-stained, and flushed with murder, were known to be within two marches of Etawah, and Mr. Hume, Major Hennessey, and the other Officers, rode quietly out of Etawah, and halted at Bah, in the Agra District, across the Jumna; at this place they were met by fugitive officials from Calpee and Jaloun, (two ladies being with them,) and together they were compelled, by the state of the country, to fall back upon Agra.

121. This enforced evacuation of Etawah was the signal for plunder and ravage. The Government treasure, and private property of residents were soon made away with, but, on an attempt to fire the town, the inhabitants rose in protection of their houses and property, and ultimately the sepoys were driven out of the place.

122. The Jhansi Brigade, in mutiny, crossed the Jumna at Sheirgurh, on 24th June, plundering the Tehseel and committing much devastation.

123. One man (Rambuksh or Rambuccus,) a Tehseeldar, (and strange to say, of the Bunneeah caste) deserves a paragraph. He saved the Government records, when *Oryah* was attacked, and opposed the insurgents with extreme courage. He was overpowered and subjected to great ill-treatment. He was restored to office subsequently, but died, it is believed, from the effects of the treatment he had received, while in the hands of the sepoys.—"His passive fidelity to the trust reposed in him was truly heroic," Mr. Hume observes.

124. Mr. Hume describes the succeeding disorder consequent upon the passage of mutinous sepoy bands. He says, and I fully concur with him in opinion, "There was no latent disloyalty in the people." On the contrary, they had repeatedly exhibited their sympathies on the side of order, and had cheerfully and gallantly come forward to lend their best aid to its restoration. The Collector was frequently in communication with the large Landholders in the District, during his residence in the fort at Agra, and with but one exception, the Talookdars of Etawah have shown themselves good and loyal, and deserving British subjects.

## ETAH—JUNE 1857.

125. This District being on the line of road from Dehli to Cawnpoor, Lucknow, &c., was soon disturbed. Early in June proclamations were every where spoken of, announcing the restoration of the Raj of the great Mogul. The Bareilly Troops, to whom at first the District Officers looked for assistance, had joined the insurgents.

126. On 3rd June Mr. Phillipps was joined by Mr. Hall, his Joint Magistrate, there being then with him Mr. Bramley, Deputy Collector of Budaon, who had been driven out of his District into Putteealee, Mr. Edward, C. S., the Collector, Mr. Gibson, of the Customs Department, Mr. Donald, Indigo-planter, and his son, all from Budaon. Every thing had been left in confusion at the latter Station, the Detachment of N. I. having plundered the treasury. In consultation together, these Officers decided that to remain where they were without means of coercing the rebellious, or protecting themselves, was futile. An anonymous note, subsequently discovered to have come from *Chowbey Soondurson Doss*, of Khasgunje, warned them to escape, as a large body of sepoys had arrived that morning at Khasgunje, in search of European Officers. It was determined to proceed to *Mynpooree*, as the nearest station.

127. The Budaon Officers, however, thinking the party too large to travel with safety, separated themselves with the object of finding their way to Nynee Tal; soon after leaving, the accounts from Rohilkund were of such a complexion, that they altered their route and made for Futtehgurh.

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128. With much difficulty, Mr. Phillipps and Mr. Bramley at last, after several day's journey, reached *Awa*, and were cordially welcomed by the Rajah, who has been distinguished for his loyalty throughout the disturbances, and who has been brought prominently to the notice of Government. The party reached Agra on 9th June.

Rajah Pirthee Singh, of Awa.

129. The relinquishment of Etah was unavoidable; the Rajah had been more than lukewarm in his loyalty at the commencement; the District was daily traversed by bands of mutinous troops, and the police could no longer be relied on. There was no defensible building in the station, even had there been guns, or ammunition, or defenders in any such strength, as could have warranted the slightest hope of holding out; and thus, at the close of the first week in *June, Etah* was of necessity abandoned by its local Officers.

## JULY—1857.

130. I continue the "resumé" of my own movements. The Camp of the Jeypoor Troops was still at Hodul, the Officers of the Railway Department, who had left us under an escort on 23rd June, had safely reached Agra on the 26th. Our letters, from Jeypoor of 26th June, spoke positively of the intention of the Neemuch mutinous Brigade to try its strength on Agra. We felt confident that the Governor General's Agent in Rajpootana would, with the aid of the British Regiments at Deesa, be able to frustrate this intention, but I lost no time in communicating to the Lieutenant Governor the more than probability of an attack on the seat of Government. I suggested that the water dams at Futtehpoor Sikree might be used so to flood portions of the road between that place and Agra, (only 22 miles) as to render the passage of Artillery wholly impracticable.

131. I ventured to suggest that, in the event of attack, and with reference to the vast extent of the station, and the paucity of troops for its protection, all the prisoners in Jail for graver offences, and those of notorious bad character, should be removed to some building under the guns of the Fort; and that all prisoners, whose periods of durance were near expiry, and those confined for offences of minor importance, should be *liberated.* This measure was not adopted, and the prisoners were too liberally and indiscriminately enlarged; by far the greater number of those likely to be converted into active enemies, a little later, released themselves, and have caused incalculable injury to us in the ranks of the mutineers.

132. Cholera was ravaging our Camp, and depressing seriously the spirit of our native allies. They were eager to return home, the rains had set in with violence, and, from the Political Agent and the Commander downwards, all were insufficiently provided with shelter and suffered accordingly; we heard through native letters that the Neemuch Troops were at Biyanah on 27th June, and evidently advancing upon Agra. These tidings were forwarded to the Lieutenant Governor and the Magistrate Hon'ble Mr. Drummond.

133. Our letters from Dehli led us to believe, that the assault was closely impending, and we endeavoured to re-animate our Camp with the prospect; we were suffering much from a damp and unhealthy position, and increasing mortality from the ravages of Cholera. On the 4th July a meeting of the leader of the different quotas was held, and the general opinion was, that a move was actually necessary, but that *it could not be* in advance, (towards Dehli).

134. On the 6th we heard from Muttra, that the Neemuch mutineers had attacked and routed a Detachment of Bhurtpoor Troops, and taken their guns, and that Agra was threatened by them. I wrote to Mr. Colvin, repeating what I had urged in previous notes, and asking whether we could not be useful in making a demonstration on the left flank of the advancing Neemuch Troops, so as to divert them from *Agra.* On that very day all our Agra troops were in the Fort, after the action of 5th July; and we heard no more from Agra.

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135. Our Camp was full of unwholesome rumours, and our losses from cholera increasing. On 7th, upwards of 20 deaths; on the 8th, we were obliged to move from the stench in Camp, and had meant to pitch at *Kotebun*, 4½ miles in our rear; but on arriving there, the ground was declared to be swampy, and we had no alternative but to yield to the loudly-expressed wishes of the Native Chiefs, and to move on to *Kosee*. We were fast becoming disoderly, and it required all Captain Eden's firmness and tact to support the Bukshee, The guns had been taken on without, or in spite of, his orders this morning.

136. It became hourly more evident, that all spirit, if not subordination, was fast disappearing from our ranks. The report of the evacuation of Sudder Station and Tehseel posts in Muttra was not re-assuring. We were advised, that the Jeypoor Troops would not oppose, or, in any way, act against the mutinous Brigade; and Captain Eden, as well as Lieutenants Jenkins, Goldsworthy, and myself, were compelled at last reluctantly to acknowledge that such was the state of things. Some reliance might probably be placed on the *Rajpoots* and *Nagas*, but they were without guns, and the feeling of the rest of the Force was either positively opposed to our plans and wishes, or would be openly so, in the moment when their execution should become necessary.

137. The Troops knew that the Governor General's Agent had recorded an opinion, if not an order, that the Force should return to *Jeypoor*, which had been menaced, and *there* they seemed resolved to go. The Native Officer in command of the Durbar Troops, announced to us on the 9th, that his men were not inclined to obey him; that the advent of 10 or 20 Sowars, from the Mutineers' Camp, now reported to have reached Muttra, would have a very prejudicial, if not dangerous, effect; and that any effort to bring these Troops into collision with the Neemuch mutineers would be disastrous. We had received no communication from Agra later than 2nd July, and we had four days later accounts from Dehli; but nothing promising as to any immediate assault or success. We tried to persuade our Troops to occupy the Tehseel of Kosee, a strong building, and there to await the rebels; but they would not listen to the proposition.

138. Our allies consisted of, according to the return, about 4,000 Infantry and 1,200 Horse of all sorts, and yet their temper was such that a flank march, leaving the road to Dehli open, became positively unavoidable. I am sure that Captain Eden, Lieutenants Jenkins, Goldsworthy, and myself, would have infinitely preferred to have been engaged actively with the enemy before Dehli, day after day, to the disappointing, disheartening attempts we daily made to encourage Troops who had determined rather to sacrifice us than to encounter any enemy whatever. There was grievous discomfort and sickness undoubtedly in Camp, and a storm on 10th July left us in two feet of water, with half our tents blown down. The horses suffered from want of forage. There was great discontent, almost disorganization, but there was treason and treachery also in Camp, and most rife unfortunately among those who had possession of our Artillery.

139. The Bukshee, *Nawaub Fyz Alee Khan*, behaved like a loyal, well-affected gentleman, but he was commanding a mixed body of disorderly ingredients. He was looked on by the Mahommedans in Camp with suspicion as a renegade; and by the Hindoos and Rajpoots, as an interloper. The leaders of the different Regiments all agreed, that not only the Force would not fight, but that they could not answer for their not doing something very much worse. They might fraternize in large numbers; many might retreat; but their Chief, the Political Agent, and ourselves, would be sacrificed:—all urged an immediate return to Jeypoor.

140. All this time it was to the last degree mortifying to us to feel, that a Squadron of British Dragoons, with 2 guns or 500 reliable horsemen of any kind, would amply suffice to have routed and dispersed these Neemuch traitors; they had already been roughly handled at Agra, were deficient in ammunition and discipline after their straggling march, and were loaded with plunder which had destroyed their efficiency.

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141. On 11th July, at Kosee, an unpleasant incident occurred, which showed us what a coil of treachery was around us. The Neemuch Force was near at hand. The main body of the Jeypoor Troops had moved off west of the road, in the direction of *Ulwur*. Captain Eden, Lieutenants Jenkins, Goldsworthy, and myself, were preparing to mount our horses at daybreak to follow. My small escort, consisting of Rissaldar Sheikh Bahadur Alee, and his Irregular Sowars, about 16 in all, were formed up facing us. They asked for pay. I said,—"This is not the time for such a request. You have received advances; and, when we get money, will receive your arrears." In one instant there was a shout, and, wheeling their horses, they rushed off, taking the road to Muttra. The signal exceptions to this defection of men who had, amid many privations and perils hitherto remained faithful, were the Rissaldar Sheikh *Buhadur Alee; Saiud Alee* and *Sobhan Alee*, both of 8th Irregulars, and *Narain Singh* of the 12th Irregulars, who had joined us at the village of Mohona on 15th June. These men, "faithful found amid the faithless," looked with scorn and disgust upon their recreant comrades; they stuck by us manfully to the last; they have all been rewarded: no Englishmen could have behaved better on this as on all other occasions; and I am sure they will continue to conduct themselves in the same gallant and soldierly fashion whenever the occasion arises.

142. The Rissaldar was so astounded at this unexpected and sudden misbehaviour, that he begged to be allowed to ride after and recall them. Lieutenant Goldsworthy was already mounted, and galloped off with the Rissaldar; but observing from where we stood that the scoundrels were unslinging their carbines, and feeling that lives worth those of the whole party put together, should not be even risked in such a cause, I recalled Lieutenant Goldsworthy. Most of these men have since been capitally punished, being arrested with arms in their hands, in the Rebel ranks at different times.

143. We marched, through a flooded country in heavy rain, to the village of *Gamah*, some 6 or 7 miles from *Kosee*, but within the Bhurtpoor boundary line. The impossibility at that moment of reaching Agra, with only four sowars through almost an enemy's country, was clear; and any immediate prospect of leaving the Jeypoor Troops was equally uncertain, but no plans could be formed until the Force reached the Jeypoor territory. On 13th we moved to *Seelwaree*. During this march, with Captain Eden's assent, I sounded the Nazim of Shekawattee *Bhopjee*, who had furnished an escort previously to parties leaving our Camp, and whose soldierly open nature was attractive. He commanded a considerable body of tributary horse, and at Captain Eden's instance, he agreed to accompany us with some 70 or 80 of his men from the first point at which we should enter Jeypoor territory.

144. The heat was very trying,—the country, for the most part, under water,—our tents rarely pitched till evening,—cholera raging,—moreover we felt this retreat of some 6,000 men before an Army of perhaps shadows to be ignominious; but we were helpless to prevent it. This enforced turning of our faces from Agra was most discomforting at such a time, and it was a satisfaction afterwards to find that long before we had left Kosee, it was impossible that we could have been of any use at Agra.

145. On 14th July we reached *Govindgurh*, in the Ulwur territory, a strong, newly-repaired, high mud Fort, in a perfect state of defence, with a wide, deep-flooded fosse; and we here heard of the death of the Rao, Rajah of Ulwur, on 11th instant. He had been always a loyal well-affected Chief, and worthy of his descent from our able adherent, the Rao, Rajah of Lordi Lake's Wars in 1803-6. His son had succeeded peaceably. I assured the Vakeels of the continued good-feeling of the British Government, and pointed out the ruin which must ensue to those Chiefs who had fallen from their allegiance during the present Military mutiny; that if our "Army" misbehaved, we could punish it ourselves; and that the Chiefs, who lent themselves to aid treachery and mutiny, were only bringing down self-destruction, and encouraging their own retainers to a similar course.

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146. My four sowars (from the Civil establishment) deserted on the 14th July, or during the previous night, having been frightened by the threats of the camp-followers that they would be carried into Jeypoor and beheaded. On 15th we reached *Moojpoor*; and as we neared the Jeypoor territory, I again arranged with *Bhopjee*, as to an escort to Agra. I was most anxious to leave the Camp, and fully determined not to accompany it to Jeypoor. In this view, Lieutenants Jenkins and Goldsworthy fully agreed, and we resolved to take the first opportunity at any risk to make our way into Agra. Although strongly urged by Captain Eden to accompany him to Jeypoor, I felt in the uncertain state of affairs that my proper course was to return to my post, now that the Jeypoor Troops could no longer be of use. The last letter I had received from the Lieutenant Governor was dated *2nd July*, and had contained these words:—"The Neemuch mutineers seem to be intending to hold hard "for a short time at Futtehpoor Sikree, (20 miles west of Agra,) in order to see "whether the Gwalior Corps will join them in an attack on Agra. If they "come your way, you must give them a free berth. You cannot face them with "your present support; you may, perhaps, in the actual state of things, think it "best not to linger in the Jeypoor Camp. In this case, you will feel yourself "at liberty to return to Agra with Lieutenants Jenkins and Goldsworthy. I "have for some time been doubtful whether any adequate good arises from "your remaining now with the Jeypoor Troops in south Goorgaon: you might "come back leisurely, and halt at *Muttra*, where you would learn *how we fare* "at Agra, and act accordingly." Before these lines reached me, the battle of the 5th July at Agra had taken place, and *Muttra* was occupied by the Neemuch Rebel Brigade.

147. My personal Narrative draws to its conclusion. On 16th July we reached *Rajghur*, one of the strongest natural positions probably in India. It lies at no great distance from *Macherry*, the ancient seat of Government in this part of *Rajwarra*. The bastions of Rajghur are hills, and its citadel as inaccessible to any ordinary human assault, as its natural walls would be unbreachable by any amount of Artillery. *Bhopjee* promised to accompany us with a small party of his own sowars, from our next stage *Bussooah*, a strongly fortified and populous place, just within the Jeypoor territory, which we reached the following morning, 17th July. Had we left the previous day, as at first intended, we should have encountered a party of Rebel horse *(Gāzees)* from Tonk, who were on the road, and moved passed Rajghur as we left it.

148. The Nagahs and camp-followers spoke of detaining our single elephant belonging to the Commissariat, which had left the Bhurtpoor Camp with us, and had accompanied us throughout. We were advised therefore to leave Camp quietly at 2 A. M., just as Captain Eden with the rest of the Force moved on towards Jeypoor. Accordingly, about 150 or 160 in all, with two Zambooruks or camel swivel guns, we started at the hour fixed, unencumbered by baggage, tents, or indeed any thing not carried on the horses we rode. Our road lay through a very difficult hilly country, and we reached on the morning of 19th *Todur*, nearly 30 miles from where we had left the Jeypoor troops, passing through a strikingly picturesque country, which neither the intense heat nor the continuous rain prevented us from being much struck by. On Monday, (20th) we reached *Surote*, some 26 miles, still within Jeypoor, but bordering on the Bhurtpoor State. Here we turned due east, and pointed straight for Agra; we were never less than from 10 to 12 hours in the saddle each *day*, and the country was not such as could be traversed at *night* even had we been perfectly acquainted with the roads, of which we saw but few. We bivouacked under trees, or in any available native buildings.

149. We rode into *Biyanah* on the 21st July. This place is an inland Gibraltar, apparently in natural strength, and the first stronghold of the Jâts in Bhurtpoor territory,—an extensive hill, with an elevation of from 3 to 500 feet, and a platform with a diameter of 2 or 3 miles, and a circumference of 10 at least, strongly fortified by Nature, and having modern bastions and ramparts with but one steep pathway of approach. Here we heard from a

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native authority, that every European British Officer at Agra was shut up within the Fort, and that the place had been attacked. *Futtehpoor Sikree* was described as being in the hands of Mahommedan rebels in force, so that with our small party it became necessary to make a slight detour, as it was immediately in our line. We were very civilly treated by *Buldeo Singh*, the Bhurtpoor official at Biyanah, a most intelligent and able Officer, who, having connections in British employ, was extremely well-affected. He advised us to avoid Futtehpoor Sikree, and assured us of a friendly reception at *Roopbas*, from whence he recommended our riding straight into Agra in one march. Large parties of mutineers had been in *Biyanah* the day we arrived, and others were expected. After a very brief halt we rode on to *Roopbas*, and instead of a welcome, we nearly received the contents of a file of musquets. We were uncourteously refused admission. We could, had it been proper, easily have beaten the rabble garrison and captured the place; but we moved into a grove at a short distance, and when overtures and offers of shelter came to us a few hours after, I declined to accept them. Troops from Bhurtpoor were moving up to the place. We had just heard a detailed account of the treasonable conduct (to their own Chief) of a party of Sirdars in Bhurtpoor, who had been a few days before at Biyanah to open negociation with the Neemuch rebels, in the hope of subverting the Government, destroying the infant Rajah, and replacing him with a descendant of the usurper and enemy of the British Government,—*Doorjun Lal*, whose ejection from Bhurtpoor and deposition was effected by the army under Lord Combermere in 1826.

150. The Mewatees through all this country were up and fighting in every direction among themselves. The Tehseeldar, *Narain Singh*, of Roopbas, was absent unfortunately when we arrived, having gone out to save if possible his villages which had been attacked in force that morning. Cannonading was going on close to us, and in more than one direction. We had been taken for a part of an invading Force from the Dholepoor side :—the country was everywhere disturbed.

151. After our inhospitable reception, and upon what seemed to be friendly advice given to us not to remain at *Roopbas*, we halted only an hour or two, and proceeded on our journey. We rode during this night and the following day upwards of 79 miles on the same horses, through a country fairly flooded, and in continuous heavy rain ; which however was, we have since heard, under Providence, our safety from two or three ambushes which were prepared for us. We had a treacherous guide, purposely given to us; but the darkness of the night, our avoiding high roads, and our incessant progress, baffled those in wait for us, and as the day broke we found ourselves within twelve miles of Agra. Our route was so circuitous, and in the dark so frequently in a wrong direction, that it is impossible to say what the exact distance was, but by no calculation under 97 miles in 23 hours.

152. We found the country deserted as we neared Agra, and the bodies of the slain were still lying on the battle ground of the 5th July. Had not Lieutenant Goldsworthy gone on with an advance as we entered Cantonments, we should have been fired on from the Fort,—a reception which we learnt was in preparation for us, as our small band of horsemen was descried coming down the high road. On the morning thus of the 23rd, riding through the Cantonment, in which nearly every public and private building had been burnt and plundered, we reached the Fort, and were greeted by three funerals coming across its Drawbridge. Cholera had broken out, and an air of profound depression pervaded the place, and seemed to hang over nearly all in it. The anxieties of the past ten weeks had done the work of as many years upon the Lieutenant Governor;—his appearance indicated great mental and physical prostration, and his health was evidently quite broken.

## AGRA—JULY 1857.

153. I had no need to go further than the Fort of Agra, in search of Officials of my Division;—Mr. Thornhill, Magistrate and Collector of Muttra,

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Mr. Power, Magistrate and Collector of Mynpoory, Mr. Hume, Magistrate and Collector of Etawah, Mr. Phillipps, Magistrate and Collector of Etah, had all been driven in from their respective Districts; and for all we then knew, a worse fate had befallen every Officer at Futtehgurh.

## MUTTRA—JULY 1857.

154. Mr. Thornhill had been compelled to leave Muttra on the 5th July. The Gwalior Troops on one side of the River were in mutiny; the Neemuch Troops in mutiny were moving towards Dehli viâ Muttra; no assistance could be rendered to the Authorities from Agra: indeed on the evening of the 5th July, the Agra Authorities were themselves shut up in the Fort at that place. The Muttra Officials effected their escape to Agra at considerable risk. In the then aspect of affairs, their continuing at their posts would have been impracticable and unprofitable. I absolve them from all blame of hasty action. The mutinous Regiments were in occupation of Muttra two days after the battle at Agra, which event had excited all the disaffected in the country to rise and plunder.

## AGRA—JULY 1857.

155. It is no part of my task, I apprehend, to review or criticise the Military operations at Agra during the first week of July. I have a strong belief, which no subsequent inquiries have shaken, that a vain hope of being able with a mere handful of men (among whom were the doubtful Kotah Contingent,) to protect a line of some 8 miles in extent, (from the farthest house at the Civil end to the extreme bungalow in Cantonments,) had induced those in authority, notwithstanding the trying heat of July, to take up a position too far *in advance*, and with a rear communication most insufficiently secured. Had our position been taken upon the Artillery Practice-ground, it seems to me that all the Military buildings in Cantonment would have been saved, and a retreat to the Fort have been wholly unnecessary. Brigadier Polwhele was as gallant a soldier as ever breathed; but there were errors somewhere, and it is not my duty to comment upon Military operations.

156. It was suddenly resolved on 4th July, in immediate anticipation of attack, to release a large number of prisoners from the Central Prison. This was perhaps unavoidable, but had been delayed too long, and was executed with indiscrimination. Moreover to have brought the more dangerous class of prisoners under the fire of the Fort guns, would have obviated all the mischief which their eventual unconditional self-enfranchisement has caused, and is still causing. No event was more prolific in proclaiming the weakness of our Government, and a vast number of life-prisoners passed our Jeypoor Camp at Kosee, a few days after, about 8th-9th July, openly announcing the cessation of British Rule as the cause of their release.

157. The City of Agra never had been disaffected generally; there were many loyal substantial men in it, who wished well to our Rule; and though the Police were disorganized by recent events and unceasing misrepresentation, they would have been powerless for mischief, so long as no insurgent Troops appeared on the scene.

158. All needful precautions were taken at last. Native Christians were allowed to take refuge within the Fort; the Pontoon Bridge was disconnected so as to close communication from across the River if necessary. The Kotah Contingent mutinied; their munition and guns were taken, and some of them cut down by Major Prendergast, 44th N. I., and his Volunteer Cavalry. The only life lost was that of the Ordnance Sergeant *Carr*, who was shot by a Havildar of the Contingent. Syfoolla Khan's raw Kerowlee Levies proved to be worthless, and were summarily dismissed. The details of the Battle of 5th July are doubtless on official record. The Militia Cavalry,—a body of Gentlemen and official Subordinates,—behaved with great gallantry; but, unused as yet to swordsmanship, and to the imperative necessity for locking up their ranks, and riding knee-to-knee in delivering a charge, suffered severely.

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They scarcely numbered a score of Sabres, and they lost a third of their party. They did their duty nobly, and any great success under the circumstances would have been impossible. Ammunition for our Artillery failed, and the order was given to fall back upon the Fort.

159. This was the signal for wholesale plunder and incendiarism. Marauding parties had accompanied the mutineers from long distances, many from the neighbourhood of Biyanah and Bhurtpoor, and, before our retiring Troops reached the Fort, several buildings in their rear were in flames. The British Force does not appear to have been followed by the mutinous Brigade as they left the field; and it is difficult to understand why a position, short of the Fort walls, and to protect the Cantonment, should not have been taken up.

160. On the 8th, three days after the battle, the Hon'ble Mr. Drummond the Magistrate, escorted by a company only of the 3rd European Regiment, and 2 guns, entered the City and found all *quiet*. The late Superintendent of Police, Bisharut Alee, on the evening before the battle, either under authority not recorded, or of his own motion, had discharged all the Police and dismissed them to their homes. The prisoners had on the 5th released themselves, and their guards had fraternized with them.

161. During the action Mr. T. Brown, the Deputy Collector, had succeeded in conveying Rs. 35,000 into the Fort, and also a considerable amount of valuable property, which had been deposited in the Collector's Treasury. This was a work of difficulty and risk, and was energetically carried out. There was considerable excitement in the town, and on that very night several traitorous police Officers headed, it is believed, by the Cotwal *Morad Alee*, made an ineffectual attempt to proclaim a change of Rule. All subsequent information goes to shew that this proceeding was partial, not joined in by the more wealthy or respectable classes, and was productive of no consequences.

162. Mr. Parsick, Deputy Collector under Regulation IX. of 1833, had continued at his post at Futtehpoor Sikree, so long as it was tenable. His Narrative is appended, and he is able to confirm the generally received report, that treasonable communications were held between the heads of the Agra Police, and the advancing Insurgents.

163. Several dastardly murders were perpetrated during this period of prevailing panic and confusion; among others, that of the Reverend Mr. Hubbard, the first victim at Agra, may be charged to the Police; who hounded on by the rabble, the scum of the Town, Butchers and Mewatees, sought every opportunity of robbing and murdering Christians wherever they could be hunted up. In all about 22 Christians, of both sexes and all ages, were thus destroyed.

164. There were, however, not wanting instances of an opposite character, and children were in several cases preserved by their servants. A Mr. Butterfield was sheltered and protected by Mahommedans from the violence of the rabble, who were seeking his life. A not very successful attempt was made to induce the remaining Police to deliver up their arms, and a proceeding was recorded on 9th July, granting leave of absence to Busharut Alee, the Superintendent of Police, and Morad Alee, the late Cotwal, who had however left the City some days before.

165. Mr. Drummond was relieved on 10th July, of the post of Magistrate, and replaced by Mr. Phillipps, heretofore Deputy Collector of Etah. The reasons for this change were never publicly given. I was myself absent at the time, and it was understood that the defection of the Police, and Mr. Drummond's continued confidence in them, mainly contributed to his removal. His Police had failed; his strong support of them had aroused much hostile feeling, not confined to Natives; and, with all his admirable qualities, and all

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his energy and indefatigable activity, by administrative experience his views were regarded as wrong; and cordial co-operation being most essential at such a juncture in carrying out new arrangements, it was perhaps better for the public service, and more pleasant to him, that their execution should be entrusted to other hands.

166. There was, so to speak, a violent anti-Mahommedan party in the Fort at this time; many in high Judicial positions, did not hesitate to attribute the mutiny and rebellion, which were raging around them, to plots concocted and encouraged by the followers of this sect alone. A Hindoo, Rajaram, was selected to fill the post of Cotwal of the City; a conference with the leading and influential Residents of the City, at which Mr. Reade, the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, and the next in rank and standing in the Service, after the Lieutenant Governor, presided. Confidence was a good deal restored by these measures, and Rajaram the new official was understood to have the confidence, if not to have been the selection, of his fellow-citizens. He conducted himself with fidelity, and considerable courage during his continuance in office in difficult times.

167. In this state of affairs every European British Officer having been driven from his post, it was impossible that order should not be grievously disturbed in every Pergunnah in the District. Some Native Officials in alarm retired to their homes, some were attacked, and their treasuries and records were plundered and destroyed. The ejected under decrees of the Civil Courts rose against their *umguhile* plaintiffs, and "ouster" and "battery" became summary processes. There was not so much a feeling abroad antagonistic to the British Government, (indeed there was a very large section of the community who prayed for its speedy restoration) as a wild belief, that the period had arrived when "might" should again prevail over "right," and when those who were indigent might provide themselves at the expense of the rich.

168. It would be inordinately to swell this Narrative, were I to enter into the detail of occurrences in each Pergunnah; more or less of lawlessness was in the ascendant everywhere, and the Narration given by the Magistrate, Mr. Phillipps, from reliable official returns, is in the main as accurate as possible.

169. I had ridden through, or within half a mile of *Futtehpoor Sikree*, on the night of the 22nd July, in company with Lieutenant Jenkins, 44th N. I., and Lieutenant Goldsworthy, 72nd N. I. The place was garrisoned, but not strongly, by rebels and mutinous sepoys who, as we passed, were holding high revel in the old gateway of the Durgah. Their depredations were being extended over a large portion of the surrounding Pergunnah, and several villagers during our transit came to beg we would endeavour to restore order: lives were being daily lost in the ravages of ruffians, who, in league with the "Mewatees," were spreading consternation around.

170. I mentioned these facts to the Lieutenant Governor, on my arrival, stating my belief that a very small Detachment would suffice to drive out these marauders and; that the appearance of British Troops would be productive of good in evidencing that the Government was not confined to the Fort and Suburbs of its Capital. Accordingly, on 29th July, a Force under command of Captain Patton, 3rd European Regiment, with some light guns under command of Lieutenant Griffin, Bengal Artillery, and Lieutenant Salmond of Gwalior Contingent, marched to Futtehpoor Sikree. Mr. Phillipps the Magistrate accompanied the party; the place was re-occupied, the Mewatee robbers driven out of the Pergunnah, a Government establishment was placed in the Tehseel, and order was not again disturbed.

171. There was about this time an undue and unnecessary feeling of hostility to the employment of Natives of Mahommedan persuasion. Messrs. Harington, Unwin, Raikes, and others, holding high Judicial Offices, the duties of which were in abeyance *pro-tempore*, all adopted and encouraged this indiscriminate aversion to one sect of our subjects, and the consequence was a

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very extensive introduction of Hindoos who were unfitted physically, and from their mental constitution, for times of danger, and who, with the inherent shrewdness of their nature, busied themselves with fabricating fabulous charges against not only the existing Amla, but against many faithful subjects who professed a creed opposite to their own. I have since learnt that these measures engendered a good deal of mistrust, and that many respectable Mahommedans against whom no suspicion of treason had existed, left the City in the dread of the subornation of evidence which they saw would engulph them, in the then temper of the times, and thus compromised themselves in the eyes of Government.

172. The Narrative may here take a general form. The Districts of the Division were all unoccupied by European Officials, and though the degree of disorder varied with the character of the people and the influence exerted by the more opulent Landholders, still license generally was the rule, and quiet the rare exception.

173. Muttra, as a Hindoo place of religious character, was safe from plundering parties, and the inhabitants were not disaffected *en masse*. The family influence of the great Banking firm of Muneeram Seth (now Luckmeechund) was very great, and was beneficially used in the interests of Government. An attempt by the Neemuch mutineers to extort under threat a large subsidy, failed to a great extent, and the corresponding house in Dehli was spared all but the occasional exaction of not very large sums, the payment of which was unavoidable, though made to mutineers and rebels.

174. In Mynpoory, the Rajah Tej Singh had through fear, or vacuity of intellect, and feebleness of character, joined the cause of treason, and his uncle *Bhowany Singh* (to my belief the rightful heir) had managed by temporising and skilful intrigue to save the Government treasure entrusted to him; and until the advance of organized and disciplined bodies of insurgents had succeeded in restraining from violence the Thakoor tribes of the District. He has since been rewarded by the grant of succession to the title and estates of his incompetent and contemptible kinsman.

175. At Etawah, the large Talookdars have behaved with rare exceptions most loyally and usefully. From the period of Mr. Hume's departure, they were in daily communication by letter with him, adopted his views and his advice; preserved order in the country, and showed themselves to be firm and faithful well-wishers to the British Government.

176. Etah was periodically disturbed by the passage of mutinous sepoys on their march to the great gathering of insurgents at Dehli; and also by the machinations of the Nawab of Furruckabad, whose adherents occasionally made their appearance, to intimidate and overawe the well-disposed and to collect Revenue.

177. A cloud hung over *Futtehgurh*. Little was or could be gleaned from native letters, many of them written more with a view of prospective profit to the writers, when restoration of rule should return, than with any purpose of supplying information, of which the writers probably had little to give; as, for the most part, they were hiding themselves and keeping aloof, till the tyranny should be overpast.

178. Early in August it was resolved to remove the buildings lying immediately round the Dehli Gate of the Fort, and the existence of which was highly objectionable in a Military point of view, should the Agra Fort ever (as was then thought to be afar from unlikely occurrence) have to stand a siege. The houses thus demolished were equitably valued, and scrip was issued, bearing interest at five per cent. as compensation.

179. Small parties were sent out, (one under Mr. Lowe, Secretary to Board of Revenue and Joint Magistrate of Agra,) for the purpose of re-occupying Thannahs and Tehseels, so far as was practicable, on the Grand Trunk line of

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Road towards Mynpoory, the borders of which District extended to the Pergunnah of Ferozabad. This object was most successfully effected by the Officers, noted in the margin,* whose services have all been brought to the notice of Government, as deserving of reward, which in almost all cases has been conferred. These men stoutly held their position, beat off a party of insurgents sent by the Ex-Rajah of Mynpoory; and from that day disturbances have been repressed, and order restored on that important line of the District.

Earwe Hussun, Deputy Magistrate.
Gunga Pershad, Tehseeldar.
Raheem Khan, a loyal pensioner.
Hookum Singh, Talookadar of Jharkee.

180. During the months of August and September, the different Tehseel and Thannah posts were re-occupied by Government Officers; and generally, though a firm hold had not been taken, confidence was returning, and the discomfiture of the rebel garrison at Dehli was regarded universally to be near at hand.

181. The Rajah of Awa, *Pirthee Singh*, and Rajah *Teekum Singh*, of Moorsan, in Allygurh, had displayed conspicuous loyalty, and had been placed temporarily in charge of several Pergunnahs in the Muttra and Agra Districts, accounting to Government for the revenue collected, and controlling and restraining the turbulently disposed. The Rajah of Bhuddawur, *Mehender Singh*, swayed by the good and judicious counsel of *Hakeem Maher Alee* and *Hakeem Nusseer-ood-deen*, had also exerted his influence in the Pergunnahs of Bah, Pinahut, and Irradutnuggur, in the Agra District; and had rendered some good service to Government.

182. Allygurh had been re-occupied after a severe engagement, in which our Troops under the command of Major Montgomery, (Brigade Major at Agra,) greatly distinguished themselves. Mr. Arthur Cocks, Judge of Mynpoory, had accompanied this party; and his judgment, tact, and temper, soon succeeded in overcoming all difficulties, and in re-animating the well-wishers of Government in that part of the country. The effect of which was, before long, to re-open our communications with Meerut and Dehli, by the way of Boolundshuhur.

183. Our chief embarrassment lay in the directions of the *Chumbul*. In *Gwalior*, our faithful ally the Maharajah, was living in the midst of an Army, whose sympathies were all with the mutineers at Dehli; and who were daily exhibiting proofs of disaffection to his own government. The admirable tact of *Dewan Dinkur Rao*, his Minister, his own good sense, and chivalrous bearing, alone restrained their Troops for carrying off the Gwalior siege train, and advancing to invest Agra. Their subsequent defection and discomfiture are already upon the records of Government, and I should be needlessly extending this Narrative, were I to refer to foregone facts which do not belong to Agra specially.

184. The Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Colvin, worn out by anxiety and exertion, died on 9th September, in the Fort of Agra. From and after the assault and capture of Dehli, on 20th September 1857, a sensible improvement in the tone and conduct of all classes began to display itself. Those who had irretrievably compromised themselves, became contemptible cowards, and the wavering and weak plucked up heart, and came forward to aid in the restoration of order. The advance of the *Mhow* rebels and their defeat and dispersal on the 10th October, are on official record in the Military Department; but from this date the Narrative may be rapidly brought to a close.

185. The "Appendices" to the various reports of the District Officers of the Division, are so numerous and copious, that an attempt to embody them would involve a voluminous and wearisome detail. Messrs. Hume, Lance and Maconochie have been in the Etawah district, doing good and gallant duty as *Soldiers*, more than as *Civil functionaries*, up to the very hour almost in which I write, (15th December 1858) but these affairs are more in the nature of corollarial consequences of the mutiny than as forming any part

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and parcel of it. *The body is dead*, though a few rebellious limbs may not cease to quiver for some months to come. The strong measures required to crush out treason will necessarily induce the hasty flight of delinquents, and their ruffianly bearing when danger is apparently *distant*, will follow of course. We have numerous desperate scoundrels, whose homes for years have been within prison walls, to capture, before the quietness and order of 1856 can be re-established universally.

186. All things have worked together for good. The instant pursuit of the mutinous Troops from Meerut on 10th May would have infallibly resulted in their evacuation of the place, and their destruction. But we should, had so extensive an inflammation, as undoubtedly was irritating the minds of our Native Soldiery, been stifled and driven back, have been still slumbering on a volcano, the up-heaving of which has been our security, and if "*out of this Nettle danger we pluck the Flower safety*" judiciously, our Empire in India is beyond all controversy established on a permanency of foundation which was wanting before.

187. After the capture of Delhi, it was intended that Brigadier Greathed's column should have proceeded direct to Agra, by the *right* bank of the Jumna : (and at the time, I thought very strongly, that an error had been committed in altering its direction). At Muttra it would unquestionably have inflicted terrible retribution on the flying enemy, would have recaptured many guns, and an immense amount of valuable property. *But* it would have been urged on, after a short halt at Agra, *towards Lucknow* and Cawnpoor, and not only would no decisive battle have been fought at Agra on 10th October, but more probably we should have again lost our grasp of the country around, and our large munitions of war so much wanted would have been shut up in the Fort of Agra, entailing perhaps the perilous necessity for a *retrograde movement* to relieve us.

188. It will be a proud recollection in reading the annals of the year 1857, that *without the addition of one man from England*, the British soldiers and subjects of the Queen ("Quorun pars parva fui,") manfully not only held their own, but reconquered Delhi, and reinforced the Army at Cawnpoor, preserving the whole Punjab, and all the important positions in the Doab between the Himalya's and the confluence almost of the Ganges and Jumna at Allahabad.

189. That such rapid restoration of order could have been effected, if the whole or even the half of the population of the country were disaffected and opposed to us, it would be the most dreaming insanity to suppose; and I am entirely confident that as our "*prestige*" is gradually restored, we shall find that we have infinitely more hearty well-wishers among all classes of our subjects, than we have ever counted upon. Whether of Mahommedan or Hindoo belief, there are noble and intelligent men, with a large sagacity and a knowledge of antecedent history sufficient to satisfy them, that the advent of Anglo Saxons was fortunate for their country. With Mahommedan rule one day, and a Mahratta ascendancy the next, with fraud and corruption predominant, and honest efforts for the general good simply impossible, I have heard many Natives of India say that India could never have looked for civilization or peace, but for the providential advent of a race, with the will and the power adequate to effect the introduction and security of both.

190. Some of our Hindoo landholders have exhibited extraordinary affection for British interest. Many brave Mahommedan soldiers have offered their lives, and lost them in our defence. Individually I have reason to speak most highly of the natives of India under ordinarily kind and just treatment. Many of my private servants (the majority of them Mahommedans) accompanied me throughout, under extreme hardship, exposure, and risk ; and while I never heard a murmur from them, I feel that I could have reckoned nearly as much on their active aid in emergency, as I could have done upon men of my own country and creed.

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191. Mr. Phillipps has effectually disposed of the charge of remissness in the Agra Authorities on the 10th October. The Videttes and Patrols were withdrawn by Colonel Cotton's own orders, and I myself rode into Camp with Colonel Greathed, and informed him that our Cavalry Videttes had been fired on the evening before within a few miles of Agra. The rebels were surprised certainly to find a reinforcement arrived; but for which, the gentlemen of the Militia occupying the Metcalfe Testimonial, must have been sacrificed; for the precautionary pickets to their front had been actually withdrawn. We had known of the hostile movement from the Dholepoor direction for some days, though doubtless, the exact strength and guns of the enemy had not been precisely ascertained, and was a surprise to every body. The attack by the enemy was an *act of madness* on their part, and was so sudden that nothing but the prompt energy which repelled it could have prevented our sustaining a very severe loss, though the result was *never for two minutes doubtful.*

192. Rajaram, the Cotwal, behaved with calm courage at his post, though it is quite possible that many of the rebel adherents had found their way into the City during the previous day, and were ready for mischief had the opportunity offered.

193. Quietness with some slight exceptions began to reign again. In the Futteeabad Pergunnah a number of fugitive sepoys had from time to time collected, in two villages, especially Khandea and Dhunowlee, and in the midst of a rather turbulent population were closing our communications, and preventing the realization of revenue. It at last became necessary to punish these villages, and as the force which accompanied the Magistrate, Mr. Phillipps, was not deemed strong enough to protect the guns with him, the Chief Commissioner requested me on 28th November to accompany a small Column composed of 100 men of 3rd European Regiment, and 2 guns, sent out in support. We accordingly marched out that night, and after ineffectual attempts to induce the headmen to come into my Camp, we moved down to attack them, were met by a continuous fusillade from wall pieces, rifles, carbines, muskets, and matchlocks, which opened as we advanced, and continued for some half an hour, or more, until daylight enabled us to see the position of the enemy, and to bring our guns to bear upon them. The fortified village, a strong position with high walls, surrounded by deep ravines, after six or eight rounds from the 9-pounders, (under Lieutenant Fuller, B. A.) was carried by a rush of the Europeans, and among the slain we found several sepoys of our own N. I. Regiments, and the Gwalior Contingent. Only two or three of our men were wounded in the engagement on this, and a very similar affair on the following day. The enemy's fire was very brisk at first. The dispersal of these fanatics was followed by immediate good results. Revenue came in; property was safe; and peace has not since been interrupted in these Pergunnahs.

194. On the 28th we proceeded to the Village of Dunolah, an extremely formidable position, having three strong Ghurries, with ravines of great depth and abruptness as a natural fosse. Resistance was maintained by the insurgents for some time. One or two of our men were wounded, and a necessary punishment was inflicted.

195. Of the details reported in the Narrative of the Magistrate in paragraph 143, I entertain considerable doubt. There had been most injudicious proceedings on the part of the new Police officials. The history given by those who came into Camp to make the most of it, was purely apocryphal; a quarrel had been brought on by the improper interference of subordinate Police officials. Very few lives were lost; there was no rebellion, and under the *positive* and specific orders of the Chief Commissioner, the Commanding Officer, Major Hennessy, or myself, felt it to be necessary to return to Agra, had we felt even disposed to move *guns* and *Infantry* against a few *unarmed boatmen*, who had not been to blame to the extent intimated in Mr. Phillipps's Report. The Detachment which I accompanied, at the request of Colonel Fraser, was sent out on the urgent requisition of the Magistrate who felt that the

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Force, at his disposal, principally composed of new Levies, was quite insufficient for the purpose of coercing these fortified villages. Mr. Phillipps had asked for two Artillery guns, and unfortunately they had been granted to him, but with only two Ordnance Conductors to serve them; the Escort, consisting nearly of a few rabble matchlockmen, lent by *Mahender Singh*, the Dewan of Parna, in addition to a party of 100 new Seikh Levies, under local Lieutenant Furnell. The Magistrate's letter alarmed the Chief Commissioner for the safety of these guns, and the object of my mission was to coerce any villages in open revolt, and to bring back these guns to Agra. *This was effected*, and intermediately two urgent repetitions of the instructions were sent to me, "on *no account whatever* to delay the return of the Detachment to Agra, the "Garrison of which place was very weak." To have crossed the river to chastise a few unarmed boatmen would have been simply absurd, have been productive only of mischief; and would have delayed the return of the Column for at least a week. I have thought it necessary to say so much, as the Narrative of the Magistrate would leave impressions entirely erroneous.

196. I do not concur in the exorbitant eulogy bestowed by the Magistrate upon the some-time Cotwal, Rajaram, and Ramnarain; they have been, and will be still further rewarded at the fitting time. Rajaram was a quiet, inoffensive man, with little personal activity, and was unobjectionable at the time of his being placed in Office; but his location there gave considerable offence to many of our most loyal subjects of the Mahommedan persuasion. He conducted himself however with judgment and tact, and has been commended, but extravagant praise is wholly uncalled for.

197. Ramnarain was very properly allowed to make his choice between his post of Tehseeldar, and his professional employment as Pleader in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and most indisputably the exercise of both functions was incompatible. He has done wisely and prudently in confining himself to his more congenial duties.

198. From the commencement of October, the disturbances consequent upon the mutiny may be said to have ceased. Periodical uneasiness, as mutinous Troops in flight from just retribution effect a passage through our Districts has, and will continue for some little time to occur. But the public mind is aware that *the contest is over*, the struggle to subvert British Power has wholly and ignominiously failed, and there is more shame, and sorrow, and regret in the hearts of many who have sacrificed themselves and their families, and their prospects, by weak and insane yielding to pernicious and perfidious counsels, than we shall probably ever have full cognizance of.

199. Every District in the Division has, since the close of 1857, been re-occupied by its local Officers. Affairs are rapidly resuming their previous position. The loss on land Revenue will be far less than could have been, under the extraordinary character of the crisis, at all calculated upon; and when some few cases in which the penalty of confiscation has been too precipitately resorted to, shall have been calmly and dispassionately re-considered, when the claims to reward for loyalty have been carefully weighed and adjudged, (for there has been precipitation in this matter also,) many minor services having been forced too much into notice, and more important loyalty inadequately recompensed; when the native mind shall have leisure to reflect upon the events of 1857, and the atrocious treachery which engendered them, —I am very confident that the stability our Rule will be found to have been strengthened and not impaired by the events which now belong to History.

200. It may be expected that after an almost uninterrupted service, extending over a period of upwards of 30 years in all parts of India, I should place upon record my opinion as to the causes of the late Mutiny, and its resulting popular disturbances, difficult as it has been found either in India or in England, to trace even the proximate motives for the display of so much treachery and "*Nimuk-haramee*" in subjects whose religion (though not that of their Rulers) solemnly inculcates fidelity to those who feed and protect them;— "*Faithfulness to their salt.*"

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201. The outbreak was unquestionably in its commencement, a mere *sepoy revolt*, or *Military mutiny*, and had not one single grievance to justify it. It never would have assumed any other character, or have attained any larger dimensions, had the British Government been able to hurl promptly a Force upon Dehli, and succeeded in wresting that place from the mutinous Troops, bringing down on the offenders *condign punishment*. Had Dehli been recovered during the month of May, or before 21st June 1857, the mutiny would not have extended its operations. That the Goojur and other lawless semi-civilized predatory clans would avail themselves of any withdrawal of check or restraint, was natural; and it seems to me, to be beyond doubt, that at least for some months previous, measures had been taken to incite plunder and divert attention whenever the outbreak should take place. The Native Non-Commissioned Officers, many of them from the Garrison of Dehli, who sat on the Court-martial for the trial of the Troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry at Meerut, were *pre-informed* and *prepared* for what was intended; and I have heard from many reliable native sources, that their finding (though of course not the sentence) was arranged beforehand.

202. What followed at Meerut is matter of History, and involves the painful fact that no instant and prompt retributive pursuit followed upon the heels of the cowardly and traitorous designers of the movement. The delay at Dehli, at first unhappily unavoidable from impreparation, startled those who had hitherto believed in the unassailable strength of the British power. When impunity from chastisement, and immunity from wrong-doing had *succeeded apparently*, every man with a grievance to redress, or an enemy to injure, began to pluck up heart. Many men of old family, anciently opulent, who had whether rightfully or wrongfully lost their possessions since 1803, naturally desired a total subversal of Government, in the hope of recovering under Native rule some portion of their wealth and position. The instance of *Wullee-dad Khan*, of Malagurh, in the Boolundshuhur District, is in point: He was one of the most active and virulent insurgents, and his case had been heard and settled by every Resident of Dehli since the time of Sir David Ochterlony, and by almost every Governor General in Council. The last decision, intended to be definitive, was by Sir Charles (late Lord) Metcalfe; and yet being a family quarrel it had been periodically re-opened, and was hardly closed finally, when I held the office of Agent in 1855; and still rankled in the minds of many of the family.

203. There were a vast number of persons similarly situated throughout the country. Our Civil Courts, whose procedure calls loudly for simplification, had done incalculable mischief; the hasty remandings for new trials, upon mere perusal of two or three individual papers from a file embracing many hundred documents, and upon Utopian points of unmanageable law, brought ruin upon thousands. Those who were opulent looked upon such a decision as conclusive, and the rightful claimant was forced to "*compound*" or to starve. Our Revenue system also, with a well intentioned, but a vain desire to record every conceivable responsibility and liability in an estate, and to insist on every detail of internal management, and account being assimilated and made public, had sent aged Lumberdars to school to learn Mensuration and Land Surveying; and had ejected hereditary *Putwarees* for failing as *actuaries*. The principle was sound, but it was refined too far; many small privileges and perquisites, never grumblingly paid, were taken away arbitrarily by these measures from the elected headman of a village, whose tenure of office was yearly becoming more frail. Estates became infinitesimally divided, and the soil was unequal to the furnishing of food to its numerous sharers; in several properties, of from 2 to 300 acres *each*, in *Futtehgurh*, the number of sharers had increased to *half a thousand*. Still there was no real disaffection, and under the improving character of our administration, there would have been remedy, but the outbreak found many poor and starving. Plunder was around them the rule; money was to be taken by the strong hand, order had been disorganized, and thousands after the commission of theft and murder joined the ranks of the rebels, the idea at whose attempt they would have laughed to scorn not six months before.

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204. If to this list be added the number of desperate ruffians who were released, or had effected their own release from the Jails of the North Western Provinces, in June and July 1857; and the vast body of the dangerous classes which are to be found in every town and even village;—there is no difficulty in understanding, that what began as a *Mutiny*, should seem to assume the proportions of a *Rebellion*, when, as I firmly believe, four-fifths of our native subjects had no sympathies with it, though contented passively to deprecate the movement, and to wait in fear, and under grievous oppression, the return of peace and order.

205. If the element of arbitrational process be more largely infused into our judicial system; if the multiplication of useless, tedious, and expensive forms of procedure be abandoned; if judgment be given more promptly and decisively; appeals, except upon real *points of law*, reduced in number; and if, in our Revenue management we abstain from sale of *real property*, which in many instances may be considered to be virtually and morally *entailed*; the alienation of which in execution of decrees for simple contract debts unfairly visits the "*sins of the fathers upon the children*," and reduces whole families to ruin for no *laches* of their own; if the inquisitorial interference with the management of landed properties be restricted to returns, containing only what it is *essential* for Government to know;—then I have no doubt that a more general attachment to British interests will be encouraged, and will be attended with a more universal recognition of our intentions to govern to the best advantage of the people and the country, than at present exists.

206. It seems to me that no useful purpose will be served by extending this Narrative into the year 1858, which from its commencement and to its present termination has been marked by the gradually-regained grasp of all we had temporarily lost possession of. The compilation of this Report has been unavoidably hurried; written in intervals of important business which could not be pretermitted, (and being urgently demanded by Government,) I have had no time to attend to grace of style, or to pause for the selection of more fitting phrases. I have not had an opportunity of referring to the Furruckabad or Mynpoory Narratives of Events in May and June; and I have had to trust to memory, and to personal knowledge of facts which may have been differently viewed by others. The absence of the District Narratives from Agra, Etawah, and Muttra, prevented the employment of leisure hours during medical leave in August and September last, in the more careful preparation of the Report; and I do not delay its transmission, in order to retouch and recast it. Appended will be found the following:—

A. Statement of Land Revenue for 1857-58, shewing arrears in May of former year, realizations and present state of the income of each District in the Division.

B. Statement of Losses of Government Treasure by plunder of mutinous Troops in 1857.

C. List of those Persons whose loyalty and exertions have been more than ordinarily conspicuous.

D. Correspondence regarding the conduct of Meer Hedayet Alee, Russaldar, Sirdar Bahadur, 4th Irregular Cavalry, at Mohona. Ditto Sheikh Bahadur Alee, Sirdar Bahadur of 8th Irregular Cavalry, and his

E. Supplemental Narrative from Mr. Hume at Etawah.

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
AGRA DIVISION,
*The 21st December* 1858.

G. F. HARVEY,
*Commissioner.*

# APPENDICES.

## A.

*Comparative Statement of Land Revenue Demand Collections and Balances in the Districts of the Agra Division.*

| Districts. | Land Revenue Demand Collection and Balance of former years in the month of May 1857. | | | | | | | | | Land Revenue Demand Collection and Balance of the current month of May 1857. | | | | | | Land Revenue Demand Collection and Balance of the current month of October 1858. | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Demands for past and former years in May 1857. | | | Collections for past and former years in May 1857. | | | Balance on account of past and former years to end of May 1857. | | | Demands for May 1857. | | | Collections for May 1857. | | | Balance for (current) May 1857. | | | Demands for October 1858. | | | Collections for October 1858. | | | Balance for October 1858. | | |
| Muttra, ... ... ... ... ... | 22,868 | 12 | 9½ | 12 | 2 | 0 | 22,856 | 10 | 9½ | 4,03,639 | 13 | 0 | 3,98,535 | 3 | 11 | 5,104 | 9 | 1 | 4,272 | 6 | 8 | 313 | 1 | 7 | 3,959 | 5 | 1 |
| Agra, ... ... ... ... ... | 10,823 | 10 | 0 | 4,216 | 14 | 10 | 6,606 | 11 | 2 | 4,94,77 | 15 | 10 | 4,03,052 | 9 | 10 | 91,727 | 6 | 0 | 8,493 | 5 | 0 | 1,783 | 5 | 0 | 6,710 | 0 | 0 |
| Furruckabad, ... ... ... ... | Towjeeh. | | | not received | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2,25,415 | 7 | 11 | 7,300 | 10 | 10 | 2,18,114 | 13 | 1 |
| Mynpoory, ... ... ... ... | Ditto. | | | Ditto. | | | Ditto. | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1,13,596 | 15 | 2 | 9,770 | 12 | 8 | 10,38,26 | 2 | 6 |
| Etawah, ... ... ... ... ... | 198 | 12 | 0 | 46 | 4 | 0 | 152 | 8 | 0 | 2,86,042 | 6 | 3 | 2,85,308 | 10 | 5 | 733 | 11 | 10 | 1,09,468 | 2 | 5 | 13,721 | 2 | 4 | 9,5747 | 0 | 1 |
| Total, ... ... ... ... | 33,891 | 2 | 9½ | 4,275 | 4 | 10 | 29,615 | 13 | 11½ | 11,84,462 | 3 | 1 | 10,86,896 | 8 | 2 | 97,565 | 10 | 11 | 4,61,246 | 5 | 2 | 32,889 | 0 | 5 | 4,28,357 | 4 | 9 |



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# B.

*Memorandum of Cash plundered from the Treasuries of the Agra Division.*

| Districts. | Cash plundered from the Sudder Treasury. | | | Cash plundered from the Tehseelees. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Muttra, ... ... ... ... ... | 55,600 | 0 | 0 | 4,136 | 12 | 5 |
| Agra, ... ... ... ... ... | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10,100 | 0 | 0 |
| Furruckabad, ... ... ... ... | 2,72,000 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mynpoory, ... ... ... ... ... | 794 | 0 | 0 | 4,882 | 3 | 5 |
| Etawah, ... ... ... ... ... | 4,75,850 | 12 | 10 | 16,756 | 6 | 6 |
| Etah, ... ... ... ... ... | 40 | 0 | 0 | 5,031 | 4 | 6 |
| Total, ... | 13,04,684 | 12 | 10 | 41,606 | 10 | 10 |

# C.

*List of Native British Subjects conspicuous for displaying devotion and loyalty to the British Government during* 1857-58, *in the Agra Division.*

## MUTTRA.

Raja Prithie Singh, of Awah, also in Agra and Mynpoory.

(Munee Ram Seth,) Luchmee Chund Seths, Radha Kishen and Govindoss.

Imdad Allee, Tehseeldar of Kosee, and now Deputy Collector under Regulation IX. of 1833.

Rajah Teekum Singh, of Moorsan.

Rajah Govind Singh, of Bindrabun.

## AGRA.

Rae Joteepershaud Bahadoor.

Dewan Mahundur Singh, of Parna.

Thakoor Hukum Singh, Talookadar of Jarkee.

The Thakoorain Mehtab Kour, of Kotlah.

Moulvie Allee Buksh, Moonsiff of Futteeabad.

## MYNPOORIE.

Rajah Bhowanee Singh, of Mynpoorie.

Munsoor Allee, Tehseeldar of Bhoegaon.

Pragdutt, (Deputy Collector,) Tehseeldar of Mynpoory.

## FURRUCKABAD.

Raja Hurdeo Buksh, of Dhurumpoor, Zillah Mullaon, Province of Oude:

Ranee Gowrun, of Tirwah.

Chowdhry Jey Chund, of Bishungurh.

Thakoorain, of Binseea.

## ETAWAH.

Rao Juswunt Rao, of Duleepnuggur.

Kour Zor Singh, uncle of Rajah of Purtabnere.

Lalla Laik Singh, of Hurchundpoor.

Kour Luchmun Singh, Deputy Collector, under Regulation IX. of 1833.

Lalla Dabee Pershaud, Tehseeldar of Beylah.

Moonshee Ishreepershaud, Tehseeldar of Lukna.

## ETAH.

Dilsookh Rae, ... } of Bilram.
Kashmeerie Mull, }

Nawaub Fyz Allee Khan, Bukhshee of the Troops of His Highness, the Maharajah of Jeypoor.

Commissioner's Office:
Agra Division,
*The 7th January*, 1859.

G. F. HARVEY,
*Commissioner.*

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No. 51.

FROM

G. F. HARVEY, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner, Agra Division,*

To

E. C. BAYLEY, ESQUIRE,
*Deputy Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces, Allahabad.*

DATED AGRA, THE 19TH JUNE 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 1935, of 26th ultimo, giving cover to claims for succour for the Native Customs Establishment, for losses at Hodul in May 1857, and calling for "a report as to the circumstances under which the losses were sustained."

2. The circumstances were briefly as follows:—

Under instructions from the late Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, I proceeded on 20th May 1857, to join the Camp of the Bhurtpoor Troop, (in charge of Captain Nixon, Assistant Political Agent, Bhurtpoor,) with a view of re-opening communication with Dehli and Meerut, and with the Army advancing upon Dehli, the communication viâ Allygurh having been interrupted since the outbreak of 10th of same month by bands of mutinous Troops, and the line viâ Muttra and Pulwul having been also closed since the enforced abandonment of the District of Goorgaon.

3. Mr. W. Money, the Commissioner of Customs, with the object of re-locating Customs Officers upon the Preventive line, accompanied my party.

4. I joined the Bhurtpoor Troops at Chomohaw, 13 miles beyond Muttra, and found that already Captain Nixon had found reason to doubt their steadiness, symptoms of disinclination to advance having been exhibited in complaints and frivolous objections. We however moved on to *Chattah* the following morning, and thence to *Kosee*, reaching *Hodul* on 26th May 1857.

5. As one road to Goorgaon diverged here, we halted for a day or two, and all continued quiet until 31st May, on which morning, at 3, the Muttra Officials and the Customs Officers who had been left in our rear, rode hastily into our Camp, reporting that two companies of N. I., of 44th and 67th Regiments, then stationed at Agra, having been sent to Muttra for treasure, had, on arriving at that place, broken out in open mutiny, plundered the Treasury, burnt the Bungalows, and having driven out the Authorities, were in full march towards Dehli, bringing with them the plundered treasure.

6. Upon this we made instant preparations to receive these mutinous Companies, and with every reasonable hope of recovering the Government treasure and punishing the mutineers. Captains Nixon and Munbee, in official connection with the Bhurtpoor Troops, placed the guns in position to command the road, close to which we were encamped, and by which only could Dehli be reached. We despatched a party to Kosee, to warn the Detachment there, if necessary, to fall slowly back upon our support. It then began to be very evident that the Bhurtpoor Troops had no intention of fighting, had no inclination to obey their own Foujdars, and had resolved not to take an active part against these rebellious Troops, who had released the prisoners from the Muttra Jail, and had strengthened themselves by all the evil-disposed ruffians of Muttra and its suburbs, who at once joined their ranks, and made the party formidable, at least in numbers.

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7. As fast as we succeeded in planting guns in proper positions, the disaffected of the Bhurtpoor Force withdrew them. We then received a report unfavorable to the fidelity of the Bhurtpoor Detachment left at Kosee, and Lieutenant Jenkins, 44th N. I., with a small party, rode back to ascertain how matters really stood. He was received with cool rudeness, was refused admittance into the Tehseel where the Troops were, and found that the Bhurtpoor Officer was no longer in *Command* of his men. During his absence no improvement had taken place in the aspect of affairs with us. That there were good and loyal men among the Foujdars, I do not doubt; but they informed Captain Nixon and myself, distinctly and emphatically, that their authority *was gone*; that their Troops would not oppose the mutinous sepoys; indeed intimated that many might join them, and strenuously advised all of us to leave the Camp, as they could no longer answer for the acts of their men.

8. The exact strength of the Bhurtpoor Force I cannot state at this moment, but I believe that, with the Ulwur Detachment, it did not number less than 3,000 men of all arms, with eight or ten guns, amply sufficient to have coerced the two mutinous sepoy companies with their rabble additions, who had no guns, and to have exacted severe retribution, recovering at the same time treasure plundered from Muttra, supposed then to have consisted of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of Rupees. One of two things is therefore unquestionable, either the majority of the Bhurtpoor Troops were arrant and contemptible cowards, or they were disaffected, and had already in heart fraternized with the mutinous movement of traitors and rebels. In my firm belief both these views of the case were true. There was plenty of pusillanimity, and at least an equal proportion of treason, among those who were thorough partisans of the rebels, and disaffected even to their own Chief. Most of the guns, if not all, were in the hands of Poorbeeah Artillery men, deserters, or discharged men from our Native Infantry Regiments, and a good deal of language was often indulged in by them on the line of march, which was unequivocal as respects their feelings for the British Government, and their sympathy with its treacherous Troops.

9. Captain Nixon, Captain Munbee, and myself used our best endeavours, unavailingly, to bring them to a sense of duty. We promised to reward them liberally, and pointed out the injury they were doing to the "Raj," by the course they were apparently determined to pursue. At last one or two of the guns were turned upon the small party of Europeans who were grouped together. The Foujdars again came to advise us to withdraw; both the Bhurtpoor Officials offered, (if their objection was to the Europeans from Agra,) to remain themselves, but the Foujdars said that they could not answer for the lives of any Officers who remained behind.

10. This state of things had gone on for some hours, during which we had been arguing with the Officers, and addressing some of the Pultuns; and at last it became evident that our only alternative was to ride out of Camp, and to endeavour to join the Sirmoor Battalion under Major Reid, from whom I had heard the evening before, who was then posted at a Ghât on the Jumna, about 30 or 35 miles off. We first however resolved to take the road by Pulwul, 18 miles nearer Dehli, in order to pick up Mr. Clifford, of the Civil Service, and Lieutenant Young, who had gone on with an advanced party to that place.

11. We were again warned that the Artillery of the Bhurtpoor Force were turning their guns upon us, and after several other vain expostulations with the supposed influential Foujdars, were constrained to depart utterly disgusted with the treachery and cowardice of the Troops which had been sent by a friendly Chief to co-operate in the restoration of order, and in accordance with the terms of the treaty entered into with the British Government.

12. We had hardly mounted our horses with our small Cavalcade, consisting of 28 European gentlemen of various Departments, Rail Road, Customs, &c., and a few Sowars of 8th Irregular Cavalry, (14 in all,) and some few others who had accompanied Mr. Ford, the Magistrate and Collector of Goorgaon, from

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that District, when the good feeling of our Bhurtpoor allies began to display itself. There were 3 or 4 Bungalows, which had been occupied by Customs Officials; first one, and then another, then our tents were set fire to, and blazed up as we passed within 100 yards of them; yet these Troops, a few days afterwards, retired to Bhurtpoor with Captain Nixon. Being relieved from all chance of active service, they were not disinclined to return to repose in their lines.

13. This I conclude was the time at which the losses were sustained by the Native Customs Officers referred to in your letter; but the injury was by no means confined to the parties enumerated in the list which accompanied that letter. Every British Officer lost nearly all the property he possessed at Hodul, with the exception of the arms and clothes he rode in, and the horse which carried him. I beg to append a list of these losses; and was given to understand by the late Lieutenant Governor, that compensation would be made by the Bhurtpoor State; but he at the same time wished that application should be deferred till the general aspect of affairs had improved, and our relations with Native Chiefs had resumed their customary footing.

14. Some articles of wearing apparel, tent equipage, &c. were returned from Bhurtpoor and Ulwur, all more or less damaged and injured; indeed all that I had any opportunity of seeing, had become, from neglect and rough treatment, utterly valueless: nothing of any original value was produced at all.

15. Regarding the actual loss sustained by the Native Customs Officials, I can state nothing positive. My own Umlah and personal Chuprasees were also losers, while also I do not concur in the expediency of reimbursing such losses by money payments. Those who behaved faithfully I have rewarded myself; and to replace injury sustained by Subordinates in Public Departments would lead to endless and useless enquiry, and much prevarication and mendacity. They are neither expected to move into Camp, nor do they, with more than articles of common necessity about them; and their marching Batta is ample to remunerate all ordinary and casual losses, while promotion compensates for damage sustained in the *faithful discharge* of their duties. As a body, the lower grades of Customs Officials have, it is generally acknowledged, behaved especially ill; and those enumerated by Mr. Money as having been "since the commencement of outbreak *perfectly faithful* and to have *done good service,*" may fitly be advanced to posts of higher emolument, vacated by the very large number who have grossly misbehaved. At *Hansie* and *Jhansie* the Customs peons and Natives of the Department are understood to have turned traitors and murderers to a man.

16. The enclosures received with your letter are herewith returned.

I have, &c.

G. F. HARVEY,

*Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
AGRA DIVISION,
*The 19th June* 1858.

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No. 65 of 1858.

FROM

G. F. HARVEY, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner, Agra Division,*

To

E. C. BAYLEY, ESQUIRE,
*Offg. Deputy Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces, Allahabad.*

DATED AGRA, THE 12TH JULY 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 672, of 9th ultimo, forwarding a petition for "such notice as it may require," presented to Government by Khoshial, Hurdeo, and others, of Mouzah Mohona or Moyna, Zillah Goorgaon, in the Dehli territory.

2. I have the honor to append copy of my letter to the Deputy Commissioner of Goorgaon, and of that Officer's reply; and to add, that the service rendered by the petitioners was very inconsiderable, and that our party were sufficiently strong to command respect from them, while it was apparent that many of them were not well affected.

3. The Narrative given in my letter to your address, No. 94, dated 19th June, will explain our preesnce at Mohona. We rode out of the Bhurtpoor Camp about or soon after midnoon, on 31st May 1857, and reached Mohona on the Jumna, after a ride of some 50 miles, at about 9 or 10 on the following morning, having travelled all night,—our intention being to cross the Jumna, and proceed either to the Messrs. Skinner's village of Belaspoor, or to join, if possible, the Camp of the Sirmoor Battalion.

4. On arriving at the river, we found that all the boats had been, with a single exception, carried over to the opposite bank. We made attempts to cross by swimming our horses, and then it appeared that the opposite villages were occupied by insurgents and mutineers, men of the 9th N. I., and the 2nd Oude Irregulars. At this juncture the heat being very great, and ourselves and cattle having been, since noon of the previous day, without food, *Narain Singh*,* a sowar on leave, belonging to the 12th Irregulars, came out of the village to me, and volunteering to join our party, suggested that we should go to the house of Meer Hidayut Alee, Rissaldar of the 4th Irregulars, on leave, whose loyalty was unimpeachable. To this I at once assented, though advised by many not to rely upon the honesty of a Mahommedan, in such times of general disaffection, and in a locality so near (about 28 miles) to Dehli. I had known the 4th Irregulars, and many of the Native as well as European Officers of the Regiment, and I was not mistaken in the confidence I reposed in a Rissaldar and a Sirdar Bahadoor of that Regiment.

* Since rewarded and promoted.

5. The reception we met with from Meer Hidayut Alee has been recorded and acknowledged elsewhere; but after a halt of 4 or 5 days with him, we were informed that an Oude Irregular Regiment in mutiny had crossed the Jumna, and having heard of Europeans being at Mohona, were then within 3 coss of us, moving on that place with the intention of exterminating us. The intelligence was brought by a youth belonging to the Regiment, (a resident of Moyna, and known to the Rissaldar;) he had been present, and witnessed the dastardly murder of Captain Fletcher Hayes, and Captain Barber, by the men of his Regiment, a few days before, and had escaped to give us warning.

6. It was at this time that Meer Hidayut Alee displayed his loyalty and devotion. He armed himself and his retainers, and ranged them beside our

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party, which consisted of 28 Europeans, the majority having double barrelled guns and revolvers, and all swords, and aided us in making preparations to repel any attack upon us. We remained under arms during a great part of the day and night, Hidayut Alee being most active in taking all precaution against surprise,—many of the inhabitants of Mohona exhibiting at the best but passive loyalty.

7. On the following day, having certain information from Dehli that our residence at Mohona was known at the Rebel Head-quarters, and that it was in contemplation to send out a Detachment to attack us, we determined to move across the Goorgaon district to Sohna, where it was possible we might fall in with the Jeypoor Force, under Captain Eden, Political Agent; and this night march we effected without opposition through a country much disturbed,—Meer Hidayut Alee accompanying for a short distance, or until we had passed the villages, of whose loyalty he was doubtful, in the neighbourhood (within seven or eight miles) of his own residence, and after a fourteen hours' ride we joined the Jeypoor Troops.

8. The Deputy Commissioner at Goorgaon will be able most readily to ascertain whether any persons in Moyna are deserving of a gratuity in money for good conduct. But my impression is, (and it is also that of the few of the party now at Agra,) that no assistance, calling for special acknowledgment, was rendered by the villagers generally, and that they can have no cause to complain of the arrangements made for rewarding such a man as Meer Hidayut Alee, whose loyalty and fidelity were conspicuous, and but for whose presence we should hardly have found advisable shelter at Mohona.

I have, &c.

G. F. HARVEY,

*Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
AGRA DIVISION,
*The 12th July* 1858.

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No. 5.

FROM

G. F. HARVEY, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner, Agra Division,*

To

THE OFFICER COMMANDING
*4th Irregular Cavalry, Dehli.*

DATED AGRA, THE 17TH NOVEMBER 1857.

SIR,

Having been informed that Meer Hidayut Alee, Rissaldar and Sirdar Bahadoor, is with the Head-quarters of your Regiment, I take this opportunity of reporting to you the loyal and creditable conduct of that Officer, during the early part of June in the present year.

2. It is my intention, when the proper time arrives, to bring the Rissaldar's name to the notice of Government, in order that some suitable reward be conferred upon him.

3. On 31st May last I was, under the orders of Government, with the Contingent furnished by the Bhurtpoor Raj, under the terms of the Treaty with that State. We were encamped at Hodul, in the Goorgaon district, having some 3 or 4,000 men, with, I believe, eleven or twelve guns.

4. On the preceding evening, two companies of the 44th N. I., and one of 67th N. I., under orders to convey treasure from the Muttra Collectory to Agra, broke out in mutiny at Muttra, murdered their Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Burlton, wounded Lieutenant Gibbon, of 44th, fired upon the Civil Officers, and carried off the treasure, consisting of several lakhs of Rupees, with the purpose of conveying it to the Rebel Head-quarters at Dehli.

5. Hearing of this, the Officers in command of the Bhurtpoor Troops, Captains Nixon and Munbee, of the Bombay Army, and the European Officers accompanying myself, endeavoured to place the Bhurtpoor Troops in position, to oppose the insurgents and recover the treasure, as they would have to pass our Camp; but our efforts were without success. These native allies broke into open revolt, refused to obey any orders given by the Europeans, or by their own Native Officers, and after every exertion was made to induce them to do their duty, they turned their guns upon the Europeans, and sent a message through their Foujdars, to the effect that we had better leave their Camp, as they had resolved not to oppose the mutinous sepoys.

6. We were constrained to depart, numbering, with Captains Nixon and Munbee, (who were equally prevented from remaining,) about 28 Europeans, Civil, Military, Railway, and Customs Officials, and we rode viâ Pulwul to the Mohona Ghât, about 46 miles, with the intention of crossing the Jumna.

7. On our arrival there, we found that all the ferry and other boats were detained upon the opposite bank, which was occupied, it was understood, by insurgent sepoys of 9th N. I., and Oude Cavalry. Our cattle being much fatigued, and no food having been procurable during the long ride, without a halt at such an inclement season, without tents and shelter, we were obliged to leave the Ghât, and fortunately met a trooper of 12th Irregulars, *Narain Singh*, who advised us to go to Rissaldar Meer Hidayat Alee's village and house, where he assured us we should be well received.

8. We arrived at mid-day; the Rissaldar supplied us with every thing in his power to bestow. I am sure that his soldierly hospitable welcome, and subsequent attention to our comforts, during a stay of more than a week,

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will be long remembered by each of us. During our stay, some 300 of the 2nd Oude Cavalry in revolt, having murdered the Officers with them, Captain Fletcher Hayes, and Captain Barber, &c., crossed the river, and threatened to attack us. Meer Hidayut Alee gave us warning, put on his uniform and arms, called out his adherents, and assisted us in making preparations to defend a Chubootra in front of his house; and these timely preparations, together with the fact that we had 28 double barrelled guns and some dozen revolvers in the hands of Europeans, becoming known to the scoundrels, they gave us a wide berth; but we were all impressed with the bearing and resolution to aid us shown by the Rissaldar.

9. Some days later, having information that a party was likely to be sent out for our destruction by the rebels at Dehli, from which place we were only 28 miles distant, we determined not to place Hidayut Alee's family and property at the mercy of the rebels, by prolonging our stay with him, and we made a night ride, escorted for some distance by the Rissaldar and his friends across the country to Sohona, where we fell in with the troops of the Maharajah of Jeypoor, under Captain Eden, the Political Agent, with whom I remained till 20th July.

10. Mr. W. Money, Commissioner of Customs, North Western Provinces, and Mr. Ford, Collector and Magistrate of Goorgaon, are both probably at or near Dehli, and will, I doubt not, cheerfully bear testimony to the good service rendered us by Meer Hidayut Alee, Rissaldar of your Regiment, and the high opinion we one and all entertain of his soldierly and loyal character.

11. Ameer Alee, Rissaldar, and Waris Alee, Kote Duffadar, kinsmen of Hidayut Alee, were at the time on leave, and residing with him; and they also rendered us every assistance and aid, and were most attentive to us during our stay at Mohona.

12. As stated above, I have it in contemplation to bring Hidayut Alee's name prominently to the notice of Government, at the fit season. His presence at his village was of essential service I conceive, in such times of disturbance, in overawing the evil-disposed among his neighbours, confirming the wavering in their loyalty, and setting a good example to all faithful subjects. Communication with Dehli was difficult, and I think he showed me a letter from Major Martin, to the effect that he was not to rejoin, until specially sent for.

13. I trust what I have stated may be of use to this gallant old soldier.

I have, &c.

G. F. HARVEY,

*Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
AGRA DIVISION,
*The 17th November* 1857.

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## No. 1 of 1858.

From

G. F. HARVEY, Esquire,

*Commissioner, Agra Division,*

To

C. B. THORNHILL, Esquire,

*Offg. Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces.*

DATED AGRA, THE 1st JANUARY 1858.

Sir,

Having understood that several communications to the late Lieutenant Governor, on the subject of the eminent loyal services of Sheikh Buhadur Alee, Rissaldar of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, have been lost or mislaid, I think it as well to place on record a renewed expression of my opinion of that Officer's merits, as well as of similar good conduct on the part of Sobhan Alee and Syud Alee Khan, also belonging to the same Regiment.

2. On 20th May 1857, I was deputed by the late Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Colvin, to proceed towards Dehli, then the seat of mutiny and insurrection, with a view, if possible, of keeping open the communications with Agra, by the aid of the Contingents furnished by the States of Bhurtpoor, Ulwur, and Jeypoor.

3. As escort, Sheikh Buhadur Alee, Naib Rissaldar, and 14 Sowars of the 8th Irregular Regiment, were detached from the Lieutenant Governor's Guard. We joined the Bhurtpoor Force at Chattah, and a few days subsequently (on 31st May) we were apprized, by the arrival of the District Officials from Muttra, that the mutineers of the 44th and 67th N. I. had plundered the Treasury at that place, and were advancing with their booty in the direction of Dehli.

4. After unavailing attempts to persuade the Troops of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor to oppose these mutineers, and rescue the Government property, we were compelled, by the open and defiant disaffection and disobedience of these troops, to leave their Camp; the Officers with them, Captains Nixon and Munbee, having been told that their authority was gone, and guns having been turned upon us.

5. From this date till my return to Agra, Sheikh Buhadur Alee, Sobhan Alee, and Syud Alee Khan, in the midst of disaffection, intrigue, and temptation, and in spite of scoffs and threats from many of their own creed, never turned from the path of duty and loyalty.

6. On 11th July, at Kosee, after several previous desertions, 14 troopers, (of whom six formed part of the original escort, and the remainder of men of Irregular Cavalry Corps, who had joined me at different times,) after demanding an advance of pay, openly and insultingly, in the presence of Captain Eden, Political Agent, Jeypoor; Lieutenant Goldsworthy, 72nd N. I., Lieutenant Jenkins, 44th N. I., and myself, rode off to join the mutineers of the Neemuch Brigade; they unslung their carbines, and evinced an intention of opposing pursuit, which, with my small party of three men, (the Jeypoor Force having moved off) was of course impracticable.

7. At the proper time, I shall have the honor to submit a recommendation, that some substantial reward be conferred by Government on Sheikh Buhadur Alee, and on another distinguished old soldier, Meer Hidayat Alee, Rissaldar and Sirdar Bahadoor 4th Irregulars, who afforded us (28 European

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Officers) most valuable aid at a time of some emergency. A copy of my letter to the Officer Commanding 4th Irregulars is annexed; but the time has not arrived when any grant of land could be given to either of these good soldiers. The estate of one is on the Jumna, in Goorgaon, a still somewhat disturbed neighbourhood; and the family of the other, Sheikh Buhadur Alee, is in the Pergunnah of Sheorajpoor, near Cawnpoor.

8. Several Officers, who accompanied me during part of the period of my absence from Agra, are of opinion however, that it is not premature to bring forward the names of Sheikh Buhadur Alee, Sobhan Alee, and Syud Alee Khan, for the distinction of the Order of Merit. I entirely concur in thinking that no worthier or more loyal soldiers are now in possession of that order; and I shall be glad if the Chief Commissioner can recommend those named in the margin* to the Government of India for a reward, to which I conceive them to have proved their claims by loyalty and gallantry, in times of difficulty and disturbance.

* Sheikh Buhadur Alee.
Sobhan Alee.
Syud Alee Khan.
Narain Singh.

I have, &c.

G. F. HARVEY,

*Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
AGRA DIVISION,
*The 1st January* 1858.

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*Notes on Pergunnah Futtehpoor Sikree, from the 15th May to the 30th June 1857.*

I had been relieved of the charge of the Irrigation Works at Futtehpoor Sikree. My things were all packed up, and my arrangements made to start by carriage dâk to Mirzapoor, where I was appointed, when the news of the mutiny at Meerut and Dehli was received at Agra. On the morning of the 15th May Mr. Drummond rode over to my house, and asked me to call immediately at his bungalow, adding that His Honor the Lieutenant Governor had requested him to send me without delay to Futtehpoor Sikree, where the Mewatees were expected to rise and plunder the Tehseel. I lost no time in packing up the few things that I required, and went over to Mr. Drummond's house at about 8 o'clock, where I found the Commissioner and some other gentlemen. After receiving Mr. Drummond's instructions I started for Futtehpoor Sikree, and arrived there at 12 o'clock on the same day. I found every thing in a very excited state at Futtehpoor, the Guard of the Police Battalion had been withdrawn from Futtehpoor Sikree, for the protection of the City of Agra, and the Tehseeldar having very few men left, was in a state of great alarm. The first thing I did was to call together the Zemindars of the whole Pergunnah, and the head men of the Mewatees, and to conciliate them, by every argument I could urge, to remain quiet, and to prove their loyalty by preventing crime in their neighbourhood and villages, by protecting the borders of the Bhurtpoor territory, and by giving me their assistance in raising such extra foot and mounted Police as were required. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor had given me full powers in every thing. In a few days the Pergunnah began to settle down, and all the Mewatees came to me and took their oaths in the Durgah on their Peer, Sheikh Sullar, to attempt in no way to disturb the peace of the Town, or the surrounding villages. From this time the Government Revenue began to come in again, and there was no cause of alarm till the two Sepoy Regiments at Agra were disarmed.

A large body of the disarmed sepoys, not less than 600 in number, many of whom were armed with swords, passed up along the Futtehpoor Sikree road beyond Keraolee, and had it not been for the bold front shown at the Kharee Nuddee by some sowars and 150 matchlock-men I collected from Sountha and Kheyree, they might have attempted to come further to plunder the money at the Futtehpoor Tehseel; but they passed between Sountha and Keraolee, and proceeded to Furrah, which was looted, and the Tehseel and Thannah records destroyed. There was great excitement during the whole of that day at Futtehpoor Sikree; the shops in the Town were all closed, and the budmashes were seen assembling. But on my going through the Town in company with the Tehseeldar, Irshad Alee, and the Thannahdar, order was quickly restored, and the shops were re-opened in the evening. The plunder of Furrah was followed by the murder of the Putwaree of Mangrole Jât, in Pergunnah Furrah, about six miles from Futtehpoor on one side, and the burning and sacking of the large village of Ruchoah, in Pergunnah Kheyragurh, on the other side of Futtehpoor Sikree. The Putwaree's head was offered up at the village "Chaumur," and for some days distant fires were to be seen every night from the top of the hill at Futtehpoor Sikree, in the direction of Pergunnah Kheyragurh and the Bhurtpoor territory. Futtehpoor was also threatened by the Goojurs of the "Daung," between Biyanah and Roopbas; and on one occasion a party of 40 or 50 Goojurs, armed with matchlocks, attempted to come in through Ohleynda, and were fired upon by our men; and on another occasion, seven plundering horsemen were fired at by our Burkundauzes at Dabur.

After Furrah was plundered, a body of Saifoollah Khan's new Levies, under Lieutenant Henderson, was sent there to punish the Zemindars and to restore order. Mr. Chase, the Assistant Magistrate, accompanied this party. The Kotah Contingent also remained some time in Pergunnah Kheyragurh. About the first week in June, Lieutenant Newmarch, with 50 sowars of the Gwalior Contingent, passed through Futtehpoor Sikree to Jugneyr, to make a demonstration against Goojawund, Burgawun, and other villages, in Pergunnah Kheyragurh,

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which had joined in burning and plundering Ruchoah. Lieutenant Noble and Mr. Wilmot Lane, the Assistant Magistrate, followed Lieut. Newmarch to Jugneyr. After remaining a few days at Jugneyr, the sowars of the Gwalior Contingent returned to Agra viâ Futtehpoor Sikree, with Lieutenants Noble and Newmarch, and Mr. Lane remained with me at Futtehpoor Sikree.

Besides 50 horses and 100 men sent in by me to Agra for the new Levies at the station, I entertained 70 Burkundauzes and 10 Sowars, for the protection of the Tehseeldaree; and with this small increase of men I managed to hold the whole Pergunnah in check, and to arrange for the large annual fair held at the shrine of Sheikh Suleim Churty, which happened to fall just at the time that the Nuseerabad mutineers were marching towards Dehli, through the adjacent territory of Bhurtpoor, and the greatest excitement prevailed at Futtehpoor Sikree. The "Meylah" passed off very quietly and without a single case of theft or highway robbery. I found it necessary to go out almost daily to Doora, Dabur, Ohleynda, Chowmoha, Jajow, Jingara, Keraolee, Kirara, Biseyreechahur, the two Gayhurras, and other villages of the Pergunnah, to put down any spirit of disaffection the moment it showed itself; and I am glad to say, that I succeeded in persuading the Zemindars to keep quiet, and to pay more Revenue than was realized during the same period of time in most of the other Pergunnahs of this District. The statement below shows how much more money was collected in Pergunnah Futtehpoor Sikree, from the 15th May to the 30th June, the day of the arrival of the Neemuch mutineers:—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Collected in Pergunnah Futtehpoor Sikree, | ... | | | Rs. | 15,500 |
| Ditto in Furrah, | ... | ... | ... | „ | 12,655 |
| Ditto in Kheyragurh, | ... | ... | ... | „ | 2,738 |
| Ditto in Iradutnuggur, | ... | ... | ... | „ | 4,459 |
| Ditto in Futteeabad, | ... | ... | ... | „ | 5,184 |
| Ditto in Bah Pinahut, | ... | ... | ... | „ | 3,453 |
| Ditto in Ferozabad, | ... | ... | ... | „ | 6,275 |

In maintaining order in Pergunnah Futtehpoor Sikree, I received every assistance from the following Zemindars:—

Buldeo, Zemindar of Dabur.
Girwur, ditto of Nugla Surae.
Golam Moheeooddeen, and all the Sheikh Zemindars of Nuggur.
Ramsurn, Zemindar of Biseyree Quazee.
Kishun Singh, and Bahadoor Singh, Thakoor Zemindars of Sountha.
Sookhjeet, Zemindar of Singharpoor.
Bhowanee and Luchmun, Zemindars of Abhooapoora and Abheydoonpoora, near Keraolee.

The two last sent their matchlock-men every night to patrol the high road to Agra, where it was most unprotected, between the 14th and 12th mile stones. The Bunneeas from Agra came with their bales of cloth as usual to Futtehpoor Sikree, and hundreds of hackeries loaded with grain, &c. for the Commissariat and the Fort, passed along the road unmolested at all hours of the night.

Sheikh Abdool Hye, the Sujjada Nusheen of the Durgah at Futtehpoor Sikree, assisted me at first, and promised to secure the treasure, and the Tehseel and Thannah records, in a vault of the Durgah, in the event of any large body of mutineers passing through Futtehpoor Sikree, and relying upon such assistance, I gave him a place near the Tehseel, attached to the Durgah school; but at the very last moment, when the Neemuch mutineers had arrived at Biyanah, he came and informed me that he was helpless, and that I was not to look for any assistance from him. He afterwards delivered up to the mutineers the Tehseeldar, who had gone over to him for protection.

The last cause of alarm was on the approach of the Neemuch mutineers. The camp-followers of this Rebel force began to arrive at Futtehpoor Sikree

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from the 25th June, in parties of 20 and 30, and were sent into Agra under a guard. The excitement now became very great; the Neemuch Brigade was steadily advancing on Agra, and the sowars I had posted at Biyanah were obliged to fall back, and brought me information on the 28th June that all the mutineers had arrived at Biyanah.

The Bunneeas of Futtehpoor Sikree went over to their Camp; the people of the Town began to communicate with them; most of the Burkundauzes and Chuprassees of the Tehseel deserted; the Police sowars that were with me were sullen, and in a state next to open mutiny, for they actually refused to take in the treasure to Agra. I was obliged therefore to distribute the money to the Putwarees, and the Tehseel and Thannah establishments, and only Rs. 259 remained, which fell into the hands of the mutineers. The Moonsiff of Futtehpoor Sikree, Mahomed Mouzum, left off work three or four days before these occurrences, and went and took up his quarters in the Durgah. On the evening of the 29th June, two sowars who were posted by me at Khanwa near Bukaolee, came in great haste, and gave information that the advance guard of the mutineers had arrived at Bukaolee, within eight miles of Futtehpoor Sikree; that a party of 25 of their horsemen had been told off to surprise the Tehseel, and were ready to start when they left; and that a reward of Rs. 500 had been promised them for each of our heads,—that is, for mine and Mr. Lane's. The Tehseeldar came to us crying, and begged of us to leave without delay. It was then that Mr. Lane and I were obliged to leave Futtehpoor Sikree for Agra, which we reached at 8 o'clock that night.

I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the Tehseeldar, Meer Irshad Alee, who assisted me throughout most willingly, and took the greatest pains to carry out all my wishes, and was with me in all the difficulties I had to get through. He remained at Futtehpoor after Mr. Lane and I left for Agra, and was taken prisoner by the mutineers, and severely beaten by them, and lashed to a gun. After the battle of the 5th July at Shahgunge, near Agra, he was released by the mutineers at Furrah. I would strongly recommend him for a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month, to make his salary equal to that of a Deputy Collector of the 3rd Grade.

Such is a short account of Futtehpoor Sikree, from the time we heard of the Dehli massacre, up to the arrival of the Neemuch mutineers.

I acknowledge with gratitude the personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month granted me by His Honor the late Lieutenant Governor, N. W. Provinces, for "specially efficient services," and I take this opportunity of stating that His Honor the late Lieutenant Governor, N. W. Provinces, was pleased to promise to bring my services to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India, with the view of getting me promotion to the next superior, or the first grade of Deputy Collectors. I trust therefore that His Honor's promise may now be confirmed by the Supreme Government, and that this indulgence may be extended to me, as it has lately been granted to other Deputy Collectors for services since the outbreak. But in soliciting promotion to the next superior grade of Deputy Collectors, I also trust that I may be allowed to retain my personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month.

AGRA:
*The 8th May* 1858.

N. PARSICK,
*Deputy Collector, 2nd Grade.*

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS AT ALLAHABAD.

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# Supplement

TO THE

# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS, &c.,

IN THE

# AGRA DIVISION.

No. 592.

*Foreign Department, N. W. Provinces.*

*Dated Allahabad, 17th May* 1859.

## RESOLUTION.

READ the following papers :—

A Demi-official note, from Captain and Brevet Major W. H. Greathed, of Engineers, to the address of the Officiating Secretary, dated 18th April, Allahabad.

A letter No. 281, dated the 2nd May, from C. B. Thornhill, Esquire, Officiating Commissioner of the Allahabad Division.

A memorandum on Lieutenant Greathed's service, by Captain H. A. Prinsep, Private Secretary to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

The Lieutenant Governor is pleased to order, that the above correspondence be printed and forwarded to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, in continuation of the Agra District Narrative, forwarded with the letter from this office, No., 25 A., dated 19th January 1859.

The Lieutenant Governor desires further, to place on record his high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Lieutenant Greathed, in the months of May and June 1857, as detailed in the documents under review, and earnestly to recommend them to the favorable consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

G. COUPER,

*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces.*

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FROM

W. H. GREATHED, ESQ.,

TO

E. C. BAYLEY, ESQ.,

*Officiating Secretary to Government, N. W. P.*

*Allahabad, 18th April* 1859.

MY DEAR BAYLEY,

On the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857, I was summoned hence to Agra, by Mr. Colvin, and employed by him as A. D. C. on special duty, in opening the road to Meerut; in communicating his instructions and desires, personally, to the Civil and Military Authorities there, and at intermediate Stations; in recovering Allygurh with the Agra Volunteer Horse; in conveying his own and the Governor General's despatches to the Commander of the Dehlie force, at a rather critical period; and generally in rather special and confidential business.

I have reason to suppose, that Mr. Colvin's death occurred before any record of these circumstances had been made, and I will be much obliged by your ascertaining from your Office, if such be indeed the fact. Should any record exist, I will be thankful for a copy, and if there be no record, I would beg you to ask the permission of the Lieutenant Governor to call upon Mr. Thornhill, who, at the time referred to, was Officiating Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, for a Memorandum of the circumstances of which he has intimate knowledge, with the view of their being brought to the notice of the Government of India.

The untimely death of Mr. Colvin on the one side, and Sir H. G. Barnard on the other, would otherwise deprive me of any advantage which might arise from the special opportunities which occurred to me previous to the siege of Dehlie.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. GREATHED.

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No. 281.

FROM

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,

*Officiating Commissioner, 4th Division.*

TO

G. E. W. COUPER, ESQUIRE,

*Sceretary to Government, N. W. Provinces.*

SIR,

DATED ALLAHABAD, THE 2ND MAY 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 478, of the 28th April, with its enclosures, calling for any information regarding the services of Major (then Lieutenant) Greathed, at Agra, during the early part of the rebellion.

2. Those services are vividly impressed upon my memory, and although I am unable to refer to any documents, I can speak with confidence of the following facts.

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3. I would premise, in explanation of the absence of any record, that the nature of Major Greathed's employment was so confidential, that as far as I can remember, all the letters were written by Mr. Colvin's own hand, and no copies of them retained, and I should probably have been ignorant of such letters having been written, had I not remained in constant attendance on the Lieutenant Governor, throughout the whole of each day, from the commencement of the mutiny, until the end of June.

4. The summons which called Major Greathed to Agra, proves the high estimation in which that Officer was held by the Lieutenant Governor.

5. From the first, Mr. Colvin regarded the maintenance of the principal lines of communication, as of paramount importance, and with the hopes of effecting this object, a requisition for the services of Irregular Cavalry, was despatched to Bareilly for duty on the Allygurh and Meerut road, and the Magistrates of Allygurh and Boolundshuhur were directed to call upon all the men of that arm, on leave in their districts, to place themselves under their orders.

6. Lieutenant Greathed reached Agra on the 15th May, and at Mr. Colvin's request, proceeded the same afternoon to Allygurh, entrusted with important despatches to the General Commanding at Meerut, and to the Magistrates of Allygurh and Boolundshuhur.

7. It was expected that, under previous instructions, some force of Irregular Cavalry would be found at Allygurh, to escort Lieutenant Greathed to Meerut, and to enable him to restore some degree of order on the road. On his arrival there, however, he found that the Magistrate had not succeeded in obtaining any Cavalry.

8. Lieutenant Greathed however, persevered and reached Boolundshuhur on a Mail Cart, in safety; whence a small escort of Horsemen was, with difficulty, induced to accompany him into Meerut. Between Boolundshuhur and Meerut, the Mail Cart had ceased running.

9. Having delivered his despatches, and demonstrated the practicability of effecting the journey, the Mail Carts were again started throughout the line; and upon one of these conveyances, Lieutenant Greathed returned to Agra on the following day. The object in view had been successfully attained; the postal route was re-opened for the time, and confidential communications had been exchanged between the Lieutenant Governor and the Chief Military and Civil Authorities at Meerut.

10. On the 25th May, a body of Volunteers was raised at Agra, with the object of relieving some gentlemen who were shut up in the Mulloe Factory, and after this had been effected, of maintaining the authority of the Magistrate, in the Allygurh district.

11. The command of this force, consisting of about 40 gentlemen, was entrusted to Lieutenant Greathed, under whom the party was relieved at Mulloe, and the station of Allygurh re-occupied and held up to the 2nd June, when he was again summoned by Mr. Colvin, to convey despatches from the Governor General and Lieutenant Governor, to the Officer Commanding the force before Dehlie, and to the Lieutenant Governor's Agent.

12. The service was one of very great danger, indeed, few who saw him commence his journey, were without serious misgivings of the result.

13. Since his previous journey on the same road, the state of the country had become more generally and decidedly hostile to the British rule.

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14. The Mail Cart establishment had been very much disorganized, horses had been plundered, and stables burnt by mutineers traversing the road. Those horses which remained, were generally secreted in villages, at some distance from the road, whence they had to be sought out by the coachmen.

15. There was danger to the solitary traveller, from every band of men he encountered, and in every village he passed through. There was danger from the possibility of means of continuing the journey failing, when in the midst of a hostile population. There was danger from the bodies of mutinous soldiery then beginning to stream towards Dehli from all quarters, and from the convicts released from the broken jails of Meerut, Dehli, Allygurh, and Boolundshuhur, on this very line of road.

16. The distance from Agra to Meerut is 140 miles; the difficulties to be encountered and overcome, may be best estimated by the fact, that with every inducement to speed, from the knowledge that each delay might prove fatal, the journey occupied 36 hours.

17. But again Meerut was reached in safety, and the object for which this hazardous journey had been undertaken, was accomplished. No other Englishman travelled that road for four months.

18. From the high terms in which Mr. Colvin always spoke of Lieutenant Greathed's conduct, I was under the impression, that he had himself made it the subject of a confidential communication to higher authority.

The following official mention, which occurs in the Lieutenant Governor's Narrative, Despatch of the 6th June 1857, being a bare statement of the fact, that despatches had been forwarded, is the only recorded notice, I can find in any public document of that period "*paragraph* 29. My A. D. C., "Lieutenant W. H. Greathed, of the Engineers, proceeded the day be- "fore yesterday, to join the camp before Dehli, with full despatches, stat- "ing my views to the General Commanding, and to Mr. W. H. Greathed, as "my Agent with the Camp."

I have, &c.,

C. B. THORNHILL,
*Officiating Commissioner.*

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*Memorandum of Lieutenant Greathed's service, by Captain H. A. Prinsep, Private Secretary and late A. D. C. to Lieutenant Governor, North Western Provinces.*

On the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857, Lieutenant Greathed was summoned from Allahabad to Agra, by the late Mr. Colvin, and appointed an extra A. D. C., on his personal Staff. Until the end of May, he was frequently employed confidentially by Mr. Colvin, in communicating with the Civil and Military Authorities of Meerut and other intermediate stations, as well as being consulted on many matters connected with the preservation of order in Agra itself. On the 25th of May, Mr. Paterson Saunders having reported to the Lieutenant Governor, that there were six or seven Europeans shut up in a Factory at Mulloe, Lieutenant Greathed proceeded in command of some forty Volunteers, relieved that place, and afterwards re-occupied Allygurh, which station had only four days before been destroyed by the mutinous 9th Native Infantry.

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About the 2nd June, he carried despatches from the Lieutenant Governor and Governor General, to Sir H. Barnard, before Dehlie, at a time that the road was infested with mutineers proceeding to Dehlie, and the plundering Goojurs who had risen in its neighbourhood. The Lieutenant Governor specially requested Sir H. Barnard to appoint Lieutenant Greathed on his own Staff, as an Officer in whom he had the greatest confidence, and whose services he would find most valuable.

I feel sure that, had Mr. Colvin's untimely death not occurred, some public acknowledgment of Lieutenant Greathed's services during the short time he was at Agra, would have been placed on record earlier.

H. A. PRINSEP, LIEUT.,

*Private Secretary, and late A. D. C.*
*to Lieut. Governor, N. W. P.*

*Allahabad, 28th April,* 1859.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

IN THE

# DISTRICT OF MUTTRA,

IN 1857-58.

---

No. 102.

FROM

M. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,
*Late Magistrate of Muttra.*

To

G. F. HARVEY, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner Agra Division.*

DATED THE 10TH AUGUST 1858.

SIR,

IN reply to your letters noted in the margin,* I have the honor to submit a Narrative of the events that occurred in the Muttra District, from the commencement of the disturbances till the period of my leaving the District.

* No. 217, dated 12th May 1858.
„ 469, dated 26th July 1858.

2. On the 14th May 1857, I received information from the Magistrate of Goorgaon, that the mutineers were approaching the District; the information was vague, but confirmed in the evening by letters from various European gentlemen on the Customs and Railway Establishments at the North of the District; the ladies and non-combatants were immediately sent off to Agra.

3. During the next and following days, no certain information was received; the European gentlemen and others in Goorgaon, and the North of the Muttra District came in, bringing very alarming rumours of the approach of the rebel Army; from all that could be learnt the whole rebel Army was believed to be marching down with the intention of attacking Agra.

4. On 16th May, Captain Nixon arrived with the Bhurtpore Army and took command of the Station. The next day, or the following, it was ascertained that the rumours of the approach of the rebels were false. Captain Nixon then resolved to march towards Delhie, with the view I believe of opening the communication between Delhie and Agra, and co-operating with the Commander-in-chief.

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5. The news of the insurrection and the proclamation of the king of Delhie had now become known among the Native population, the country immediately became disturbed. The disturbances were chiefly attacks on Bunniahs and ejectment of new zemindars by the old.

6. There were six and a quarter lacs of treasure in the Treasury, under a guard of a Company of one of the Native Infantry Regiment at Agra, I forget which. From the manner of the men and the private information I received, I thought them mutinous and wrote so to Agra; I also strongly recommended the treasure being sent in to Agra. I had carts ready waiting at the office to send it on. Unfortunately my recommendation was not attended to.

7. On the 19th May, Captain Nixon marched out towards Dehlie, I accompanied him, we marched slowly making long halts, a detachment was left behind for the protection of the City. A large number of new Police had been raised and I endeavored to raise new Sowars, but with very little success. The great protection of the City consisted in the Seths Radha Kishen and Gobind Dass, who raised a large body of men at their own expense and by their influence kept the other inhabitants quiet. They also lent Captain Nixon two brass guns.

8. Mr. Clifford, the Joint Magistrate, was left behind in charge of the Station, but was compelled almost immediately to leave from illness, his place was supplied by Mr. Dashwood; Mr. Elliot Colvin accompanied him as Assistant.

9. On the 23rd May you joined the Army accompanied by several other European gentlemen. On the 25th May the Army reached Kosee and next morning marched on to Hodul where it halted. Hodul being in the Goorgaon District, I remained at Kosee. A detachment of about 300 Bhurtpore Infantry and two guns were left with me under command of one of the Chiefs named Ruggoonath Singh, the guns were those lent by the Seths.

10. The Disturbances in the district had been increasing both in number and enormity. Kuer Dildar Ally Khan, a large zemindar in Pergunnah Maot, was murdered by his villagers. On the 23rd May, Omrow Bahadoor, a relative of his who had estates in Pergunnah Nohjheel had been beseiged in his house, but on the approach of our force, the villagers had retired, and he made his escape. Several other murders were committed and other outrages, the particulars of which I do not remember.

11. On the 29th May I went to Chatta. In the evening, Mr. Dashwood, Mr. Colvin, Mr. Gibbon aud Mr. Joyce, my head Clerk arrived and informed me of the mutiny of the Treasury guard. The guard had been relieved by another Company from Agra, and orders had been received to send in the treasure under their escort. The treasure was packed, placed on the carts, and the carts ready to start, when a shot was heard outside followed by a rush of sepoys into the office, firing at the Europeans. All however escaped and ran towards the City where they procured horses and rode out. Mr. Burlton, Commanding the detachment had been outside with the guard, and it was feared had been shot and two of the Clerks (the Mr. Hashman's) had got separated from the rest of the party in the flight to the City.

12. I presumed the mutineers had marched towards Allygurh, but as a precautionary measure I sent out Sowars along the Muttra road to gain intelligence. In about two hours they returned with the intelligence that the mutineers were approaching.

13. We immediately started for Captain Nixon's Camp; in passing through Kosee, I sent for Ruggoonath Singh, he refused to come, to admit me into his camp, or to give up the Seth's guns. We reached Captain Nixon's Camp about daybreak; Captain Nixon did not credit the intelligence of the approach of the mutineers, he however sent out a party to reconnoitre. About 9 o'clock, the intelligence was confirmed; the mutineers were approaching

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Kosee. Captain Nixon then made preparations for opposing them, on which the whole force broke out in open mutiny and turned their guns upon us; Captain Nixon then ordered us to fly. The rest of the Europeans went with you towards Sonah, I and Mr. Joyce returned to Muttra.

14. We arrived about three in the morning, and found the station burnt and deserted. We proceeded on to Agra in the hopes of obtaining assistance. The news of the mutiny had spread with great rapidity and the whole country had risen amost instantaneously. We were fired at from several villages and had several narrow escapes.

15. No assistance could be given from Agra, and we returned the following evening to Muttra. We put up in the Seth's house in the City who received us most kindly. We found the two Mr. Hashman's there; we arrived at evening, the next morning I visited the office and found it burnt, and Mr. Burlton's body lying in a ditch in the compound; we buried it on the spot as well as we could.

16. The following is an outline of what occurred after the mutiny; I gathered the information from many sources aud compared it carefully; I think it may be depended on. On the treasure being laden, Mr. Burlton gave the word to march; The Subadar said "where"? To Agra, of course, Mr. Burlton replied; on which a shout arose "no to Delhie to Delhie." Mr. Burlton exclaimed "you traitors" (Bey-eeman,) on this a sepoy standing close by fired his musket at him, the ball passed through his chest; he fell off his horse, and I fancy died instantly.

17. The Sepoys then set fire to the office; the flames were the first notice the Europeans in the station had of the mutiny; they instantly left and all succeeded in making their escape to Agra; the office being well on fire, the sepoys marched off with the treasure; they sent a detachment to release the prisoners in the Jail. The Jail guard at once joined them; they then marched on towards Delhie. They burnt two bungalows besides the office, but did no other damage; they however burnt all the Government buildings on the road, Customs Chowkies and Bungalows, Police Chowkies, &c. The zemindars of all the villages along the road joined and assisted them. On reaching Kosee, Ruggoonath Sing, although he had a larger force and two guns allowed them to pass; he also plundered my property left at Kosee.

18. The sepoys carried off only the five lacs of Treasure packed on the carts. A lac and a quarter in pice, uncurrent Rupees, &c., besides several thousand Rupees in cash and jewels, deposited by the Europeans in the Treasury for safety, they left behind from what motive, I am unable to conjecture. As soon as it was known that this money had been left, the whole City headed by the Kotwal and the Bhurtpore detachment flocked down to plunder it, and continued to do so till the flames drove them out. From plundering they commenced fighting; the greatest confusion followed; about 30 men more or less were killed. Captain Burlton's body was meanwhile stripped and thrown into the ditch, where I found it. The next afternoon all the villagers for miles round poured into the station and plundered and burnt it.

19. As the news spread the country rose; by the time I returned the whole District was in anarchy. The Police and Revenue establishments were every where ejected, or if permitted to remain allowed to remain on mere sufference; the Buniahs were plundered, new proprietors ejected and murdered and the king of Dehlie proclaimed. Only a person who was there could properly understand the confusion. From the Seth's house I used to see the villagers fighting across the river, and as soon as my return was known, the villagers sent to threaten the Seths if they did not eject me; the villagers on both sides the river were disposed to plunder Muttra and commenced collecting men from Bhurtpore and elsewhere for the purpose.

20. As no assistance could be given me from Agra, I endeavoured to make the best defence I could; I had the City barracaded, raised extra Police

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and adopted various other measures. In all these measures I was ably assisted by the Seths; in fact, but for their assistance and that of some other of the wealthier inhabitants, I could not have remained; the temper of the inhabitants generally was decidedly hostile to the Government; I also as soon as I felt able sallied out, and burnt some of the neighbouring villages and caught several of the men who had been active in plundering the station. The want of any authority to punish them was a serious drawback; I could do no more than sentence to imprisonment, a sentence which could not be carried out except in a few instances and which was besides wholly inadequate to the offences; the majority of the prisoners, I was therefore compelled to release.

21. On 14th June the Kotah Contingent under Captain Dennyss arrived, and next day marched to Rayah on the Allygurh road where the villagers were in arms under one Daybee Singh who had proclaimed himself Rajah. I accompanied the force; the villagers dispersed on our approach, but by the good management of Captain Dennyss Daybee Singh was taken and hung.

22. We remained at Rayah for some days tranquilizing the country; about seven other persons were hung and a good many flogged. The outrages committed by the insurgents had been very great; the town of Rayah had been completely plundered; the very houses dug to pieces in search of Treasure. The atrocities committed on some of the Buniahs wives will not bear repetition. The confusion and anarchy of the country exceeded belief; in a circle of a few miles, above five or six zemindars had declared themselves independent, assumed the title of Rajah and proclaimed the king of Dehlie. In one instance a single village split into two factions one-half proclaimed a Rajah, the other half the Zemindars; the impression that the English rule had ceased was universal. A month before the country had been in profound tranquillity; the sudden change to anarchy without any apparent cause was very extraordinary, and is a matter worthy of the attentive consideration of the Government.

23. As the residence of the Kotah Contingent was very uncertain, and as order restored only by their presence would not continue after their removal, I submitted a scheme to the Lieutenant Governor for preserving order through the large Zemindars by conferring on them extensive powers, and where practicable appointing them to the situation of Tehseeldars, and the scheme was approved of and carried out and produced the best effect.

23. The Contingent returned to Muttra on 20th June, and on 22nd June marched to Saidabad. I accompanied it, leaving Mr. Dashwood, who had returned from Sonah in charge of the station. A Bungalow having been repaired; we no longer resided in the City.

24. I remained at Saidabad for several days. Owing to the vigorous measures that had been adopted, tranquillity had been tolerably restored in the portion of the district east of the Jumna with the exception of Nohjheel. The Western and Northern parts continued disturbed.

25. I found however a passive resistance to the Government in the refusing to pay their revenue which was more formidable because more difficult to deal with than the former active opposition. As all the ordinary means of realizing it were impracticable, I proposed to the Lieutenant Governor that contumacious refusal to pay should be treated as rebellion and punished with confiscation. This proposal was acceded to and several villages were confiscated accordingly at various times. The village selected however were almost always those guilty of rebellion and outrages.

26. On the 29th June the Contingent were called in towards Agra. On 2nd July the detachment of the Gwalior Contingent stationed in the Allygurh district mutinied, and I was compelled to return to Muttra. On the evening of the 5th July, I received intelligence that the Gwalior Contingent had

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crossed the Chumbul and were advancing on Muttra, and that the Neemuch mutineers had broken ground from Futtehpoor Secree, and were advancing on Agra. The former news eventually proved false. Our situation was now very dangerous with rebel Armies on both sides the river. We determined to fly to Agra. The rest of the party went by water, Mr. Joyce and I rode disguised in Native dresses, and succeeded in making our way to the Fort at Agra, through the rebel Army. The whole road was lined with escaped prisoners; the glare of the conflagration at Agra was visible three miles from Muttra. The rest of the party came in safely a day or two after. They had been fired at by the villagers on the river sides and were compelled to leave the boat.

27. The mutineers marched to Muttra where they were received by the inhabitants with open arms. The Seths had fled leaving their manager Mungnee Loll behind; through his excellent management the City was preserved from being plundered. After remaining a few days the mutineers went on to Delhi.

28. On receiving news of the burning of Agra all the country round Saidabad rose, and plundered the Tehseel and Thanah. One Deokurrun, headed them. With this exception, owing to the system that had been introduced of governing through the landholders, the district remained quiet, and the revenue was paid till I returned with the exception of the three pergunahs of Nohjheel, Kosee, and part of Sahar; the villagers in the two latter along the Delhi road were particularly turbulent and kept the communications so closed that the Tuhseeldar of Kosee could only communicate with Muttra by men disguised as Fukkeers, &c.

29. On the 5th October I returned to Saidabad, caught Deokurrun and hanged him. I was however almost immediately ordered back by the Chief Commissioner. On the 1st November I returned to Muttra with Colonel Cotton's Column, the Column proceeded along the Delhi road to Kosee, and punished the insurgent villages. It then returned to Agra, I remaind at Muttra. Nothing further worthy of notice occurred till I left the district at the end of December. The Pergunah of Nohjheel and part of the Pergunah of Suhar continued disturbed more or less till I left.

30. As directed in your 2nd paragraph, I have the honor to bring to your notice the names of the following persons both in and out of the Government employ, who distinguished themselves in support of the Government.

## IN THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOY.

1. Meer Imdad Ally, Deputy Collector. The particulars of his services are too well known to you to require me to detail them.

2. Dillâwur Khan, jemadar of Sowars; he conveyed Mr. Joyce and myself in safety to Agra through the rebel army. On the night of the 5th July I brought his case to the notice of Government, on leaving the district, but I am not aware that he has received any reward.

3. The Tehseeldar of Saidabad at the time I left, whose name I do not remember; he is a Hindoo, and was formerly Peshkar of Saidabad; he was made Tehseeldar by me in July 1857; his exertions in collecting the revenue were beyond praise and he remained at his post at a time of great danger.

4. Gowree Shunker, Kotwal of Muttra, behaved throughout extremely well.

5. Moty Lall, Tehsildar of Moat also displayed thoughout great fidelity to the Government, and exerted himself energetically in the collection of the revenue.

There were many other of my subordinates whose conduct deserved great praise, but whose names I do not remember.

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## PERSONS NOT IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOY.

1. The Seths Radha Kishen and Gobind Doss; you are so well acquainted with their services, that it is unnecessary for me here to detail them, I may state generally, that but for them I could not have remained at Muttra, they preserved the City, took charge of the Government treasure, and they gave through out the most accurate and earliest intelligence and faithful forewarning of danger. They warned me of the mutinous disposition of the treasury guard at the commencement of the outbreak, they recommended the sending the treasure to Agra, and as you will remember they forewarned us of the intended mutiny of the Bhurtpoor troops and of the universal disaffection of the whole Bengal army. They were almost the only person on whom I could thoroughly depend. It should also never be forgotten that at the risk of their own lives and property, they protected myself and the Mr. Hashman's in their house at a time when the harboring any Christians was a service of extreme danger. They are deserving of the highest reward.

2. Their manager Mungnee Lall, ably and faithfully carried out their wishes, and by doing so has exposed himself to much odium among the people. He should be rewarded and protected.

3. The Rajah Perty Sing of Awa, his services you are also acquainted with, he preserved the peace of the eastern part of the district, his services will be best appreciated by considering the embarassment he might have caused, had he proved disloyal.

4. Raja Teekum Sing of Moorsan, he preserved the peace of the country about Rayah, and generally gave every assistance.

5. Puchowy Bhullub Sing of Mahabun, he raised men and preserved the peace, and collected the revenue of all the Pergunah of Mahabun, of which I made him Tehseeldar in pursuance of the system adopted.

6. Choty Lall (?) and his cousin of Sohar, I made one of them Tehseeldar.

7. Sukbasee Lall, formerly a Government Wakeel, who concealed the Sherishtadar in his house when the rebels occupied Muttra, and forwarded constant information of their movements at considerable risk; I made him a Tehseeldar.

8. The Brahmin whose name I forget, who protected the Mr. Hashman's when flying from the office at the mutiny.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. THORNHILL,

*Late Magistrate and Collector of Muttra.*

ZILLAH SAHARUNPORE,
*The* 10*th August* 1858.

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# Narrative of Occurrences

## IN THE DISTRICT

## OF

# ETAWAH,

### FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE OUTBREAK TO THE COMPLETE RESTORATION OF PEACE AND ORDER.

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Elsewhere, perhaps, the shadow of the coming calamity may have preceeded it and diffused a vague sense of insecurity and alarm; not so in Etawah; there the fatal month of May opened in hope fullness and peace. Never apparently had the prospects of the district been so cheering; Crime was, and had been for the previous two years steadily decreasing, the Revenue flowed in without the necessity of recourse to a single coercive process; Public Libraries and numerous Schools gave rich promise of future progress; new lines of communication were being rapidly opened out; the Railroad was fast ripening; the great Canal with its daily multiplying branches steadily diffusing fertility through an ever widening area; and all classes of the Community, though of course not without their minor grievances, on the whole singularly happy and contented.

Suddenly the Mutiny burst upon us, effacing apparently in a day, the labours of years. More fortunate than elsewhere, the State had in Etawah good and faithful Native Servants and loyal subjects, who maintained a struggling existence amidst the waves of anarchy. Supported by the people there is an inextinguishable vitality in Governments. "Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit"; and storms like these, but serve, though for a time they shake, to strengthen and develop them. The tide turned; and then popular good-will blossomed out and gave fruit in the speedy restoration of peace and order; and now, though here and there blackened and desolate villages and bands of rebels, too desperate or too bloodstained to listen to our Gracious Queen's late message of mercy, remind us of the past, our people are once again quiet and contented, our fields are rich with heavy crops, and we can look forward hopefully to the future, and cheerfully to the labours that shall make that future, all and more, than in the past we ever dreamt of.

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On the night of the 10th of May the Meerut Mutiny occurred ; on the 11th that at Dehlee. Authentic intelligence of the first reached us, via Agra, on the morning of the 12th, and on the same day patrolling parties to watch all the roads were organized, and every possible precaution adopted to ensure the apprehension of fugitive Mutineers. Three days passed quietly away, about midnight of the 16th of May one of the patrolling parties arrested seven Mutineers of the 3rd Cavalry ; these in being disarmed resisted desperately, but four of them were killed on the spot, and two captured (one desperately wounded) one only succeeding in escaping. Lieutenant Corfield of the 9th Native Infantry was wounded in the right shoulder. Not only did the police and some troopers of the 8th Irregulars behave exceedingly well but several men of the 9th Native Infantry (so soon to Mutiny) did their duty unhesitatingly.

For further particulars see extract of official report. Appendix I.

Early in the morning of the 19th of May a number more of the 3rd Cavalry Mutineers were stopped at Juswuntnuggur, about 10 miles from the Sudder Station. On an attempt being made to disarm them they shot one and wounded three more of the police, and then took up a position in a neighbouring temple, small, but of great strength. Mr. Daniell and myself proceeded to the spot and did our best to carry the place but could obtain no support, owing to the extreme danger attending storming ; at last, after a final attempt to force it by ourselves, in which Mr. Daniell was shot through the face and the only man who accompanied us killed, I thought it adviseable, (especially as the whole body of the towns people, mustering some 2,000 low caste Muslemans were becoming actively hostile, and the police proportionally timorous) to return to Etawah, leaving the police to watch the temple. That night during a storm the Mutineers were suffered to escape. We had however killed one and mortally wounded another.

For further particulars see extract of official report. Appendix II.

All went on as usual for some days ; we received no regular intelligence, but "reports of new disaster, followed fast and followed faster," till on the 22nd of May it was determined in council that it would be best (our detachment of the 9th Native Infantry being apparently staunch and ignorant of the Mutiny of the rest of the Regiment at Allygurh and Mynpoorie, though reports of our being likely to be attacked by large bodies of Mutineers had reached them) to move the Sepoys to a position where we could prevent their hearing of the defection of their comrades till reinforcements (which I had applied for) should reach us, and where they would feel that they could defend themselves with advantage. Accordingly Burpoorah, an out Thanah in the Jumno Chumbal Doab on the main Gwalior road, was selected, and thither the troops were with their officers and the ladies of the station to be marched, I remaining behind to guard the Station with the police. The men showed no outward signs of distrust, but just at the last moment when they reached the Ghát (about 2 miles from the Station) the greater portion of them mutinied and turned back. The officers, ladies, and those of the soldiers who remained staunch crossed the river and reached Burpoorah safely. Later when the Mutineers returned and attacked the Treasury the police disappeared, at that time the *telingas* inspired an universal dread) and I also, with Mr. Parker of the Railway who had remained with me, fell back on Burpoorah. From what we have since earned, there is no doubt that had this move not been made, the troops would

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have mutinied at gun fire next morning. At Burpoorah we remained for 2 days and being joined there on the night of the 24th by Major Hennessy and the First or Grenadier Regiment of the Gwalior Contingent re-occupied the station at day break on the 25th. We found that the Treasury, the Huzoor Tuhseel, and all the Bungalows (except mine) had been plundered; the Cutchery, the Session's Court house, Post Office and two Bungalows burnt, and that both the Magistrate's and Thuggee Officer's Jails had been broken open, and the prisoners released by the Sepoys the budmashes of the neighbourhood and the inhabitants of various Aheer and Lodhee Villages. Numerous cases of highway robbery had occurred in our absence; as if by Magic, huge bands of dacoits had sprung into existence and were prowling about every where; energetic measures were however adopted, much property and 40,000 Rs. of the plundered Money was recovered, Martial law was proclaimed on the 27th of May, in accordance with Government Notification No. 278 of the 26th. Koour Luchmun Sing Deputy Collector of Banda (formerly one of my Tuhseeldars) who happened to be on leave joined me; and in a few days the most perfect order was re-established in the district. One village Fort at Sumpther, where the old Zemindars who had ousted the proprietor pertinaciously refused to surrender, though offered pardon, and fired on our emmisaries of peace, was carried by storm, burnt and the garrison put to the sword. Very soon the whole country round us was up in Arms; the Cawnpore, Furruckabad, Mynpoorie and Agra districts, where they bordered on ours, gradually fell into an indescribable state of anarchy, but within our boundary all was peace. The Zemindars, at first altogether taken by surprise, were begining to come forward in support of the Government, our officials quite rallied and in several instances showed a proper manly spirit. I doubted the Grenadiers, but this did not deter me from making such arrangements as should enable me to take the fullest advantage of their remaining staunch, should they prove so. We sent the whole of the ladies of the station into Agra, pushed the best of the police into the neighbouring Pergunnahs of Cawnpore, and began collecting supplies at the nearest point on the Canal in the hopes of being able ultimately to assist General Wheeler. We commenced raising local Thaquoor levies, on the same principle that has since proved so successful here, and began almost to hope that we might weather the storm. But all in vain, whilst the most trustworthy of our police and the most loyal of our Zemindars were 60 or 70 Miles distant, East and West; at Agra escorting the ladies, at Secundra and Derá Mungulpoor busy attempting to restore order, long before even I expected it the Grenadiers Mutinied. On the 16th of June news came of the Gwalior Mutiny and Massacre, the Native Officer of the Corps refused in my presence to obey their Commanding Officer, and though then perfectly respectful, before night, the most faithful of my servants told me, that men in the Regiment had agreed to rise and murder us. Lieutenant Span in my house overheard two of the Sepoy saying the same; Major Hennessy himself overheard enough in the lines to convince him that our lives would not be safe for another day, and early in the morning of the 17th June, it was agreed that we should make the best of our way out of the station to the nearest point of the Agra District,

For further particulars see extract of official report. Appendix III.

See in confirmation extract of official report. Appendix XXI.

See further in regard to this point et. seqr. extracts from official papers. Appendix IV.

For further particulars see extracts from official papers. Appendix V.

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the more so, as we were aware that the Jhansee Mutineers were within a day or two's march of the District. Arrived at Kutchorah we found it impossible to halt there. Bah, where we were joined by fugitives from Calpee and Jaloun, (amongst them two ladies) proved no less dangerous, and we were therefore compelled to fall back upon Agra. After our departure the Grenadiers plundered the property of the residents which had been recovered and the little money that remained in the Treasure Chests. They next attacked and began to plunder the new town of which they burnt a few shops, but the towns people turned out killed twenty-six, wounded several, and ultimately forced the whole Regiment across the river.

On my arrival at Agra I immediately sent Koour Zohr Sing of Pertabnere, who had accompanied the ladies thither, back to Etawah with instructions to protect the City, make the best arrangements he could for the neighbourhood, and communicate regularly with me. Throughout the District the people seemed well affected, at any rate the Tuhseel and Thannah officers maintained their position.

On the 24th of June the Jhansee brigade crossed the river Jumna at Sheregurh, and on the 25th forcibly plundered the Oreyah Tuhseel, the Tuhseeldar, Rambuksh, managing to save the records. When the Mutineers who had arrested him passed on and released him he returned, and for a time restored order in the Pergunnah, ultimately dying at his post from the effects of the ill treatment he had received. This man was a Buneah, but his passive fidelity to the trust reposed in him was truly heroic.

The Jhansee Mutineers passed on to Luckna, but the Tuhseeldar Ishureepershad with the assistance of Rao Juswunt Rao removed his Treasure and records to Duleepnuggur, that gentleman's ancestral fort, and they were baffled. They next moved to Etawah where on their arrival the Mewatees of the town, as usual, committed many acts of violence, they burned the rest of the Bungalows in the station and then passed on to Mynpoorie. The district, though for a short time the budmashes congregating around the desperadoes, who had escaped from the Thuggee and neighbouring Jails, prowled about in formidable bands, became once more tranquil. Here was clearly no latent disloyalty in the people ; three times had bands of Mutineers disturbed the peace of the district and let loose the lawless ruffians, who even in the most peaceful times have ever infested its innumerable ravines, each time (the Mutineers once beyond its borders) the people rallied round the Government Officers, all of whom they had protected to the utmost during the disturbances, and relapsed in a few days into quiet. I felt that the mass of the people were not at enmity with *me* at any rate. Directly I arrived at Agra, I addressed the most pressing private letters and public orders to all the Talooquadars whom I thought trustworthy, as well as to my Tuhseeldars, urging them for once really to exert themselves, and prove their fidelity to Government and friendship to myself, and from that time till I rejoined my appointment (with the short break caused by the battle of the 5th of July and my subsequent severe illness) I continued steadily to write to these (as well as many others who appeared to be behaving well) encouraging letters, to decide for them all difficult points referred to me, and to furnish them with correct summaries of news. I never allowed the rebels to have all the talk on their side, but by proclamations and private

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communications to influential persons, perseveringly endeavoured to let every one hear our statements of the case and to keep alive every feeling of loyalty to the State and good will towards myself.

All was so quiet at Etawah (for up to that time not one Zemindar had turned against us) that I was thinking of returning to the District, when the Neemuch Brigade neared Agra. Then came the battle of the 5th of July in which I served on the righthalf battery. The same night I was told off to No 6 battery, where I was on guard for several nights, till laid up with cholera, then very prevalent. When I recovered I found that the District had been comparatively quiet but that several of the Talooquadars were inclined to quarrel as to their respective jurisdictions, while all were in doubt as to what their powers really were. These points I settled summarily and a few days later, on the 8th of August, drew out with the sanction of Government a more detailed scheme assigning portions of the district with certain monthly stipends to each of the most respectable and competent Talooquadars and Tuhseeldars. Previous however to the receipt in the district of the orders in this matter, three separate bodies of Mutineers had for the 4th time disturbed its peace, one on the 26th July attacked Phuppoond and plundered the Tuhseel, the records however being saved; a second a little later passing the already plundered Tuhseel of Oreyah, advanced avowedly to plunder that of Lukna (now called Bhurtenah,) but being baffled as before, went off to Mynpoory disappointed; a third made a dash at Beylah, which they took, but not before the Tuhseeldar had managed to secure the Treasure and records at Chutter Sing's Fort at Sehar.

See Appendix XXII.

Our continued want of success at Dehlee, the universal anarchy that prevailed every where around, my long absence, and the intermission (during illness) of my letters, were begining at last to shew their effects. Rana Mahunder Sing of Secrolee with Nirunjun Sing of Chukkernuggur attempted to eject Zohr Sing and the Government officers from Etawah; the Rajah of Rooroo in Pergunnah Beylah (now Bidhoonah) with his kinsmen Kamul Sing and Inderjeet collected Revenue, molested the Government servants, took forcible possession of numerous villages and looted two or three. Roop Sing the Uncle of the Minor Rajah of Bhurrey did likewise in Oreyah (now Dullelnuggur). The rest of the Talooquadars however, and the mass of the people remained quiet and faithful, regularly reporting to me all that occurred, and some of them exerting themselves to send camels, horsemen, and supplies of different kinds into Cawnpore.

Even the rebels above mentioned, were kept within bounds (at first by the letters I addressed to them, and subsequently by the advance of Grant's Column to Mynpoorie) till towards the end of October; when however that Column had passed on without visiting our District and it began to be rumoured that we were holding even Cawnpore and Lucknow with difficulty, the Mutineers and Dacoits, especially the latter, (all of whom had fled on hearing of the approach of the Column) returned in greater numbers and more determined on mischief than before, while the refractory Zemindars began to collect forces and entertain Mutineers with unmistakeable energy, and "mauvaise entente." Just at this juncture the Gwalior forces loomed upon the South East horizon. Raja Bhow of Sekundra commenced a

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bridge at Calpee, where an advanced guard of the Mutineers had arrived, and threatened the Government officials of our neighbouring Pergunnah of Oreyah. Simultaneously Roop Sing who had collected about 1000 men commenced, at the request of the Mutineers, a Bridge at Sheregurh. Urgently pressed for assistance by the officers of the Pergunnah and authorized by me to do what they could, Rao Juswant Rao and Moonshee Ishureepershaud marched down, broke the bridge and though at first surrounded by Roop Sing who had been joined by Nirunjun Sing and the noted Dacoits Rampershaud and Peetum Sing, on the 1st of November, having received reinforcements from other loyal Zemindars, defeated and routed the enemy, killing Rampershaud himself (the real leader in the field) and 17 others. In Etawah too, matters began to improve, the vernacular proclamation which I then issued, and which Government later had printed for general circulation, produced a most marked effect and strengthened Koor Zohr Sing's hands most materially. Once more, although the rebel leaders still maintained a menacing attitude, the district was at peace. On the 1st of December however, the Nazim of the Nawab of Futtehgurh summoned by the Rajah of Rooroo and the Rana of Secrolie, with a force of some 5000 men and 12 guns, entered the district and reached Etawah on the 3rd, the same day the Rana attacked Koor Zohr Sing, who had procured the loan of 2 guns from the Bhadoreea Raja, and by a surprise seized the guns and killed the principal men with them. Zohr Sing was compelled to fall back on Pertabnere and the Mewatees as usual set to work plundering every one they could. The Government servants of Beylah were now unable to venture outside Chutter Sing's Ghurree at Sehar, those of Phuppoond had to seek refuge in Lala Laik Sing's Fort at Hurchundpoor ; Roop Sing took possession of the Dullelnuggur Pergunnah, but Juswant Rao and Ishureepershaud held their own in the huge Pergunnah of Bhurtanah and though the Nazim sent there, as elsewhere, his Tuhseeldars and Thanadars, the total result of their labours was the realization of the sum of Rs. 7-8 from an unfortunate Abkar.

See Appendix XXI.

Their triumph was short lived. Brigadier Walpole's column on the 25th December entered the Oreyah Pergunnah, the rebels fled in confusion every where, only at Etawah Zohr Sing surrounded Taj Khan and other Mewatees in the Tuhseel, and kept them there till on the 28th the force arrived and after 3 men of the Rifles had been wounded in an ineffectual attempt to storm, the place was mined, blown up, and some at least of the most notorious of the Mewatees disposed of. All this time I had been most anxious to rejoin my appointment, but the Government declined allowing me to do so till they could support me with some force. On the 30th December, the Chief Commissioner having directed Brigadier Walpole to leave 2 Guns and 200 Europeans at Etawah, authorized my proceeding thither with Mr. G. B. Maconochie, under an escort of 50 of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, commanded by Lieut. Sheriff. En-route we learnt that no detachment had been left, but we determined to push on and re-occupied Etawah on the 6th of January. That the people were really glad to see us I cannot doubt, the unmistakeably spontaneous rejoicings at our arrival with so insignificant a force were convincing. The district was all quiet except towards Oreyah, where Roop Sing had returned with a large force the day Walpole's Column left Etawah, viz: the 30th of December. Foreseeing that it might be long

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before I received assistance I commenced raising the Etawah local levies and before the end of January had about 200 Infantry, 150 Cavalry, 5 guns and 50 gunners. Our position was undoubtedly a *very* critical one; my trust was in the accuracy of my information which never failed me. Whilst we grew stronger, so did Roop Sing and the Mutineers at Oreyah, and twice they marched to attack us in great force, once they arrived within 13 and once within 15 Miles, and each time hurriedly fell back owing to our determined attitude and the rumour of an advance from Cawnpore in the direction of Calpee. Towards the end of the month we were strengthed by a detachment of Alexander's Horse. On the 7th of February, Captain Alexander and myself with detachments of his horse and the Local Cavalry, and a number of Matchlock men supplied on the spot by loyal Zemindars, attacked a large force of the enemy in a strong position near Anuntram and utterly defeated them, killing as we have since learned more than 150, (125 were counted at the time) taking their only gun and all their baggage.

1. long French 12 pounder ship Carronade. 4. 3½ pounders.

For further particulars see official despatches. Appendix VI.

Pergunnahs Etawah and Bhurtanah were now entirely tranquil. In Bidhoonah our authority was re-established, and though the Rajah of Rooroo retained a number of Mutineers in his fort and furnished supplies to wandering bodies of rebels, who at that time continually passed through the Pergunnah, he abstained from further overt acts of rebellion, and ultimately, after planning an expedition to attack us, his heart failing him, committed suicide on the 7th of March, since when the Pergunnah has remained undisturbed, except by trifling raids of Mutineers from outside. At Sheregurh there was always a strong guard of regular troops from Calpee, and there they had a swinging bridge of boats. This continued to be the chief obstacle to the entire tranquilization of the district; we might have defeated the rebels in Oreyah, but they could at a few hours notice be reinforced from the other side of the river. As it was, by this bridge large predatory bands of Mutineers used to cross, and after a few days plundering in Phuppoond or Oreyah return, to enjoy their spoils in safety. I am thus particular because this was the turning point of the re-organization of the district, and the neglect of my earnest representations prolonged the trouble in it 6 months. I applied in vain, to various authorities, who had the power, to break or seize this bridge, and had determined to attempt to do it myself when Brigadier Seaton, considering us too weak, absolutely forbade my moving any of the regular troops towards Oreyah; thereby, as my levies were then only armed with matchlocks, utterly crippling me and precluding the possibility of my moving my guns against the enemies regular infantry. So Roop Sing and friends remained in possession of the Oreyah Pergunnah. I may add, that though every opportunity was given them, Rajah Koosal Sing and his son Nirunjun Sing of Chukkernuggur refused to come in, and remained in defiant possession of that portion of the Jumno Chumbul Duab till September. The rest of the district was quite quiet, but it was kept so partly by forbearance and tact; not being sure of being able to enforce them, I issued as few orders as possible, and none that I thought would provoke resistance. When we were firmly established I felt that no one *would* resist, it would have been folly by seeking prematurely to exercise full authority (when as the people well knew we were weak) to embroil myself with any who had not hitherto been openly disloyal.

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Early in March I re-occupied Ajeetmul with 600 Matchlockmen; placing another similar body, with 50 Sowars of the Local levies, at Anuntram, with a view to check the advance of Roop Sing whose force was very materially increasing. The desired effect was produced, and on Colonel Riddell's arrival at Etawah on the 13th with his column, most of the Mutineers, who in considerable numbers had flocked to Roop Sing's standard, re-crossed the Jumna.

Up to this time I had collected no money but what was required for immediate use, now however that the presence of Europeans ensured its safe custody, the Zemindars of Bhurtanah and Etawah were directed to pay up the revenue. In the Oreyah Pergunnah the rebels were actively engaged in collecting the same, and on the 16th of March they attacked Phuppoond in great force, plundered the place, killed several of the towns people and one of the police. Throughout March the Pergunnah of Oreyah was held by the Mutineers, whose strength varied with the movements of Colonel Maxwell's column in the Cawnpore District. At last about the close of the month I received permission to move out with a force as per margin. I was accompanied by Koour Zohr Sing and Rao Juswant Rao. On the 3rd day, early on the morning of the 30th, we arrived at Ajeetmul, about 2 hours after the place had been stormed, burned and looted by a large body of Mutineers and rebels, who had driven out our garrison of Matchlockmen after killing 4 and wounding several. We however followed the offenders up sharply, burnt their 3 strong holds, killed 5 of them, and drove the whole body in confusion into the ravines.

2nd P. I. 100 Rank and file.
Alexander's Horse 70.
Etawah Local Battery 5 guns.
Etawah Local Cavalry 150.
Do. do. 200 with muskets.
100 Matchlockmen.

For further particulars see extract from official diary. Appendix VII.

We occupied that position for some time, being prohibited from moving any nearer to Oreyah. Our not advancing, as I begged we might be allowed to do, gave the enemy confidence and more over time to obtain large reinforcements from Calpee, so that by the 11th April finding our Levies surrounded on 3 sides by an overwhelming force, and Colonel Riddell assuring us that he would send us no supports under any circumstances, we fell back most reluctantly, after sundry skirmishes, to Bukewar. Immediately the whole of Phuppoond and Oreyah (Dullelnuggur) were occupied by the rebels, while bands of plunderers made their appearance every where in Bidhoona (Beylah). Nirunjun Sing who had for some time past been very active at Churkharee, and later in the attack on Colonel Maxwell's column near Bhogneepoor, now re-appeared with a force in the Oreyah Pergunnah; and Gunga Sing, the famous Dacoit, who had joined Roop Sing made his appearance there with Peetum and Bunkut. Having however the enemy only on one side now we endeavoured to check his advance by sudden attacks on his out posts. On the 21st we made a most successful Cavalry attack on a party of Roop Sing's at Ajeetmul, and though the enemy were in great force all round, drove them with the loss of 7 men helterskelter into the ravines. The audacity of this attack, for the time, completely frightened the rebels; the western half of the Oreyah Pergunnah was cleared, and Nirunjun Sing fell back to Chukkernugger with a small party of about 150 Mutineers and the usual crowd of Matchlockmen. The ghât of

For further particulars see extract from official diary. Appendix VIII.

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the Jumna opposite Bukewur is Dibhoulee, and during the night of the 25th a party of his men crossed over, beat off the weak Zemindaree guard placed over the boat, and made off with it to their side. Next day, by a very pretty combined movement from two directions, we surprised the enemy, cut up 15, took prisoner and hung 3, recovered the boat and entirely dispersed the force on the other side of the river; we had however Mr. C. Doyle, who acted under me as Commandant of the local horse, shot through the right shoulder.

For further particulars see extract from the official diary. Appendix IX.

By the beginning of May the district began to feel the advance of Sir H. Rose's column, numbers of Mutineers crossing into the Dullel-nuggur Pergunnah. Reverting to our former tactics, we had on the 2nd a cavalry skirmish near Ajeetmul, in which Roop Sing's dewan, and some other of his followers who were stationed there to collect *rusud* for their force, were killed. The enemy however were growing rapidly in strength, and going into Etawah to escort the treasure and endeavour to induce Colonel Riddell to move out, I was taken ill; the enemy increased in strength hourly, and threatened our Camp; Lieutenant Sherriff fell back 2 miles to a strong position. Anuntram was taken and burnt; Lieutenant Chapman going out thither found himself opposed to a strongly posted force of some 600 Cavalry from 1000 to 1200 regular infantry with 5 or 6 guns, and most judiciously fell back after a thorough "reconnoissance." On the 5th as the Mutineers still kept advancing and increasing in numbers, and Colonel Riddell's instructions would not, he informed me, allow him to move out, I authorized Lieutenant Sherriff to fall back on Etawah. This he did with the whole of the Tuhseel records (on 80 Sowars) and almost all the respectable Zemindars of the neighbourhood; and the Luckna Pergunnah passed into the hands of rebels. The inhabitants having always been eminently loyal, fled in thousands and tens of thousands, our force escorting their valuables. Nirunjun Sing crossed the Jumna at Dibhoulee and taking up his quarters at Nandgown on this side, burnt and plundered several villages and attacked Lukna, but was beaten off by Rao Juswant Rao's men. Phuphoond being utterly in the rebels hands they seized and murdered two unfortunate Chuprassies, sent by the Government officials to us to beg for assistance. I had volunteered at Sir R. Hamilton's request to collect and send down boats to Calpee, for the construction of a bridge there, and at last orders came directing Coll. Riddell to march down towards Oreyah to support me in doing so. He moved on the 9th of May to Bukewar and on the 10th commenced our Jumna expedition, in which Koour Lutchman Sing and Rao Juswant Rao accompanied us. Of this it is sufficient here to say, that in an open boat, in the middle of May, with the force as per margin we in 7 days collected and raised (often from under the enemies fire) 36 boats, and after many skirmishes and a pitched battle at Beejulpore Silowah (in which we defeated a far superior force of the Mutineers, taking the whole of their guns (6) all their baggage and killing 81 regular Sepoys) safely conveyed them 63 miles down the river, though the whole

See also extracts from official diary. Appendix XI.

110 2d P. I. Lt. Sherriff.
150 E. Local Infantry.
150 E do. Horse.
2 (3 pr.) L guns E L Bty.
Mr. G. B. Maconochie.
The whole under command of Lt. Sherriff.
Mr. A O Hume.

For further particulars see extract from official diary. Appendix XII.

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of the Villages on the right bank were hostile to us, and many forts and strong positions on the left were occupied by an enemy intent on arresting our progress. On the 18th of May having arrived at Sheregurh, Coll. Riddell desired us to go across and burn the enemies standing Camp, which we did in their very face, falling back later in good order before a large force, and re-crossing in comparative safety under a very heavy fire. This was a service of considerable danger and difficulty in which a rebel of some importance was killed. For several successive days the enemy (Coll. Riddell considering it inexpedient to attack them) continued to fire at us across the river and succeeded in killing and wounding a few horses, goats, and camp followers, but news of the fall of Calpee having reached they disappeared on the 24th, and on the 25th some 3000 of the Calpee fugitives crossed at Beejulpoor and made off Northwards for the Ganges; but Coll. Riddell considered it inexpedient to pursue them, and still having the boats in charge I was not permitted to do so, (though on my own responsibility I did despatch a few Cavalry to watch them) or indeed to move in to the Phuphoond or Beylah Pergunnahs where bodies of Mutineers were still moving about. At last orders arrived, the boats were safely conveyed to Calpee, the district (except across the river at Chukkernuggur) being evacuated by the large bodies Mutineers for about the 6th time, became immediately tranquil, and on the 2nd of June we marched into Etawah, and Lieutenant Sherriff with his gallant Seiks left us to rejoin his Regt. During June, though the adjoining territory of Gwalior fell into indescribable confusion, though Gunga Sing, Nirunjun Sing and other dacoit leaders continued threatening us in various directions, and parties of Mutineers here and there had fights with the Villagers, order prevailed; the whole of the tuhseels and thannahs of the district were in full play, the revenue collections went on quietly every where; Inderjeet of Rooroo and several Sepoys and absconded convicts were arrested, and Raja Tej Sing of Mynpoory surrendered himself to me. I fell ill and on the 2nd of July, left on Sick leave, making over charge of the District to Mr. G. E. Lance, and command of the Etawah Local Levies, as per Margin, to Lieutenant L. Forbes of the 2nd Grenadiers. All honor to the levies they had done their duty faithfully and gallantly, and since then, under Lieutenant Forbes, they have nobly sustained their reputation in many a hard struggle. The day I left, Roop Sing appeared with a large force on the borders of the district, and on the 4th of July commenced crossing the Jumna into the Oreyah Pergunnah opposite Bhurrey. On the 6th, Peetum Sing and Bunkut Sing, dacoit leaders in his train, attacked Ajeetmul, but though in considerable force they were driven back on the same day to the ravines, with the loss of several men, by a detachment of Cavalry under Messrs. Maconochie and Lieutenant Graham, who had preceeded the main force under Lieutenant Forbes and Mr. Lance, as a kind of advance guard; after defeating the enemy these fell back to Anuntram, where the main body joined them the next day by a forced march, but they were too much fatigued to push on at once, and during the day Ajeetmul was again attacked and a second time thoroughly burnt and gutted (even to the gates.)

For further particulars see extract from official diary. Appendix XIII.

Vide extracts from official diary. Appendix XIV.

Vide extracts from official diary. Appendix XV.

250 E. Local Horse.
340 „ „ Infantry.
60 Artillery and 5 Guns.
N. B. The infantry has been since raised to nearly 500.

On the 8th Messrs. Lance, Forbes, Maconochie, and Graham, with levies

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200 Infantry.
120 Cavalry.
5 Guns, 60 Artillery men.

as per margin, attacked the rebels at Ajeetmul whe they still were, and drove them in confusion into th ravines whence they fled across the river to Bhurre On the 11th July the enemy re-occupied Ramnuggur, one of the stronghol that we had burnt on the 30th March, but Mr. Lanc with the rest of the force drove them out, and thoug later in the day they returned in great force and a tacked our position, they were signally defeated wit considerable loss, ours being only one Sepoy killed and one Sowar badl wounded. Mr. Lance continued to hold Ajeetmul, and cowed by the last de feat, the rebels across the river remained perfectly quiet till the 7th of August when they suddenly crossed and surprising the Thana dar near Joheeka killed two of the peons who wer with him. After some ably conducted operation Mr. Lance succeeded in obtaining possession of all th rebel's boats, and crossing to Nimree, one of the chief rebel strongholds of th Jumna Chumbel Doab, took up a position there, re pelling on the 13th a well organized attack unde Gunga Sing, Peetum Sing and Bunkut Sing, i which the rebels again suffered considerably.

For further particulars see extract of official diary. Appendix XVI.

For further particulars see extracts from official diary. Appendix XVII.

For further particulars see extracts from official diary. Appendix XVIII.

On the 14th our force destroyed the place thoroughly and re-crossed int the Dullelnuggur Pergunnah. Throughout the district all was quiet excep that at Bhurrey and Chukkernuggur Roop Sing and the Rajah and his son still held court, surrounded by their Mutineer and dacoits allies, and tha nightly small parties of picked marksmen used to swim the river, creep u through the ravines, and fire at our picquets, one Naik of the levies was th only victim. Late in August the Agra fleet of merchant boats arrived, an reinforced by Lieutenant Gordon with his Company of Sappers and Miner 50 Seiks of the Agra Police, 100 Infantry of the Mynpoory levy, and a 18 pounder carronade, Mr. Lance and Lieutenan Forbes, though vigorously opposed between the 28t of August and 5th of September, brought down th convoy safely, took and destroyed the very strong fo of Bhurrey, and on the 6th of September, a road having been made to it fro the latter place, attacked and took Chukkernuggur. The whole of the distric south of the Jumna was then occupied by us in force. Suhson on the Chun bul, where the Chukkernuggur rebels at first fled, being immediately afte taken and 200 of the levies, under an European Officer, stationed there wher they still remain ; since then all has been tranquil in our district. The South ern frontier still requires to be most carefully watched, as Roop Sing and othe rebels are continually endeavouring, but hitherto without success, to mak good plundering expeditions ; the most important of these was signally defeate at Parlee on the 23rd of October by the levies under Lieutenant Allan, (lately appointed to do duty with them) the rebels losing above 30 men, th whole of their camels, horses, baggage and magazine.

For further particulars see extracts of official diary. Appendix XIX.

PERSONS DESERVING NOTICE.

All is now peaceful and we trust that at length order has been *finally* restored. Of those who contributed to this result Mr. Maconochie, (Deputy Collector, Regulation IX. of 1833) present in every engagement and always to the front, deserves prominent mention. In regard to Lieutenant Sherriff who left us in June, I have already submitted a separate report a gentleman and a soldier in the highest sense of the words, it is un

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necessary to say more of him here. Lieutenant Forbes since he joined in June, has been all that his high previous reputation and intellectual acquirements led us to expect. The very favorable opinion I entertained of Mr. C. J. Doyle commanding the local horse, who has only lately recovered from the severe wound he received on the 26th April, was on that occasion reported to Government, and I have since then only had additional causes for respecting and esteeming him. Lieutenants Allan and Graham since they joined the levies, have ever done their duty manfully, and on several occasions greatly distinguished themselves. Mr. Lance's achievements speak for themselves ; his energy, courage and decision need no praise from me, his Junior.

Koour Lutchmun Sing's ( Deputy Collector, Regulation IX. of 1833 ) exemplary loyalty from first to last, his ability in the office, and his bravery in the field have been repeatedly noticed and acknowledged. Lalla Dabeepershaud, Tuhseeldar of Bidhoona ( late Beylah ) and Monshee Ishureepershaud, Tuhseeldar of Bhurtanah ( late Luckna ) have been both equally and peristently loyal, adhering through all the troubles and dangers of the past 18 months to their respective posts, while the latter has also in several smart fights, exhibited an amount of courage and daring scarcely to be paralleled in a man of his age and caste.

Moonshee Shambehareeloll, Tuhseeldar of Etawah ( and Superintendent of Police throughout the disturbances ) is a right good and faithful servant of the state.

Conspicuous for their loyalty amongst the Native Gentlemen of Etawah stand Rao Juswant Rao of Duleepnuggur, Koour Zohr Sing the Manager and Uncle of the Raja of Pertabnere ( already so often mentioned in the narrative ) and Laik Sing of Hurchundpore, who though less powerful than the former two, was as thorougly and essentially loyal as it was possible for man to be. In him from first to last there has been no shade of vacillation ; to each and all, mutineers and loyalists he ( for he is a travelled and experienced man ) had but one reply, "it may be Months it may be Years, but sooner or later the English Government will get the upperhand, and every man will eat the fruit of his deeds."

See also Appendix XVI.

One more, Lalla Chutur Sing of Sehar was conspicuous for his good feeling towards Government, and continuous protection of Government servants, records and treasure, but he was unfortunately led astray by private feelings into two or three irregularities and cannot, though deserving of reward, be put on the same footing as the above.

Rao Jawahir Sing who managed the Burpoorah *Ilaqua ;* Bhowane Sing, factor of the Chondrayen of Binsea, himself a considerable Zemindar in this district and who was wounded at the battle of Anuntram ; the little Raja of Mubhajunee ; the Bajpaee's of Luckna and its neighbourhood ; the Kooderkote brothers, the Raees of Takah and Baboo Ajoodhea Pershaud of Etawah, deserve also favorable mention.

There are a crowd of less important Zemindars who would elsewhere perhaps be designated eminently loyal, but they have done so little, com-

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pared to the above named, and are so little distinguished from the mass of the population that it is unnecessary to name them here.

FINANCE. As to the Financial results in the District. It will be necessary to add only a few words. There were plundered on the 23rd of May from the

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sudder Treasury,... ... ... ... | Rs., | 4,75,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Huzoor Tuhseel Treasury ... ... | ,, | 366 | 0 | 0 |
| 17th June from the Sudder Treasury, ... | ,, | 350 | 0 | 0 |
| Huzoor Tuhseel do. ... | ,, | 246 | 0 | 0 |
| 25th June Oreya Tuhseel do. ... | ,, | 13,000 | 0 | 0 |
| 26th July Phuphoond Tuhseel do. ... | ,, | 3,142 | 0 | 0 |
| Total Rupees, | | 4,92,604 | 0 | 0 |

of this amount about 50,000 Rs., has been recovered from first to last. The Tuhseeldars of Beylah and Luckna saved their treasure, amounting to Rs. 8000 and 17,600 respectively. Soon after the outbreak I, on my own responsibility, suspended the Government demand. Money was safer in the hands of a thousand Zemindars than in a Treasury guarded by Sepoys too likely to Mutiny. When I returned to the District there was therefore a portion of the May and all the June, November and December Kists (of 1857) to collect, and before it became safe to commence regularly collecting once more, the February, May and June Kists of 1858 had fallen due, making a total demand of ... ... ... ... ... Rs. 14,05,331
of this sum I have collected ... ... ... ... ,, 12,32,611

of the balance *viz.* ... ... ... ... ... ... 1,72,720
only Rs. 44,759 is a real balance, the rest is suspended under orders, and to be paid out of grants hereafter to be made, or is nominal, or on account of villages of rebels confiscated or attached, which will be made good directly the method of their disposal is settled, or for which engagements to pay by instalments have been taken, or on account of Court of Wards estates in which the wards have collected during the disturbances and whose accounts have not yet been adjusted. This too without *my* having recourse to a single coercive process, and notwithstanding all the villages that were burnt and plundered,* and the crops that were destroyed.

RECORDS. The whole of my Sudder Office Records were destroyed; a selection of some of the most valuable escaped till the Nazims advent, when they too were lost. All my Tuhseel and Thanah Records, with the exception of a portion of those of the Etawah Tuhseel, were saved and have been completely re-arranged.

EDUCATION. One word as to Education. It has been asserted that the imposition of the 1 per cent schoolcess has tended greatly to make us unpopular. It may have done so elsewhere, here I do not think the proposition holds good. This district was pre-eminent as regards education. In two years I opened 188 schools, which contained no less than 7000 scholars at the time of the out break; yet has this district also been pre-eminent for loyalty, and not only have the schools remained open, in many instances through all these troubles, but in some cases the Zemindars have themselves paid the Masters, saying they

* The real Balance is almost exclusively on account of these.

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would take credit for the amount when they next paid up the schoolcess, and long before I thought it safe to collect the revenue the little lads were every where humming away at their lessons, as if all was quiet and the fate of empires was not quivering in the scale. Of course the number of pupils was, and still is, less than formerly as many parents are averse just as yet to let their little ones go by themselves to any distance, and we have only one school to every 5 or 6 Villages. However on the 1st of November there were *present*, at the 179 Schools now open, 3883 Scholars.

CAUSES OF THE LOYALTY OF THE PEOPLE OF ETAWAH.

It may be asked to what is to be attributed the loyalty* that, compared with others, the people of this district certainly evinced.

1st. Lightness of assessment.† This District is, compared as a whole with all others that I know of, lightly assessed. The heaviest assessments are in the least loyal Pergunnah, Dullelnuggur.

2nd. The very fortunate appointments that had been made during the few years previous to the Mutiny, not one single man drawing a salary of 15 Rupees and upwards whom I had nominated proving false.

3rd. The personal influence of Koour Luchmun Sing over Koour Zohr Sing of Pertabnere and his brother Taquors, the kindly feeling's entertained towards myself by the majority of the Talooquadars, and the persevering efforts that both Lutchmun Sing and myself made, from the very day I reached Agra, to keep alive those feelings, encourage loyalty, and counteract the effect of the false reports spread by the ill affected.

A few closing words as to the policy which I have pursued, *since* my return to the district, may not be misplaced. No district in the N. W. Provinces has I believe been more completely restored to Order. None in which so few severe punishments have been inflicted. Mercy and forbearance have, I think, I may justly say, characterised my administration. This has I know been attributed by Europeans to want of firmness, by natives to influence exercised over me by other loyal natives, whom I am not ashamed to call friends. Both interpretations erred. We had before us then a great and glorious problem to solve, viz; how to restore peace and order and the Authority of Government with the least possible amount of human suffering. I was no *advocate* either for severity or clemency, there is a time and place for both. The case of this district seemed to me to call for the latter.

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* As further evidence of the good feeling prevailing in the district I must mention, that no customs line being in existence, I established in October 1857 a temporary one. There were several advantages in this. 1st, It kept the people in mind of our Government. 2nd, It enabled them to supply their daily wants without becoming by habit smugglers. 3rd, It afforded a clue to the Amounts of Salt and Goor respectively imported and exported during the disturbances. 4th, It secured a certain small revenue to Government that would otherwise have been entirely lost. Though we had no establishment to enforce obedience, no less than 15,000 Maunds of Salt and 10,000 Maunds of Goor (in round numbers,) mostly in small quantities were brought by the people to the Government Officers, and paid the small duty that I had fixed; a heavy one would have driven them to smuggling.

† Give the Rajpoots and fighting men reasonable means and happy homes, free from those instruments of torture, the Civil Courts and the native usurer, and they will fight for order and the Government under whom they are well off. Make it easier for your Goojur Aheer and thief classes to grow rich by Agriculture than Crime, and besides making Criminal Administration cheaper, most of these will for their own sakes, side with Government. Tax the Baneahs, Kayuts, Bankers and such like, who growing rich by the pen, oust their betters from their ancestral holdings, and then are too great cowards to wield a sword, either to protect their own acquisitions or, aid the Government that has fostered their success.

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The wounds were neither very deep nor festering, and I thought that soothing treatment rather than the knife or cautery was requisite. Long before I returned to the District I had determined on the general line of policy that I intended to pursue; from the very day I first at the borders of the district received the congratulatory visits of hundreds of our well wishers, I gave it generally to be understood, that I had no feelings of animosity to gratify, no desire to inflict a single punishment not forced upon me, and that especially was I willing to forget the past in regard to all (who had not been conspicuous for their crimes) who then ceased to disturb the peace, and made due reparation to their fellow subjects for the injuries they had done them.

The enemies of Order had, even in the worst of times, always been in a minority numerically speaking, but from the time that my intentions became generally known they certainly on the mainland pergunnahs (excluding Dullelnuggur) scarcely exceeded one per cent of the population. In this lay our strength; any surprise by the ill affected and their Mutineer friends was impossible, every move, every accession of strength was reported at once from a dozen different quarters: men, nay whole communities who had been plunderers were, instead of being goaded into rebellion, led to return to their peaceful pursuits, and to submit to arbitration* the adjustment of the cost of their transgressions. I will admit that innumerable criminals thus escaped far too cheaply, if their offences be viewed in the same light as similar ones committed in ordinary times, but I think that the exceptional circumstances that encouraged, if not gave rise to these crimes, invalidate any such objection, the sufferers in very many cases have had their losses made good, and the victims, of whom the gallows have been, as many hold, defrauded, are become peaceable and useful citizens whose brethren too are at peace with us. We have not roughly torn up the noxious weed heedless how we scattered the seed of future troubles, we have trimmed and tended it, and now it bids fair well to repay our care.

It was not leniency however alone, that enabled us to hold the district, without so to speak, any force for so long; care was taken to do nothing and issue no order in regard to any not openly against us, calculated or likely to provoke opposition or disobedience; many measures distasteful to individuals or communities (not in arms against us) had ultimately I foresaw to be carried out; weak as we were, premature attempts though successful, would in many instances have led to resistance, and committed to rebellion; it was time enough I thought for these measures when by the tacit acquiescence of these very men (amongst others) in our authority (which nothing tempted them to question), we had had time so to strengthen ourselves as to render all thoughts of resistance out of the question.

Of course dealing with men, no one who would rule successfully can neglect the passions and private feelings that sway the different leaders. Well acquainted (I had been 2 years in the District) with the private friendships, enmities and aspirations that more or less influence the conduct and opinions of even the best of my native coadjutors and subordinates, I have continually had to play these against each other, and by maintaining a sort of balance between con-

* There have been 526 such punchayut cases; some of which included the whole of the inhabitants of one or more Villages; for as noticed in the narrative, whenever large bodies of Mutineers entered the district considerable disorder prevailed. 400 of these have been settled; about 126 are still pending.

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tending interests, strengthen by the support of both, the Government I served ; but this however has I think I may assert ever been fairly and honorably done, as becomes an English gentleman, who instinctively appreciates the difference between diplomacy and intrigue.

Such have been the chief characteristics of my policy in a time of no ordinary difficulties, and if on the one hand my hurriedly penned* narrative ill establishes the fact, or on the other a review of the past convinces myself as well as others, that with my present experience *I might* have done, far better, still I venture to hope that the district itself as it now is affords some grounds for believing that my solution of the great problem has not proved altogether unsuccessful.

ALLAN HUME,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

ETAWAH,
*November* 18*th*, 1858.

* It had to be written in 24 hours; having a vast amount of work still to do, I had deferred writing about what *had been* done till some season of leisure. A sudden call from the Secretary of Government necessited its immediate preparation.

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# APPENDICES

TO THE

# Etawah Narrative.

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## APPENDIX I.

*Extract from letter of Magistrate of Etawah, No. Dated 16th May* 1857. To Commissioner of Agra Division.

"On the night of the 16th of May the policemen stationed at a road guard house about 6 Miles from Etawah saw 7 men armed with swords and cavalry pistols pass them, one of the police making a circuit got in front of them, and running into Etawah gave information to the Kotwal (head police officer) Mohumed Allyjan who commanded a small patrolling party. The other two policemen followed the armed party slowly and at a distance. The Kotwal rode out at once and met the 7 men ; their arms and answers to his questions were alike suspicious, and he directed them to accompany him to my house, on this they cocked their pistols and threatened to shoot him if he came near, he however talked quietly to them and induced them to come to me, and I, as their story seemed improbable, sent them away to Captain Corfield, the Officer Commanding the Station, directing the Kotwal to strengthen his patrol (which consisted of only 3 men) en route, in order to guard against any attempt at escape.

Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed before I was roused by a smart firing, as I thought at the Treasury; all arrangements for a surprise had been made before hand, and within 3 minutes I was at the Treasury armed and dressed. There I found the soldiers all on the "qui vive," muskets loaded, in good spirits and manifestly ready to fight any one or every one. *They* thought the firing was at the lines ; I ran home and drove to Captain Ross, which was on my way, took him up and dashed off to the lines ; we were immediately joined by Mr. Volk and Daniell, on horse back and armed ; and I suppose ten minutes from the firing of the first shot had not elapsed before we were all at the Quarter guard. There we learnt that, as directed, the Kotwal had gone from my house to Captain Ross, where he was joined by three other Sowars ; Captain Ross who happened to be awake, got up and questioned the men. They repeated as before, that they belonged to the 2nd Cavalry, had gone with remounts from Cawnpore and were then returning from Agra ; they had however no uniform, were armed to the teeth, had no certificate of any kind with them and no money.

Captain Corfield then came up, and on questioning them, considered their story so very suspicious, that he directed them to accompany him to the lines, this they did, though somewhat unwillingly ; when near the Quarter guard he, Lieutenant Allan, the Kotwal and Meer Hussun Ally the Duffadar of the Irregulars, dismounted and ordered them to give up their arms, this one did, but on Captain Corfield handing the weapons to the Duffadar, their owner snatched them away violently, one man then shot Captain Corfield, who fell instantly with a severe pistol wound in the right shoulder, another man dashed at Lieutenant Allan (who had a double barrelled gun in his hand, the stock of which arrested the pistol bullet of a third fired point blank at that officers chest) knocked him down and kneeling on his chest would have murdered him in a minute, when the Kotwal and one of the Sepoys killed him. By this time Lieutenant Corfield had sprung up and ordered the guard to turn out, the sepoys in the lines (only 14 or 15) rushed up (they had not before been able to fire as the parties were all mixed up together) and poured in a volley, two of the Mutineers were shot, one killed as above, two more cut down by the Sowars, and two escaped at the time, but of these one was subsequently captured by the police."

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Of the men cut down by the Sowars one man, though he had received 17 sword cuts, still lived ; he stated that his name was Shere Andaz Khan and that he was a pathan of Garra Kote, Zillah Futtehpoor, a lance Naick of the 1st Troop third Cavalry and engaged in the Mutiny at Meerutt, that his 6 companions were also all Pathans of the same place and fellow Mutineers. At first he stated that his party came here hoping to induce the 9th to mutiny, but he afterwards declared that in reality they were only trying to sneak home unobserved ; which was the true account it is impossible to say. This man's further history is curious ; when a few days subsequently the 9th Native Infantry mutinied and released the prisoners in the Jails he was too severely wounded to escape, and on our return from Burpoorah with the Gwalior Grenadiers, he was replaced in Jail, later when the Grenadiers mutinied he was still unable to move and remained in the City till, when the Nazim of the Nawab of Furruckabad, in December occupied the place in Force, he having by that time recovered, disappeared finally.

## APPENDIX II.

*Extract from letter of Magistrate of Etawah Dated 20th May* 1857. To Secretary to Government North-West Provinces.

"Early on the Morning of the 19th a large Cart, full of the Mutineers of the 3d Cavalry, entered the Juswuntnuggur Jurisdiction, armed with swords, pistols and some 2 or 3 with carabines also. They were followed by the Road guards to the Thanah where they were stopped, and their replies being utterly unsatisfactory their Arms demanded, one tendered his arms, and whilst all eyes were turned on him and every one put off his guard by their apparent submission, the others, springing suddenly up poured in a volley, killing one, and wounding 3 men ; they then rushed through the town, and took up their quarters in a "Munder" or Hindoo temple at one end of a walled grove. Intelligence reached us 9 A. M., Mr. Daniell and myself armed, despatched 5 men of the 8th Irregular Cavalry (of whom altogether about 20 men were stationed here) and ourselves started at once, reaching Juswuntnuggur about 10¼. The day was an excessively trying one : a burning wind, such as I have hardly ever experienced, raged the whole time. We had left without having tasted any food, and so remained out in the sun and wind fasting, vainly endeavouring to get any one to support us in an attack, till Mr. Daniell about 3 P. M. became so faint that we were obliged to retreat to an emply Railway Bungalow which happened to be near.

The position of the mutineers was a wonderfully strong one, the only way they could be got at was though a narrow door-way leading to some steps, which were completely commanded from within. The whole building, which stands on an elevated platform of pukka masonry, as well as the walls of the platform itself are full of loopholes, and the wall for many yards on each side of the door-way containing Arches filled up with a brick work screen made by leaving out every other Brick. It is not possible to get in except through this door, and to get at this door we were exposed for 30 yards, come which way we would, to a point blank fire from men whom we could not see. Inside the door there were steps, also surrounded by the trellis work through which shots could be fired. These steps lead to a very small Court yard surrounded by "Kotrees" small cells like those in a serai pierced with loopholes for air. This Court yard is again commanded by the portico in front of the munder itself, which also consists of pierced brick work and is only accessible by steps leading out of the Court yard. Mr. Daniell and myself first got inside the grove and explored the whole of the back of the building, the mutineers firing steadily at us all the while, and we returning the fire from our double barrels, whenever we could see any portion of a man. We could not get the police well within fire, and though we went more than once within 5 yards of the building the firing was heavy that no one would make a rush. This went on till 3 o'clock, up to which time I suppose that we had 150 shots fired at us, only very few of which, by the way, came at all near us, we then went to the Bungalow, and got some Chuppatees and a loaf of bread, which luckily one of our men had brought. At 5½ P. M., we were again upon the ground, we learnt that the towns people had shown unequivocal signs of sympathy with the mutineers, and had succeeded, notwithstanding the line of Patrols and guards that I had established all round the garden, in supplying them with food and ammunition. There seemed every prospect of the towns people, of whom there are some 2000 adult males, low caste mussulmen (camel drivers and Jullahers) soon taking an active share in the matter, if it was much longer prolonged. What sort of a place Juswuntnuggur is, is well known ; the Mohurrim preceeding the disturbances was the first, for many years, at which troops had not been necessary to restrain the lawless violence of the population. Seeing that none of the police, of whom including Burkundazes, Sowars, Choukeedars and Bullahers,

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there must have been 80 present would do any thing but fire up in the air at a safe distance, I had early in the day sent in for reinforcements, (as I had only 5 of the Irregulars) and had received a note saying that 6 more of the irregulars and 10 Sepoys would be sent. The former galloped on and reached about 5, but the latter did not make their appearance. It turned out when they did arrive, that they had gone (I now believe purposely) some two miles down the Kutchhoora road, which branches off the Juswuntnuggur one. Time was passing, the people of the town were very excited and it seemed very doubtful, if it would be possible, to retrear even if we wished it, unless we carried the place at once, so we determined to attempt to storm the temple. The Irregulars dismounted and agreed that I and a few of the Sowars should suddenly run to and jump upon the platform of a Pukka well, distant about 15 or 20 feet from the door-way of the building and exactly in front of it; that we should pour in a volley, and that at the same time Mr. Daniell with the Duffadar of Sowars and any one else who would go should run swiftly along the face of the temple and brick work screen and dash in, we following. Had we met the support that we expected we might have succeeded I doubt not; as it was, the firing was so heavy from within, that I found myself alone on the platform, while Mr. Daniell, the Duffadar of Sowars (who immediately fell back) and a Choukeedar who was knocked over, were all that reached the door-way; to get in was impossible; Mr. Daniell tried to shoot through the brick work screen, I jumped off the platform towards the door-way, one man fired, quicker than one could count, 5 Pistols (handed to him by others I suppose) aiming at arms-length at Daniell, he all the while perfectly cool and poking about with his revolver, trying to shoot some one through the brick work screen. The man however was shooting through the door-way and without leaning out side the door-way could not touch Daniell, though the balls went within a very few inches of him. To fire the 6th pistol he leant out of the door-way, the pistol was hardly off before I shot at him and he fell back, but down went Daniell with, I am sorry to say, a bad wound in the face. Every one bolted, and I hope I shall never hear such a fiendish shout, as the whole town, which to a man was collected on an eminence near, gave when they saw what had happened. Long as this takes to narrate the whole thing passed in a moment; Daniell scrambled away a few yards and then fell senseless, I tried for an instant to rally the men, but seeing that hopeless, carried Daniell, with the assistance of a barber the only man who would come near, out of fire and went straight in amongst the towns people, one or two of the police then following me of their own accord. When the crowd, whom I peremptorily ordered to disperse to their homes, saw that I did not care for them numbers of them slunk off, and for the first time for some hours, the murmurs amongst them ceased. I then made the Sowars remount and recommence patrolling round, replaced the sentinels, encouraged every one to believe that we should certainly catch and do for the Mutineers next morning, washed Mr. Daniell's wound, and supporting him (he was just able to walk) walked through the town to where, on the other side our buggy was; as we went, the people poured out of the side alleys, and soon became a threatening mob, we did not look back or of course quicken our pace. We had not taken any Sowars or Burkundazes with us because, required as every man was to surround the spot, to take them away when none of them made any offer or show of going, would have been to admit that we were afraid to go through the town and ensure an attack, which all the police and troops collected would not have withstood, only my Nazir, a Buneah, who came out after me of his own accord and whom I never before saw with any thing more dangerous than a pen in his hand, followed us, and as the mob pressed on drew his sword, and quite good humouredly said that it was very hot, and that he could not have them crowd so about us, if they did, he must hit some one, and what with his manifest good humoured determination, and our appearing in no sort of way to notice their proceedings we got safely in to the Buggy. Immediately on reaching Etawah I sent out Mohumed Ikram Hossein the Deputy Collector, with instructions to maintain a vigilant guard over the temple, till arrangements could be made to take the place, but in the event of the Mahomedan population of the place making any unequivocal demonstration of being about to release the Mutineers by force, rather than allow so formidable a body to commit themselves irretrievably against us, to afford the besieged, by relaxing the strictness of the watch, an opportunity for escaping out of the temple; in this event however, he was to follow and attack them in the open directly they got some distance from Juswuntnuggur. That night a violent storm came on, during which the Mutineers escaped; we had it appeared killed one and seriously, if not mortally, wounded another, whom however they carried off with them.

*Extract of letter of Secretary to Government North-West Provinces No.* 351 *of* 10*th June* 1857.

"The Lieutenant Governor had received the account of the gallant conduct of Mr. Daniell and yourself at Juswuntnuggur with the greatest admiration; he thinks the attack was perfectly justifiable although it was unsuccessful."

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# APPENDIX III.

*Extract of report by Captains Ross, Corfield and Mr. A. O. Hume addressed to Secretary to Government of N. W. P. Dated 25th May* 1857.

" On the 22nd Instant, after we had received information from three different sources of the approach of large bodies of Mutineers via Shekoabad, an express arrived from Mr. Power announcing a Mutiny of the 9th at Allygurh and Mynpooree, that Mr. Cocks, Crawford and Kellner had ridden off to Agra and that he and others were confined in the Fort. We were in hopes that, up to that time our troops were well affected, although we saw no prospect of their remaining so if assailed by emissaries from the Mutineer Companies of their Corps we had lately learnt that considerable disaffection existed amongst the people of the neighbourhood who might be expected to rise " En' Masse" on the exhibition of any want of loyalty on the part of the troops, we arrested 3 men, on their way from Mynpooree, obviously Sepoys, whose account of themselves was most suspicious. We believed it to be a matter of importance to prevent at this critical juncture, an open mutiny of the troops here, and thought it incumbent on us, to take every possible precaution for the preservation of the lives of the women and children in our charge.

Under these circumstances we considered it adviseable to withdraw the troops to Burreypoorah, one of the Jumno Chumbal Doab Thannahs of this District on the main Gwalior Road. Burreypoorah, is in the first place, from its situation, an easily defensible locality, is one march nearer to Gwalior, and troops stationed there at can be almost entirely secured from the machinations of any of the Mutineers ; we had ascertained that our men could not be expected to resist in earnest any serious attack made by their disaffected comrades, while the District police was amply sufficient, we considered, to protect the station and treasury against any ordinary thieves, or robbers.

It was therefore agreed, that the Troops and the European inhabitants of the Station, should proceed across the Jumna to Burpoorah ; Mr. Hume and Mr. Parker remaining behind to ensure the due custody of the treasure, and the preservation of order and peace. It had been originally intended to remove the treasure at the same time ; but it was subsequently considered inexpedient so to expose the soldiers to temptation, and the idea was therefore abandoned. Due arrangements were made in accordance with this plan ; the men agreed, apparently cheerfully, to the proposed movement, and the treasury guard was removed and replaced by one composed of 4 Sowars of the Irregular Cavalry, a few trusty Nujeebs of the Thuggee Department, a number of Chupprassies and Burkundazes, and a number of Chowkeedars ; the whole being put under the charge of the Kotwal. Unfortunately the spirit of disaffection had already spread amongst the Sepoys and more than half of them refused, or for some reason neglected, to obey the order to march ; and of those so remaining a party of from 20 to 30 came down in a body to the treasury, which they occupied. Later in the evening† Mr. Parker was obliged to leave, and Mr. Hume escaped with difficulty from the place in the disguise of a native. Every police officer of every grade absolutely disappearing the moment the soldiers presented themselves.

The Mutineer Sepoys during the night plundered the treasury, and carried off a large amount of treasure on Camels provided for loading the magazine. Immediately (as it was previously supposed might be the case) the whole budmash population of the neighbourhood of Etawah, led by the Mewatees Jullahas, and we are sorry to say a few Thakoors, rose in large bodies, and during the next day plundered the Sepoy's lines, carried off the contents of the magazines and bells of arms, gutted our Bungalows, of which they burned two, besides the Sessions Court house and Post office, broke open the Zillah and the Thuggee Jails, to which extra, and it was believed, faithful guards had been lately appointed, carried off the remaining portion of the Treasure, in all more than 4 lacs and burnt the roof and records of the Collector's office. On our side of the river, we did all that was possible to induce the Thakoors to aid in maintaining peace, but until certain news of the arrival of the Gwalior Force reached us, with small success ; no great violence as yet, appears to have been done to the private property of the natives, beyond that involved in petty highway robberies, which appear to have been committed by the villagers on all the roads of the District ; but gangs of a hundred and two hundred Dacoits, are every where abroad, and may possible succeed in effecting their objects some where, if Cavalry reinforcements do not speedily reach us.

Energetic measures are however, with the assistance of one or two well affected Zemindars, being adopted, numbers of persons have been already arrested, with property stolen from the

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lines and Bungalows, in their possession ; much more has been given up by persons who profess to have forcibly regained it from the robbers, or to have originally taken it under their protection ; a portion of the treasure has also been recovered, and more will, it is believed, be traced out before night-fall. Some seven and twenty men of a body of Dacoits, captured red handed, have just been brought in.

*Extract of letter of the Secretary to Government N. W. P. No. 277 A. Dated 26th May,* 1857.

"The Lieutenant Governor does not doubt that the decision taken for the temporary drawing off of the detachment of the 9th Native Infantry from Etawah, was as wise a one as could be formed under such difficult circumstances."

## APPENDIX IV.

*Extract para : 4 of Magistrate of Etawah's Memo : of the 25th October,* 1857.

Soon after our return from Burpoorah as we were greatly hampered by an unusual number of ladies and children, it was decided to send these to Agra. I must do the grenadiers the justice to say that (though they must, as we subsequently learnt, have already arranged to mutiny) they met this proposition with the greatest delight and the civility and attention of the Havildar, Naik and 12 Sepoys who helped to escort the ladies to Agra was beyond all praise. At the same time the Tuhseels of Phuphoond and Oreyah were repeatedly threatened by parties of plunderers, and that of Beylah by 300 Sowars from the Cawnpore District whom the Tuhseeldar Dabeepershaud most courageously beat of. The Lieutenant Governor's Messages to the Governor General were at that time daily forwarded to me for transmission to Calcutta, but the state of the Southern portion of the Cawnpore District intervening between us and Banda and Futtehpore (the only routes by which I could despatch them) was such, as to preclude any certainty of their reaching safely. With the view therefore of protecting my own District and opening the line of Communication I took advantage of a demonstration then necessary, i. e. the despatch of 200 of the Grenadiers to Oreyah, (intended to overawe some Zemindars of that Pergunnah and relieve the European Officers of Jaloun and Oraee) to push all the best of my remaining Police Officers with my most trusty Zemindars and their adherents in to the Cawnpore District, and thus took possession of the 3 neighbouring Pergunnahs, Secundra, Rusoolabad and Dera Mungul Khan, this brought me within some 20 miles of Cawnpore itself, and at the nearest point, along the Canal the Tuhseeldar of Beylah, under my instructions, commenced collecting supplies which we hoped to be able to throw into the entrenchment.

## APPENDIX V.

*Extract from Magistrate of Etawah's Memo : of the 25th October* 1857.

Suddenly the news reached of the Mutiny and massacre of Gwalior and the Grenadiers Mutinied ; I had expected and reported to Government that this would be the end of the matter, but I certainly had no idea that we were so near a crisis. At first the Grenadiers only said that they could not obey orders, but by midnight (the 16th of June) it became apparent, not only to me but to their own officers, who till the last placed the greatest confidence in them, that though probably the majority were averse to any violence, they yet were not prepared to risk their lives to prevent it, while the remainder were arranging to murder some at any rate of the party. Nothing could have been more ill timed for us. The best Native Officer in the District, Koour Luchmun Sing, (Deputy Collector) with the Rajah of Pertabnere and his men, the elite of the Sowars and Police at Agra, whither they were escorting the ladies, all the other Raees, Rao Juswunt Rao, Koour Chuttur Sing and the best of the Police remaining, between 50 and 60 miles distant, in the Cawnpore District and the only two Forts, Dulleep Nuggur and Pertabnere, in which we might have taken refuge closed against us by the absence of the owners. At dawn (June 17th) it was arranged that we were all to get out of the station as best we could and make for Kutcherah across the Jumna. Having reached that place we found the Agra District (or at least the Southern portion of it) in such a state as to render it impossible for us to halt, and we therefore pushed on to Bah. Here matters were if possible worse, large bands of matchlockmen openly paraded the country, two or three nights before our arrival Bah had been completely plundered, and even during the few hours we rested, the Matchlock firing round us was incessant, and some kutcha houses adjoining the Pukka gunj, on the top of and inside which we were posted, were burnt before our eyes. At Bah we were joined by Jourden's company and others from Jaloun and Oraee. We had no option but to proceed to Agra.

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*Extract from a Memo: by Major Hennessy.*

On the evening of the 16th Instant just before the sun set, Mr. Hume Collr. of Etawah communicated to me that a rising of the Gwalior Troops had taken place, very soon after this I was told that the native officers of the Regiment were at my door, they came in, and Subahdar Major Meer Amanut Ally read portions of a letter from his nephew at Gwalior, giving a detailed account of the rising and Massacre. Some portions of that letter the Subahdar Major would not read. The whole of the native officers expressed deep sorrow for what had occurred.

I was informed that the Mutineers had invited the Grenadier Regiment to Gwalior to receive charge of the families of the Regiment, for whose *Izzut* the Mutineers had duly cared, that in the event of the Grenadier Regiment *not* coming to Gwalior, the Mutineers would march to Etawah with 12 guns, bringing the families with them.

I was then asked what course I should think of following. I replied that I must remain at Etawah and would permit a reasonable number of men to go to Gwalior to try and extricate their families, that if the Mutineers came over in force with 12 guns, which I could not withstand on an open plain, I should retreat towards Agra.

The Subahdar Major at once stated that no movement towards Agra could take place, as the fact would cause them all to be called Feeringhees, and their families would be killed.

He said we ought to proceed to Gwalior or its vicinity. I replied this could not be, that I would not accompany them towards Gwalior which would end in their joining the Mutineers and murdering their officers or permitting them to be murdered, for the same reasons I would not wait the arrival of the Mutineers at Etawah; the Subahdar Major, speaking for all, said no retreat upon or towards Agra was to be thought of, I said the command of the Regiment then is no longer in my hands. I then asked the Subahdar Major if he considered the men still staunch, he said he could not answer for any one, that he had no confidence in any one.

I then desired the Native Officers to communicate to their men the news from Gwalior. This was after Roll call, two thirds of the men at once ran to their arms and great excitement prevailed. I went to the lines, ordered the men to fall in and addressed them; upon some, it produced a good effect, but the whole broke their ranks crowded around me and voices called out what is the use of talking to us, the whole army has turned, and the Raj has ceased; at length I got them back to their tents.

That night we slept as usual on the open plain in front of our men; a picquet which had been thrown out to the left, of their own accord formed a semi circle round us, which with my night guard, very completely enclosed us. Between 12 and 1 o'clock when it was supposed that all of us were asleep some person came to my guard, an emissary from the 4th probably whom we had intercepted and turned back in the evening, and whispered conversation took place of which the following caught my ear. What has happened at Gwalior? They have given themselves a bad name said one of my guard, true said the emissary but all the world knows that for the last three or four years these Feeringhees have exercised great zoolm, they have ruined and taken the lands of all respectable Zemindars and have given them to Baneahs. They have exercised great zoolm it is time to get rid of them. There is no *Izzut* in their Government, they will not make a *Badshah* themselves, neither will they allow any one else to be *Badshah*, now too they attempt to destroy our religion. Thus much I heard of a long conversation to which my men eagerly assented; a few of them followed this emissary to the corner of a building close by and before parting I heard them say *Doctor Sahib ko deel dega*. For the first time I was seriously alarmed, this conversation proved that some of the men at least were inclined to treason and murder: after remaining perfectly quiet half an hour, to lull suspicion I sent for the Native Officer of the day to whom I desired to give some order, he attended and I communicated to him what with my own ears I had overheard. He partook of the alarm I felt, but assured me his own Company were true, and that if any thing happened he would die with me. I must here remark that the men surrounding us, and more especially the sentry of my own night guard, continued hawking and spitting in a noisy and offensive manner, for the purpose, I thought, of drawing down reproof, and having an excuse for violence, the men have never conducted themselves in this manner before. During the night I observed several for the men around us quietly loading their muskets, this was also observed by Mr. Pool; in the morning we observed the ends of numerous cartridges on the ground. I am quite convinced it needed but one word, one excuse for excitement, and on that night the cry would have been raised for our destruction.

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In the morning instead of the guards around us going away as usual soon after gun fire, they loitered about us until sun rise, keeping a narrow watch upon us. They did not however oppose our slowly walking towards Mr. Hume's house, followed by our horses, although men still followed our foot steps at a distance. I was informed that the Gentlemen in Mr. Hume's house ( where the whole station was residing being all alarmed for their own safety, had determined upon any outcry from my lines to fly forthwith, but as they apprehended opposition from the strong guard over their house, they opened a bathing room door, hitherto closed ; it was at once detected by the guard, and without Orders a sentry was planted over it, thus cutting off that chance of escape. Mr. Span of the 62d had during the night overheard men of the guard saying, "They would murder all in the house in their sleep ;" the attitude of the guard was offensive and threatening.

During the night I had heard several remarks of a very significant nature, such as the following, by men of the Quarter Guard. "Brother there will be no more three days drill" (an ordinary punishment of mine for dirty men, ) and a man of our own guard being warned for sentry duty asked "is there to be any thing else at 3 o'clock."

I must also remark that concurrent testimony from many quarters satisfies me that there had been an entire understanding between the Gwalior mutineers and the Grenadier Regiment ; in its ranks there are still a great numbers of good and faithful men. I was the last to believe in the possibility of mutiny in the Grenadier Regiment but the effect of the rise at Gwalior was instantaneous, the senior Native Officer, who had been among the loudest in professions, at once changed tone, had no faith in any one, could promise nothing, but steadily adhered to his own plan of going to Gwalior, and the impossibility of falling back upon Agra.

## APPENDIX VI.

*Camp Allahabad 22d February* 1858.—*No.* 11 *of* 1858.

The Right Honorable the Governor General has great satisfaction in publishing for general information the subjoined reports of an action fought with the rebels at Anuntram on the 7th Instant, by Alexander's horse and a body of Zemindaree Troops led by Mr. A. O. Hume, Magistrate of Etawah, the whole under the Command of Captain Alexander.

The Governor General entirely concurs with His Excellency the Commander in Chief in considering this affair to reflect the highest credit on Captain Alexander and Mr. Hume, as well as Mr. Macnochie, who with conspicuous bravery and cool determination led their men against the very superior numbers of the rebels, and obtained a signal victory over them.

No. 92 A.

From the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army.

To The Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor General.

*Head Quarters, Camp Cawnpore* 19*th February* 1858.

Sir,

I am desired by the Commander in Chief to transmit, in Original, the documents noted in the Margin for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, and to request you will be good enough to bring to the special notice of His Lordship the extremely gallant conduct of Mr. Hume and Captain Alexander, under the circumstances detailed by these officers. His Excellency considers the whole affair to reflect much credit on them, and on those who acted with such bravery under their orders.

With report of an action fought by Alexander's Horse with the Rebels at Anuntram.

Letter No. 59 dated 12th Feby. from Brigdr, Y. Seaton, C. B. Letter No. 36 dated 8th. Feby. from Capt. Alexander. Letter dated 8th Feby. Plan of ground from A. O. Hume Esq.

No. 36.

*Camp Etawah, 8th February* 1858.

To Captain Hawes, Major of Brigade, Futtehgurh.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Brigadier Commanding, that deeming it advisable to visit my outpost at Bukewar, and also reconnoitre the enemy's position at Anuntram, I proceeded yesterday morning at day light, with a party of 30 Sowars of my regiment

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and accompanied by Mr. Hume the Magistrate, and Mr. Maconochie the Deputy Magistrate of Etawah.

Ordering the picket of 30 rank and file of my regiment and 80 Sowars of the Etawah Local Horse, stationed at Bukewar, to fall in, we proceeded to Anuntram distant 6 miles. We arrived there about ½ past 9 A. M., and found about 700 Matchlockmen, belonging to different loyal Zemindars, ready to receive us.

We moved on at once to the enemy's position which was about a mile from Anuntram and found them very strongly posted, stronger than we were led to believe from reports. Their right resting on the Cawnpore road, occupied a large tope of mangoe trees with a wall of 6 feet all round and a small ditch in front, their left on a village (Phoolpoor,) and every grove and field between occupied by them. Their right was the chief position, and looked most formidable, the enclosure swarming with the enemy and one gun facing down the road towards us. Having reconnoitred and having been offered the loan of a gun from Anuntram, we came to the decision of attacking the place; having shown ourselves to the enemy, it appeared to us that the effect on the country around would be very bad, did we retire without attempting some thing, so I formed the Cavalry into three troops; my own men I took opposite the right rear of the enemy's entrenchment, and within 300 yards, one troop I directed to go to the right, and the third to remain in the centre as a support for the gun, which had by this time come up and was planted as near as we could judge, opposite the enemy's.

Mr. Hume having with some difficulty collected about 2 or 300 Matchlock men, out of the 700, advanced most gallantly with them towards the entrenchment, the fire of the enemy had been directed towards my troop, but seeing the advance of our Matchlockmen, turned it towards them, our gun then opened, advancing nearer each discharge, about the fifth discharge our gun was close up to the wall, and a rush being made, headed in the most gallant manner by Mr. Hume, the enemy began to retreat.

| Strength in action of our Force. |
|---|
| 60 Troopers, including commissioned and non commissioned officers Alexander's Horse. |
| 80 E. Ll. Horse. |
| 300 Matchlockmen. |
| 440 Total. |
| 1 3 pounder Brass gun. |

Having already got to their right rear with my troop of 60 men, the time came for us to act, the word charge was given by me, and in a few seconds we were in the midst of them sweeping round the rear of the entrenchment to the village on the enemy's left; many of the enemy escaped owing to the height of cultivation and the villages, where it was impossible for Cavalry to follow, and had the Local Horse acted on the right when they saw my troop come round, the victory would have been most complete, but they rendered no assistance at first. However, the enemy were completely routed, their only gun with a quantity of ammunition, baggage, ponies, matchlocks, swords &c., captured and about 125 killed in the field and six hung. We followed them up for about 3 miles, and then gave up further pursuit. The enemy dispersing in all directions, and my party of Cavalry being too small to detach after them, besides we had then come about 25 miles and had to return to Etawah the same evening, which we reached about 7 P. M.

The number of the enemy could not certainly have been under 12 or 1300 men, including a few Sowars.

Our Casualities were :—

Killed.

12 Matchlockmen.

Wounded.

2 Sowars, both severely.
4 Horses, 3 severely 1 slight. } Alexander's Horse.
1 Sowar of Local Horse, slightly.
4 Horses, Do. severely.
15 Matchlockmen.
2 Horses missing.

A copy of Mr. Hume's report to Government is enclosed for the Brigadiers information, and shows the active and gallant part taken by that Officer and his matchlockmen.

I now beg to bring to the notice of Brigadier Seaton C. B., the able assistance I received from Mr. Hume who gallantly led the assault, and Mr. Maconochie who accompanied my troops of cavalry throughout the day and was always to the front.

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# Vide Appendix VI.




One gun and whole baggage captured, 6

(Signed.) A. O. Hume.

Feby. 8th 1858.

M. H. P.

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and accompanied by Mr. Hume the Magistrate, and Mr. Maconochie the Deputy Magistrate of Etawah.

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80 E. Ll. Horse.
300 Matchlockmen.
440 Total.
1 3 pounder Brass gun.

Having already got to their right rear with my troop of 60 men, the time came for us to act, the word charge was given by me, and in a few seconds we were in the midst of them sweeping round the rear of the entrenchment to the village on the enemy's left ; many of the enemy escaped owing to the height of cultivation and the villages, where it was impossible for Cavalry to follow, and had the Local Horse acted on the right when they saw my troop come round, the victory would have been most complete, but they rendered no assistance at first. However, the enemy were completely routed, their only gun with a quantity of ammunition, baggage, ponies, matchlocks, swords &c., captured and about 125 killed in the field and six hung. We followed them up for about 3 miles, and then gave up further pursuit. The enemy dispersing in all directions, and my party of Cavalry being too small to detach after them, besides we had then come about 25 miles and had to return to Etawah the same evening, which we reached about 7 P. M.

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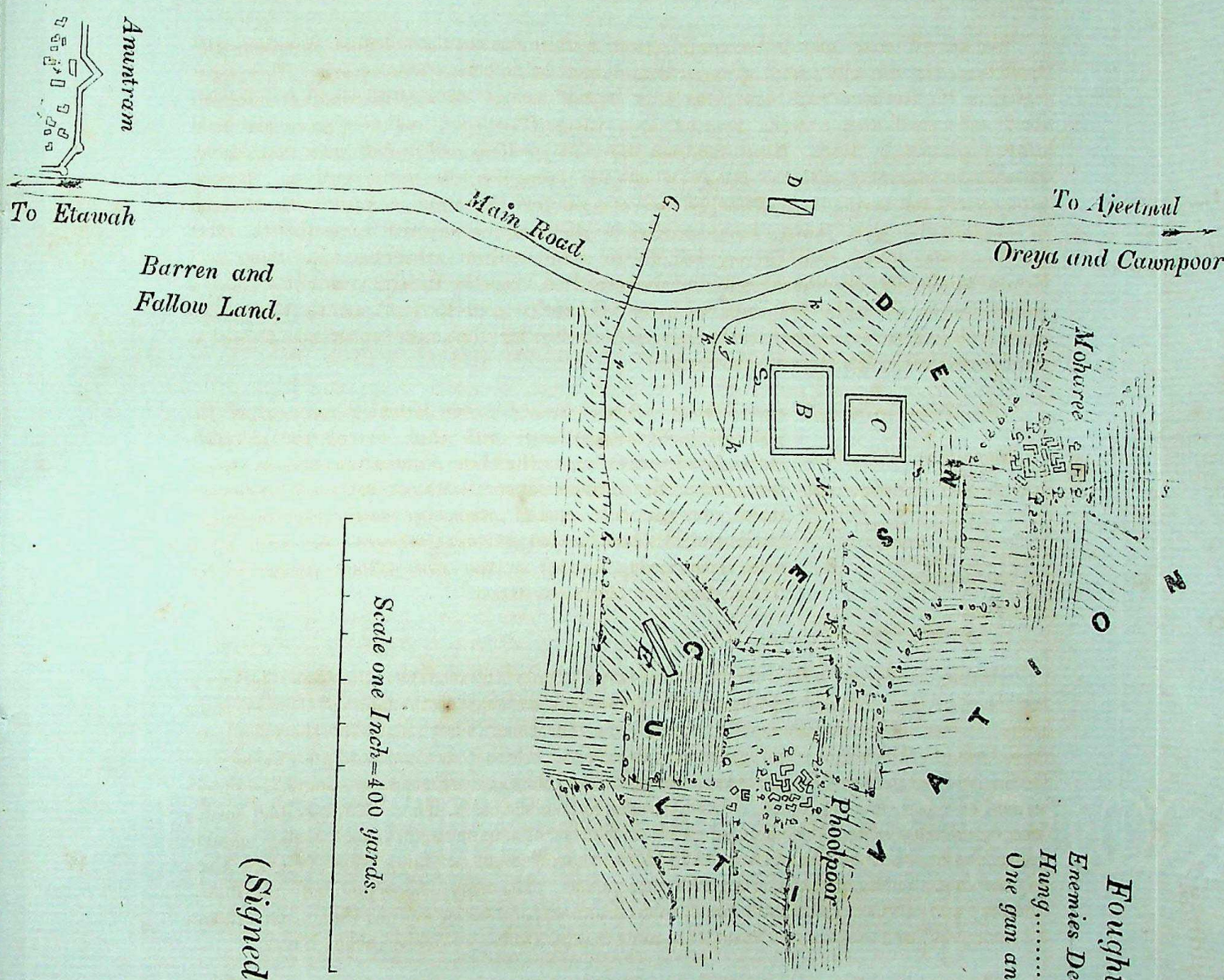
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# Vide Appendix VI.




*Fought Feby. 7th 1858.*

*Enemies Dead found and counted. 125*

*Hung..... 6*

*One gun and whole baggage captured,*

*(Signed.) A. O. Hume.*

*Feby. 8th 1858.*

*M. H. P.*

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The conduct of my men was admirable and many individual acts of gallantry were performed. Some of the Sowars of the Local Horses did their duty well, and the conduct of the matchlockmen who went to the assault after they once get in at the enemy, Mr. Hume reports to have been excellent.

I beg to bring all parties concerned to the favorable notice of, Brigadier Commanding, and trust he may deem the affair worthy of being reported to his Excellency the Commander in chief.

I trust the Brigadier will not consider I exceeded my duty in attacking a position I had previously reported as being too strong for the whole of our force, I think however, Anuntram will be free from Roop Sing and his followers, for some time to come.

The information regarding the enemy's regular troops at Ajeetmul, and mentioned by Mr. Hume, was only brought to-day ; and it is fortunate as things have turned out, for we should not have gone out, and this victory would not have been gained.

I have &c.,
W. R. C. Alexander,
Commanding Alexander's Horse,
at Etawah.

*From A. O. Hume Esquire, Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Etawah.*

To the Secretary to Government of the N. W. P. Agra, Dated 8th February 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that we yesterday obtained a signal success over the enemy near Anuntram. At 6 A. M. the 7th of February, Captain Alexander, Mr. Maconochie and myself left Etawah with 30 Sowars to visit the picket at Bakewar and reconnoitre the enemy's position beyond. At Bakewar we were joined by the picket, viz., 30 of Alexander's horse and about 80 of the Etawah Local horse, we then pushed on to Anuntram, a small town on the main Oreyah and Cawnpore road, distance about 21 Miles from our Camp at Etawah. At Anuntram I called out about 700 of the Matchlockmen posted there to keep the enemy in check, and taking a small gun of Rao Juswant Rao's advanced along the main road. About a mile from Anuntram we found the enemy posted in several dense Mangoe topes surrounded by high earth banks, and occupying the intermediate Aruhur and Castor Oil Plant fields, in skirmishing order. As we drew near, the enemy concentrated themselves in the two enclosures C. and B. (see sketch) still keeping however some hundreds of men out as skirmishers in the fields immediately surrounding their position. As the banks surrounding the enclosure were not less than six feet high from out side, as there were no entrances, and the branches of the trees came down to within two feet of the top of the bank, Captain Alexander, finding that his cavalry could not attack them with any reasonable chance of success, halted them at D. After consulting him I posted the local horse at E. and then leaving them there, with orders to cut up any fugitives, drew the men up in a sort of line at G. G. with the gun in the centre. The enemy by this time had opened a smart fire on us, and Captain Alexander, to whom I reported what I had done as well as the nature of the position which I had closely inspected from N. desired me to advance with the gun and matchlockmen. By dint of thrashing and threatening to shoot them, Koour Lutchmun Sing and 3 or 4 of my own Sowars assisting me manfully, I succeeded in bringing up about 350 of the matchlockmen into a position K. K. K. still keeping the gun in the centre G. Our matchlockmen nevertheless were no cowards, they fought bravely a little later hand to hand, but they were new to the system of going straight a head at an enemy, were immensely outnumbered and were obliged to advance under a very heavy fire which, as they could under the most favorable circumstances see only the heads of their opponents, they could not return with any effect.

By degrees taking advantage of a number of small ridges, intervening between us and the point which I had chosen for the attack, I pushed the men on to within twenty yards of the entrenchment keeping up as we advanced a fire from the Rao's gun, in answer to that of the enemy, I them ran the gun up to the little knoll A. which, distant about five yards from the entrenchment gave me the command of the interior. By this time some 3 or 4 hundred of the enemy ran out of the opposite side of the enclosure in the direction N. N. and were promptly pursued by Captain Alexander and his sixty troopers, who cut up a considerable number of them, though not without some casualties, as even single fugitives almost without exception turned and fought. The local horse did not assist, they had no European Officer (I have applied in vain for one) and either would not, or thought they ought not to move without an order to do so. At A. we fired one round, and all the man lining that

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particular portion of the "Moorcha" beginning to run, the matchlockmen made a rush and to the number of 150 or 200 got in. Just as they did so the enemy fired their gun in our faces, doing however no damage, and then for the most part throwing away their guns, both parties went at it with swords. In less than a minute the main body of the enemy, some 600 strong ran out in the direction S. S. S., a few still stood by the gun, these in a very short time were dispersed and as I thought, either cut up or driven out, in this I was mistaken (without uniform it was difficult to distinguish foes from friends) and we had not proceeded fifty yards in pursuit, when we were stopped by shouts from the rear, and found that the enemy had retaken and loaded the gun, we retook it however before they could fire it ; Lutchmun Sing and I then pushed on with some half dozen Sowars, but the rebels were too far a head, and we picked up only a few stragglers. Captain Alexander then returned from the pursuit in the direction N. N. ; the local horse came up at last, the enemy was pursued some three miles, and a number more accounted for, one and all however fighting to the last ; nine prisoners were also taken, of whom six were hung. I ought to add that the enclosure C. was evacuated directly we took the gun.

The enemy was certainly not less than 1200 strong when we advanced from the position K. K. K., and probably numbered not less than 2000. They had a few Irregular Cavalry and it is reported about 50 Sepoys (but I saw none of the latter) the former as usual kept well out of range and ultimately disappeared without showing fight. They lost 125 men killed, their gun (an Iron one) and limber, matchlocks, swords, bundles of cloths, burtons, poneys &c., in fact their whole baggage ; our loss was not severe, 12 matchlockmen were killed, a few (amongst them the brave leader of the Choudrayan of Binsea's men Bhowanee Sing) wounded ; two of Alexander's men and three of the horses, one of the local horsemen and four of the horses badly wounded, and several other men and horses, scratched more or less.

The pursuit over, we returned with the captured gun to Etawah, having accomplished the whole affair, including the fifty miles ride in twelve hours. It may be worth mentioning that at the very time we made the attack, Lollpooree Goosain, the Nana's Pirohit, with a considerable force of regular Mutineers was at Ajeetmul, scarcely more than 6 mile from the battle field so that we rather stole a march on him.

I having been chiefly with the matchlockmen my account is necessarily a one sided one, but it must not be supposed that I wish to ignore the services rendered by the rest of the force. It is true that owing to the nature of the position the brunt of the assault fell upon the foot men, but the great loss sustained by the enemy is chiefly owing to the energetic pursuit by Captain Alexander and his horse ; about 20 were killed in the entrenchment and within a few yards of it, by the matchlockmen ; 11 were killed by the small party with me, but the rest were I believe to a man cut up by Alexander's horse ; the fugitives be it remembered fighting most resolutely, and using swords, spears, and matchlocks, but too successfully.

The gallant conduct of Koour Luchmun Sing, my Deputy Magistrate, of Raheem Bukhsh a Duffadar formerly of the Gwalior Contingent, now of the Etawah Local Horse, and of Bhowanee Sing the leader of the Binsea's men deserves special notice.

I have &c.,
O. C. Hume,
Magistrate.

## APPENDIX VII.

*Extract from Mr. A. O. Hume's Magistrate of Etawah) official diary March 30th.*

About 4 A. M., of the 13th April we reached Ajeetmul, we found it looted deserted and with the exception of 2 or 3 large houses, burnt as far as it consisted of combustible materials. We ascertained that four of the garrison had been killed, and 4 or 5 wounded, that the place though surrounded by Pukka Walls had been stormed by a large body of men including regular Sepoys, and that the whole of the Matchlockmen, Officials and inhabitants (except the Zemindars whose house also was spared and whose connivance is probable) had utterly fled the place. As morning dawned we found numbers of Cartridge papers, and numbers of Enfield rifle bullets sticking in the walls, gates &c., where the assault was made. We perceived that a considerable body of Cavalry had been present, and we learnt that besides the regular sepoys some large number of Bundookchees belonging to Shahpore, Rajpooreeh, Ramnuggur and Ayanah had been comprised in the band of Plunderers. Now the 3 former of these villages, especially Shahpore, have been for now many months the habitual residence of large bands of Dacoits who protected by the Zemin-

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dars and assisted in all their expeditions by the inhabitants of the place, have made themselve, the terror of the neighbourhood. This was bad enough, but to take upon themselves to attack and oust the Government Servants the very first night of the re-establishment of its authority, was more than could be permitted to pass without signal punishment. At day light therefore we marched in the direction of Shahpore up to which we could trace, by a band of foot steps some hundred yards wide, the return path of the insurgents. The place itself we found deserted, but from a faqueer and an old woman who still remained, we learnt that every single man belonging to the village, had been engaged in the fray, that they had returned in triumph about 3 A. M., but had fled on hearing our approach to Rajpoorah which is nearer the ravines. It was really necessary to make an example and (they had we found sent their women and children away the day before) I therefore as no one could, I knew, be found in the district willing, or able to hold it, ordered it to be burnt. This was thoroughly done, in the village we found a half finished Mud Fort of immense strength which we intend, if possible, to have demolished. Just as this work was completed, and we were thinking of returning (I considering that enough had been done in the way of an example) we heard the assemble twice sounded on our left front, and going out a head with a few Cavalry saw some infantry drawn up in line, and Cavalry in the distance pretty well all round us. It was so very dusty and windy that we were unable to ascertain accurately their numbers, but there were not less than 100 Irregular Cavalry and 160 sepoys ; forming up at once we gave them 2 rounds from right and left of our battery, and then advanced. The Infantry and Cavalry fell back to Rajpoorah, on which we advanced, but they with the Towns people fled as we draw nearer and we burnt this village also. We then commenced retiring, leaving a strong rear guard of Cavalry as the enemy's Sowars, were still hovering about, and had made perhaps half a mile when we heard a good deal of firing in the rear and ascertained that the sepoys and a great number of Bundookchees had issued from Ramnuggur, just inside the ravines, and were amusing themselves with firing Enfields and Matchlocks at our Cavalry. We waited a little while, unwilling to attack and destroy a third village, but finding that they were disposed to advance on us we turned round, ran the guns up and planted 2 round shot ; and one 12 pounder shrapnell with such precison that the whole posse fled instanter, and though the storming parties had pressed on with the utmost rapidity, the village was evacuated before they could reach it. The enemy having made such a running fight of it, we could do them no effectual injurys and so only 5 of them are known to have been killed. We had one Sowar of the Local Horse seriously wounded in the left arm.

## APPENDIX VIII.

*Extract as above.*

*April 21st.*—Having been reinforced yesterday with the 6th Troop Agra Police Battalion, I made a reconnoissance with about 250 horse (54 Alexander's Horse, 130 Local Horse, and 70 Police Battalion) we started about 3 A. M., and reached Ajeetmul just before day light, we were as usual a few minutes too late. Roop Sing's head man and about 150 of his men had just succeeded in escaping. Unfortunately we were misled. and pursued in the direction of Phuphoond, after going a short distance I was convinced that such must be the case, and we turned round and went due south toward Shahpoor (one of the villages we burnt the other day) and came up with the enemy retreating ; just as we reached the edge of the ravines they were still about 600 yards a head of us, and opened fire directly they saw us. I drew the main body of the Cavalry upon the edge of the ravines, and Messrs. Chapman, Doyle, and Parker, and myself, with a few Sowars, who were armed with fire arms, pushed carefully into the ravines ; at first they seemed inclined to stand, and fired at us smartly with enfield rifles and Matchlocks, but on our dismounting and making after them they began to run and we chased them almost to the Jumna, knocking over as we afterwards learnt 7 of them ; some of their Rifle bullets dropped in amongst us but we had no one hit. We then halted a short time at Ajeetmul and returned. Before noon there was not a mutineer we understand out side the ravines, within 10 miles of Ajeetmul.

## APPENDIX IX.

*Extract as above.*

*April 26th.*—The Oreyah Pergunnah having been pretty nearly cleared, Koour Nirunjan Sing (the eldest son of the Rajah of Chuckkernuggur) one of the two chief Rebel leaders of the District fell back with about 150 Sepoys, Sowars and a number of Bundookchees to Gohanee, in the Jumna Chumbal Doab. Yesterday night a large party of his retainers crossed at the Debhowlee Ghat and beating off our guard, took away with them the boat and established on the other side of the river a number of moorchas, between Gohavee and Dibhowlee, from which they fired at and

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annoyed other boat guards on this side of the river. As we have possession of every other Jumna ghat boat, in the Etawah and Lucknah Pergunnahs it was arranged that to recover this Mr. Doyle with 150 Cavalry should cross above Dibhowlee and making a detour take the *Moorchas* in the rear, and then push on and surround Gohanee from the South while we with Infantry, Cavalry and 2 light guns made our way to Dullepnuggur, and crossing there attacked Gohanee from the North. The operation was most successfully carried out. The enemy taken by surprise fled, several (15 we subsequently found) were cut up, some taken prisoners and hung, the boat was recovered, and accessibility to us of *any* place, no matter what its natural advantages of position demonstrated. Mr. C. J. Doyle, Commanding the Etawah Local Horse was however, I regret to say, severely wounded in the right shoulder.

## APPENDIX X.

*Extract as above.*

*May 3rd.*—Last evening it appears a person calling himself the Nana's Tuhseeldar with about 700 men, of whom about 300 are regular mutineers, made their appearance at Phuphoond, and took possession of the Tuhseel, and Thannah; a portion of this force is said to have been engaged in an unsuccessful attack upon Rusoolabad. In the afternoon Roop Singh, Lallpooree Gooshaeen and others with 200 Sowars, (Lancers said to be) 300 Telingahs, and from 500 to 800 Bundookchees, with 4 or 5 Guns, one a large one said to have come from Chirkharee, arrived at Ajeetmul. It appears that Sham Lall, whom with some of his companions we killed there, earlier in the day, (and on whose person we found sundry orders of Roop Singh authorizing him to collect Revenue) had come to collect Russud. Simultaneously, Nirunjun Sing with a great crowd of Cutchwayee ghar rebels made a demonstration near Joheka ghat. I personally reported the above, with my views of what it indicated to Coll. Riddell, but he told me that his orders were still explicit, and that he could not move in that direction. We learnt that the force at Ajeetmul up to that moment amounted to between 4 and 5 hundred Sowars, from 6 to 8 hundred Telingahs, a crowd of Bundookchees and 4 Guns, 3 small and one large. Lieutenant Sherriff reported that he had fallen back 2 miles nearer to Etawah, to a very strong position. I brought in with me yesterday all the revenue we had collected to the Sudder Station. Coll. Riddell was duly advertized by me personally, and by Lieutenant Sherriff by letter, of the state of affairs. During the might almost the whole of the Zemindaree garrison of Anuntram left their posts, and fell back on our Camp. Koonjbeharee the proprietor and a few of his men remaining firm, at dawn the enemy attacked; and though the garrison did their best, drove them out and burnt the place. Lieutenant Sherriff sent Chapman with the whole of the Cavalry (300) to Anuntram; when he reached the place he found the enemy with their right in a *very* strong walled grove South of Anuntram; their left in a village further south still, the intermediate space occupied by Cavalry. Thy opened when he got within 1000 yards, and fired 18 rounds from their 4 guns during the time that he took to get within 400 yards but they were in too great a hurry and only wounded one man and one horse; Lieutenant Chapman had then edged away, so as to get opposite their Cavalry, and thinking to decoy him the enemy's guns ceased firing, and their Cavalry (of which they only showed about 270, the rest being hidden behind the grove) fell back; had he advanced, they would have annihilated him, the other Squadrons of the Cavalry would have taken him in rear, those that fell back in front, while the cross fire from the grove, and village would have been tremendous, as there were from 1000 to 1200 regular infantry, beside the guns. He therefore contented himself with thoroughly reconnoitering and sent back to Lieutenant Sherriff for reinforcements. Lieutenant Sherriff marched out with the guns, and the rest of the force reporting to us here, and Coll. Riddell sent out Captain Alexander with the whole of his Cavalry (126) to support. However it was too late, before Lieutenant Sherriff could get out he met Chapman returning, and returned with him to our position on this side of Bukewar, where he was joined by Captain Alexander soon after.

## APPENDIX XI.

*Extract as above.*

*May 6th.*—Our force in came late last night. The whole Pergunnah has been deserted. Etawah, and its neighbourhood are crowded with fugitives. Several villages have been burnt. Lutchmun Sing brought in with him on 80 Sowars the whole of the Luckna Tuhseel Duftur. As yet we have not heard of Luckna or Bukewar being burnt. Our force escorted in the valuables of the whole Pergunnah nearly. The rebels will find little or nothing to plunder though they may burn, and destroy

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the villages. All the principal Ghats of the Jumna from Choora, near Calpee to Nand Jowan in the Luckna Pergunnah appear to be held by the Mutineers, who have patrolling parties at each.

## APPENDIX XII.

*Extract as above.*

*May 16th.*—At day light we started, but there being absolutely no current, and the wind being dead against us, it was 11 o'clock before we neared Peegulpoor ; as usual our Local Horse, with the Camels &c., was a little in advance on the left bank, and when we were still some half mile off the enemy's main position, which was in Silowa (a village of the Juggunmunpoore illaqua opposite Beejulpoore) they (the cavalry) drew up in front of it. We halted to reconnoitre, the enemy at once opened, with guns and musketry on the Cavalry and musketry on *us*, a party of their skirmishers having crept up along the cliffs of the right bank close to us ; we had ascertained that the force opposed to us consisted of between 2 and 3 hundred regular Sepoys, with a crowd of Bundookchees, that they were mostly posted in an almost inaccessible village by the river bank, entirely commanding the Channel (though they had also several outlying moorchas defending the approaches ;) and that they had 6 guns in position and a number of immense wall pieces. Lieutenant Sherriff determined (as it was impossible to get the boats down without doing so) to attempt to drive the enemy out of their position strong as it was. We therefore leaving about 70 Etawah Levies, and 24 Artillery men to guard the boats landed on the right bank, and at once threw out a few skirmishers who occupied the heights in our immediate proximity. In the mean time the enemy crossed about 40 Sepoys lower down opposite their main position, who attacked the Cavalry, one half of the latter fell back on the boats covering the Camels, our riding horses &c. &c., the other half wheeled right and left, fell back and advanced and kept them in check till we sent 12 of the sikhs and about 20 of the new levies to support them, and these very soon drove the sepoys back across the river with a loss of 11 men : whilst this was taking place Lieutenant Sherriff myself, and Serjeant Purcell with the rest of the force, viz. 10 of the 2d Punjab Infantry and 50 of the new levies advanced in skirmishing order along the river bank, and the heights covering the bank. Lieutenant Sherriff's arrangements were admirable and he so led us that after driving the enemy from crag after crag, and *moorcha* after *moorcha*, he and his men forced the rear of the main position while the attention of the enemy was engaged in front by the new levies, some of Sepoys fought desperately (Sherriff killed a Havildar in hand to hand fight) but they were soon overpowered, and the main body fled in utter confusion, leaving 6 guns, wall pieces, papers, plunder &c. While we were engaged on land, Mr. Maconochie, Dr. Sheetz, and Serjeant Edmonds brought up the boats also, to a certain extent diverting the enemy's attention, but the attack of the Infantry was so rapidly made good, that our two light guns on board the boats never had occasion to open, as Lieutenant Sherriff had arranged that they should, in support of the land attack. The operation was most successful, great as the disadvantages were with which we had to contend. The victory was complete, the whole force behaved admirably, but the men of the 2d Punjab Infantry especially, displayed the greatest gallantry, and a Havildar of my new levies distinguished himself much ; about 70 Sepoys were killed on the right bank, 11 on the other, whereas we had only one Sowar, and 2 Sepoys wounded, and one horse killed.

## APPENDIX XIII.

*Extract as above.*

*May 18th.*—Colonel Riddell was desirous of having the standing encampment of the enemy (which was on the other side of the Jumna) burnt, as also one or two villages near the same which appeared also to afford shelter to, and have been frequented by the mutineers. This he ordered to be done by Lieutenant Sherriff's Detachment of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, and the three companies of my new Infantry levies, supported by a company of 3rd Europeans. Accordingly at day light the said company having marched to the river bank, Lieutenant Sherriff and myself crossed our men; Serjeants Purcell, and Edmonds of the levies accompanying. On landing I was met by scouts who informed me that the enemy, some 2000 strong, were about 1½ miles inland, and therefore scarcely half a mile from the furthest village which Coll. Riddell had pointed out for destruction to Lieutenant Sherriff, I therefore returned to report this to Coll. Riddell in the boats that were going back for the Europeans ; on hearing the news he said that he still wished us to proceed, but that he had rather not send any Europeans with us, though he himself would go up to a very high place from which he could see the Country we were to traverse, and that if he saw any movement of the enemy, he would fire 3 muskets in succession. I therefore re-crossed and joined my men, we advanced in skirmishing order, and in about an hour had completed our task, when some the enemy's Cavalry (about 100) superbly mounted, came galloping down on

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us ; we fell back slowly for some little distance till we had got our line into broken ground full of short Keekur Trees, then Lieutenant Sherriff and myself with 30 riflemen ran forward to within 150 or 200 yards of the Cavalry and opened on them. I am happy to say I knocked over a swell in gold and red who was leading, and 3 more saddles were emptied. They behaved well, some of them dismounted and picked up their dead and wounded, and they moved slowly off; as we were falling back I caught sight of a line of perhaps 100 bayonets glittering just above the crest of the platteau on our left (as we were falling back facing the enemy); showing that some of the infantry were trying to get round us and cut us off from the boats. Lieutenant Sherriff then extended our line in that direction, our left (we still falling back towards the river facing the enemy) becoming at once engaged, as we fell back very slowly the enemy showed all along our front, and firing became general from right to left. Nothing could be more admirable than the behaviour of the men, the enemy could not have numbered less than 500 regular Infantry and 1000 Bundookchees. On the Southern side of the river there is a belt of level sand about 500 yards wide before the country rises, when we reached the edge of this we drew up our men in light Infantry order along the crest of the broken ground, intending to let the enemy get pretty close up with their gun, which they had opened in the distance, and then to charge, take it, and disperse them ; we sounded for supports to double up and saw a Company of Europeans embarked, landed and drawn up in our side of the river. Then the bugles sounded our recall, we thought it a mistake abandoning a very strong position, but concluding that we were intended to unite with the Europeans and turn the enemy's flank, instead of attacking the centre as we should have been compelled to do from the position we held, fell back very slowly in skirmishing order to the waters edge. We were not little astonished when still about 200 yards distant from the river, to see the Europeans quietly re-embark so that when we did get down we found ourselves without boats, without a particle of cover, exposed to a very heavy, though distant fire from rifles, muskets, matchlocks and one gun. The men were very angry but perfectly steady, and the fire that we kept up and that Lieutenant Angelo on his own motion, opened from one of my light guns (in a boat moored in the opposite side) soon after taken up by Major Walcot with a nine pounder R. A. kept them in check ; and the boats arrived and we re-embarked all the party in perfect order, with only my Serjeant Major of Artillery wounded, (in the head with a rifle bullet) one of my Infantry ditto, and one of the 2nd Punjab Infantry Bheestees slightly wounded.

## APPENDIX XIV.

*Extract as above.*

*May 19th.*—The enemy have fired at intervals (they have now got two guns) during the whole night and day at *us* ; or rather at that portion of the force near the river bank, for as Coll. Riddell deemed it inexpedient (though he has now, with the honorable Major Bourke's detachment and mine, 650 European Infantry, 300 Seik infantry, 150 Local Infantry, 500 Cavalry, 3 nine pounders, 1-24 pound howitzer, 1-12 pounder carronade, 3 three pounders, about 60 Europeans, and 50 Native Artillery men) to attack the enemy I saw no advantage to be gained by sitting in the boats, to be fired at, day and night, and moved with my Cavalry, Artillery and part of the infantry away nearer towards Oreyah, though not till I had one horse, and a Bheesty killed. 100 of my Infantry I left, at Coll. Riddell's request, to guard the boats, I dont know what may be the ultimate results of our exemplary patience, but at present the whole country round about, and especially the enemy, who look us up every half hour or so with a round shot (such *padjy* mangy little shots too), and half a score of rifle bullets, consider that they have completely licked, and cowed our whole force.

*May 20th.*—Enemy have 3 little guns now, but are short of shot I fancy, they fired Muskets &c., as usual, but treated us very sparingly to shot ; no one killed or wounded during the course of the day. The men are pretty well under cover, and keep tolerably close.

*May 22nd.*—Things much as usual, enemy made a most desperate demonstration, blew bugles, beat drums, fired away their guns in great style, a number came skirmishing up to the banks of the river, firing smartly for some hours, no body hit.

*May 23rd.*—Enemy rabidly active all the morning, fired some 4 or 5 rounds of round shot, and some 500 rounds of Musketry. Kept the fire up all day, towards evening one of the 2nd P. Infantry was slightly wounded in the head by a stray bullet, which had first perforated the Cap, and Pugree of one of the 3rd Europeans.

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## APPENDIX XV.

*Extract as above.*

*May 25th.*—At about noon some 3000 rabble, mutineers, bundookchees, men, women, and children, with a great number of elephants, reported variously at from 30 to 50, crossed the Jumna at Beejulpoor, they were obviously flying from Calpee, were foot sore, hungry and utterly disorganized, they were making for the ganges ; they had 4 small guns on 4 of the Elephants. Coll. Riddell considered that we could not move any part of the force at present so they got pretty well off, though here and there the villagers have plundered a few of their tatoos loaded with odds and ends. a few cattle &c. They called themselves the Nana's Army.

Coll. Riddell says that if I withdraw with my locals from here, to attack and expel the rebels at Rooroo or elsewhere, he must sink the boats, as he considers the presence of a large police force here, requisite for their safety.

## APPENDIX XVI.

*Extract from Mr. G. E. Lance's (Offg. Magistrate of Etawah) official diary.*

Yesterday Morning, the 11th of July, heard that the rebels had again crossed to the number of about 500, and were going along the ravines in the Oreyah direction. Sent out Sowars to watch them, and reinforced the Oreyah detachment with 50 Sowars. About 2 P. M., heard that Bunkut Sing with about 25 men was in the village of Singanpoor on the edge of the ravines. Lieutt. Forbes, and I went on with 50 Sowars with the hope of being able to cut them off from the ravines, Lieutenant Graham following us as fast as he could with 60 of the Infantry Levies. On reaching Ramnuggur, a Goojur village destroyed by Mr. Hume, we found it occupied by the rebels in force, and were met with a heavy, and not ill directed fire, and were forced to withdraw the cavalry, till the arrival of the infantry. I then took cavalry round to the other side of the village to distract their attention, and cut up any that crossed in that direction, while Forbes, and Graham attacked with infantry, crossing a ravine charged the village and driving them out followed them some distance into the large ravines bordering on the Jumna. The heat being excessive we returned to Ramnuggur intending to march back in the evening.

Subsequently the rebels returned with a much larger force, and driving in our piekets attempted to recapture the village. They were allowed to advance through the ravines to within 100 yards, when our infantry charged them; and then extending into skirmishing order drove them back to near the banks of the Jumna. In those two affairs we lost one Sepoy killed, and one dismounted Sowar wounded ; both those casualties occurred in hand to hand conflicts. The loss of the enemy was 15 or 16. The infantry were principally engaged and behaved extremely well, the ground being very difficult, and being opposed to 250 or 300 men well armed with muskets, the half of them being Gwalior rebel Sepoys.

## APPENDIX XVII.

*Extract as above.*

*August 10th. Mohewa.*—On the 7th the Thanadar with a few Sowars, and Burkundazes went down to Tatarpoor, Joheka notoriously disaffected villages, to enquire into some old boat plundering cases ; the villagers must have sent information to Barhee of his arrival, for on his return he was intercepted by a small body of rebels who attacked his party, and killed two Burkundazes. I received the information on the morning of yesterday, and immediately marched out with 200 infantry, 100 Sowars and guns ; but met with no rebels who had recrossed the river in the night. There was a rebel boat opposite this, which we tried to capture by sending across mallahs on "gurra's" under the fire of our guns but on arriving close to the boat it was found to be occupied by armed men who, together with some Sepoys on the bank, opened a sharp fire, and prevented the mallahs bringing it over.

*August 11th.*—Took 2 boats at Joheka and brought up to Tatarpoor which is at the junction of the Koaree Nuddee, crossed over 200 infantry under a heavy fire of musketry, and matchlocks to the right bank of the Koaree Nuddee, the villages of which were friendly, marched up that side to a point above the place where three boats were fastened and then occupied and captured the boats, all of which had been plundered, and were in the possession of rebel Sepoys. The infantry were disembarked and marched down the left bank to the village of Gurrea at the point of junction of the two rivers in which there was a strong pukka Temple which had been held for several

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months by the rebels. It was found to be deserted, they had left the place and in it was found a large quantity of plundered European property that they had taken out of boats, such as crockery, dresses, furniture also several matchlocks, swords, and some powder, the 5 boats were brought up to Mohewa in the night.

## APPENDIX XVIII.

*Extract as above.*

About noon of the 13th received information that a large body of rebels had crossed the Chumbal ; and about 3 P. M., heard that they were within a short distance of Neemree. Lieutenant Forbes immediately got the men ready and sent them down to the river, as we had not intended to remain at Neemree that night ; Lieutenant Forbes with the pickets was almost overtaken before he reached the bank, the rebels coming down very fast with about 30 Sowars in advance ; 100 men were on the sand waiting to embark and on rejoining them Lieutenant Forbes advanced to the high bank and took up a position. The rebels advanced from all sides, and at one time almost surrounded them. After sharp firing for more than a hour the rebels advanced to a garden about 150 yards in front of our men, and on another company being sent from this side Lieutenant Forbes attacked it and drove them out pursuing them for some distance. After this, they made no stand, their fire slackened, and eventually ceased. We then sent over boats and brought the men back. Mr. Maconochie worked the Artillery from the left bank and till dark kept up a heavy fire, sending some well directed shots amongst the rebels, one of which killed a Sowar ; although the enemy could not have been less than 400, owing to Lieutenant Forbes admirable arrangements we had no casualty.

## APPENDIX XIX.

*Extract as above.*

On the 27th August, we left Etawah with Lieutenant Gordon's Sappers, 50 Seiks Agra Police Battalion, 100 Mynpoorie Levies, 2.—3 pounders Etawah Battery and 1.—18 pounder carronade ; as we anticipated considerable opposition all the merchant boats and the one in which was a European woman and her children were left behind. On passing Kutureea Ghat, about 1½ miles from Chukker Nuggur we were stoutly opposed by Nirunjun Singh and his men, many of whom were sepoys. As it was nearly dark Lieutenant Forbes thought it better not to land and attack them so we foreed our way down replying to the enemy's fire with our guns only. We had one Artillery man dangerously wounded in the head. On reaching Duleep Nuggur, where we remained for the night, Lieutenant Allan with 260 Etawah Infantry joined us.

The next morning the 28th we started at daylight for Bhurree the whole way down we met with very great opposition from Nirunjun Singh's force, who followed us down the river, keeping up a heavy fire. On reaching Gurha Rasdar, a strong position on the banks of the river about 3 miles from Bhurree, and considered by Roop Singh the key of his position, we found nearly the whole of his force with one small gun ready to resist us, we immediately opened upon them with considerable effect from the 18 pounder and Lieutenant Forbes, and Allan and myself with the seiks and Etawah Levies landing, drove them from their position, chased them through the ravines, killing one of their leaders Domrao Singh and about 25 men, and captured the gun carriage, they however managed to carry off the gun. We then re-embarked, and dropped down to Gohanee a village opposite Bhurree on the left Bank of the river where we were joined by the remainder of the Etawah Levies under Lieutenant Graham, and Mr. Maconochie. We then crossed the river but found the fort had been evacuated, in which large supplies of grain, ammunition &c., were discovered. Mr. Collet, District Engineer E. I. Railway was I regret to say severely wounded, also 2 men of the Etawah Levies. On the 29th Lieutenant Graham with the Seiks and some of the Levies started to clear the Jumna on the Joheeka direction of all boats, he returned on the 31st having completely effected this without opposition ; the same day Lieutenants Allan, and Gordon and Mr. Maconochie started with a strong force of Infantry and 2 guns to bring down 6 boats Roop Singh had collected opposite the village of Muhawa-Soonder on the Chumbul. The expedition met with considerable opposition, the rebels lining the heights and keeping up a sharp fire of musketry, on coming however, opposite the boats, the Infantry crossed under cover of the guns, drove them out of their position, and carried off the boats. We had one man slightly wounded, the enemy had 15 men killed by shell from the 18 pounder alone, and lost many more ; the partly returned the same night to Bhuree with the boats.

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# APPENDIX XX.

*Extract of a letter from the Officiating Magistrate of Etawah to the Officiating Secretary to the Government N. W. P. Dated Etawah 15th June* 1858.

I hasten to report that Lieutenant Span of the Canal had just this morning come in from the Cawnpore District. He was stationed at Ghuratee on the Jumna, the terminus of the Etawah Branch Ganges Canal, distant about 90 miles from here. On the 6th it became known that the Jail at Cawnpore had been broken open, and the prisoners released ; as if by a preconcerted signal, the former proprietors all over the district rose "en masse" and dispossessed or attempted to dispossess the present incumbents. Budmash villages turned out their 2, 3 or 4 hundred bundookchees ; and looted every other village not strong enough to resist them, and all travellers as a matter of course. After a time his Chupprassies and guard mutineed, at least refused to fight, and people made arrangements for attacking him ; warned of this by some of his Canal friends, and finding himself alone in a scene of indescribable anarchy, in which neither the person or property of any human being was respected for a moment, he started by the Canal for Etawah. Throughout he had the gratification of meeting with the most unbounded hospitality and kindness from every Zemindar of any consideration along the line of the Canal. Fighting hard amongst themselves in the Cawnpore District no doubt they were, but even when he passed between bands, of armed men fighting with each other, the Zemindars were civil and kind to him, and every man, that had the means of so doing, offered to protect him in his fort. He also says that the moment he entered this district he found perfect peace prevailing every where, and one native Gentleman Kour Laik Singh simply on his requisition for assistance to proceed to me, sent him his factor, and a guard of 4 Sowars, and 40 Bundookchees. The same Zemindar the day before on hearing of the arrival of the Sowars at Beylah had sent off at once 200 Bundookchees towards the Tuhsil.

# APPENDIX XXI.

اشتہار *

ایان اکتبوین هیوم صاحب بہادر مجسٹریٹ و کالکٹر اٹاوہ نے اپنے ضلع مین سب خاص و عام کي اطلاع اور تساي کے لئے اشتہار مندرجہ ذیل مشتہر کیا هی اوسکا مضمون دوسرے اضلاع سے بهي یکساں متفاق هی سب جگہ کے لوگوں کو چاهیئے کہ آگاہ هوکر اُسکے بموجب کار بند هوں اور افواہ عام جو خلاف اس مضمون کے هو اُسکو محض باطل اور بےبنیاد سمجهیں فقط *

اشتہار محکمہ کالکٹري و فوجداري ضلع اٹاوہ مجاریہ ایان اکتبوین هیوم صاحب مجسٹریٹ و کالکٹر

چونکہ دریافت هوا کہ نانا نمک حرام نے مع دیگر بغاوت شعاران شکست یافتہ کے جب کہ اُنکو کہین طاقت مقابلہ کي ساتہ فوج سرکاري کے نرهي اور اُنهوں نے دیکها کہ لڑکر اب سرکار کا کچهہ نقصان زیادہ نہین کرسکتے تب اِدهر اُدهر سے بهاگکر هر ایک ضلع مین جہاں کہیں سرکاري فوج نہین پہنچي جهوٹي سیکڑوں افواہ اِس غرض سے مشہور کرنا شروع کیا تاکہ رعایاے خیرخواہ سرکار کا دل گهبراکر پهر جاے لہذا یہ اِشتہار بنظر داجمعي و تسکین خاص و عام کے جاري هوتا هی *

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اول یہ لوگ مشہور کرتے ہیں کہ افواج سرکاري برابر بلاتمیز سب ہندوستانیوں کو مارتے ہیں اور پھانسي دلا دیتے ہیں اور توپ سے اوڑا دیتے ہیں لیکن یہ محض غلط ہی البتہ جس جس بے رحم اور بے ایمان نے اپنے افسروں کو دغا دیکر مار ڈالا اور بھي لڑکوں اور عورتوں کو بے رحمي سے ایذا دیکر ہلاک کیا اُنکو سزاے قصاص کا حکم ہی اور یہ سزا ایسے مجرموں کو حسب ہدایت قانون ہر یک ملک کے اور بھي ازروے انصاف واجب و لازم ہی اب ظاہر ہی کہ رعایاے ضلع اِٹاوہ نے نہ کسي افسر کو مارا اور نہ عورت اور لڑکوں کو بلکہ اکثروں نے اُنمیں سے مدد و معاونت اہلکاران سرکاري کے بیچ رفع فسادات میں کي ہی اور بیوض ایسي خیرخواہي کے مستحق و مستوجب انعام و اکرام کے ہونگے نکہ سزا کے *

اور یہ تمام رعایاے ضلع مذکور کو واضح ہو کہ بغیر ہمراہي ہمارے کوئي فوج سرکاري ضلع اِٹاوہ میں نہیں جائیگی اور جو کہ ہم اِس ضلع میں دیڑہ برس رہ چکے ہیں اور لوگوں کو خوب معلوم ہی کہ ہمنے کسي کے نسبت دیدہ ودانستہ بےانصافي نہیں کي پس جملہ رعایا خود اس بات کو سوچ لیں کہ آیندہ بھي ہم کسیکے ساتھ ظلم و بدعت کرینگے یا نہیں *

دوم بدخواہ مشہور کرتے ہیں کہ ہر کہیں بھنگي اور کنجر وغیرہ عہدہ ہاے اعلي پر مقرر ہوتے ہیں اور دیگر رعایاے اقوام شریف تابع اُنکے کئے جاتے ہیں یہ افواہ بھي صحیح نہیں ہی البتہ جب کہ نانا جسنے اول گنگا کي قسم اِس امر میں کھائي تھي کہ لڑکوں و عورتوں کو محفوظ رکھونگا اور بعد ازاں خلاف اوس قسم کے لڑکوں اور عورتوں کو بے رحمي سے قتل کرایا اور فوج سرکاري کے مقابلہ سے بھاگ گیا تب اُسکے گھر میں بھنگي بسایا گیا اور جب کہ دغابازي نانا مذکور کے سبب سے کسي نے انتظام اُس قصبہ کا جس میں نانا رہتا تھا قبول نہ کیا تب وہ انتظام بھنگیوں کے سپرد ہوا لیکن غرض اوسے یہ نہ تھي کہ دیگر رعایا کو ذلت ہووے بلکہ اس مراد سے کہ کوئي منتظم اُنکي حفاظت کے واسطے چاہیئے اور واقع میں بھنگیان مذکور نے بڑي جرات سے دو تین غول ڈاکوؤں کا مقابلہ کرکے بھگا دیا اِسے ہویدا کہ رعایاے ضلع اِٹاوہ کچھ خوف ذلت کا اپنے دلمیں نہ لاویں کیونکہ وہاں کسینے ایسا کام نہیں کیا جسے اُسکے گھر میں بھنگي بسانے کي ضرورت ہووے اور نہ وہاں قات مردمان قوم شریف وجري خواہندگان نوکري کي ہی کہ ضرورت بھنگیوں کي ہووے *

سوم بعض بعض مفسد مشہور کرتے ہیں کہ اگرچہ دھلي و دو ایک دیگر مقام پر سرکار کي تبیح ہوئي تھي لیکن پھر زور باغیان کا بدستور ہوگیا منجواب اِس افواہ محض جھوٹہ کے ہم رعایا کو اطلاع صحیح دیتے ہیں کہ اب جز اُس فساد کي منقطعہ ہوئي یعنے دھلي کہ ماواي و ملجاي مفسدونکا اتنع ہوکر قبضہ سرکار میں آئي اور اب ہرطرح پر وہاں امن و آمان ہی صاحب مجسٹریٹ و کالکٹر ضلع دھلي میں کام اپنے عہدہ کا کرتے ہیں اور رعایا جو خوف سے سابق میں بھاگ گئے تھے پھر آباد ہوتي جاتي ہی اور کانپور جو بسبب عہد شکني نانا کے قبضہ مفسدان و باغیان میں آگیا تھا پھر بعد شکست اُنکے حفاظت فوج کسیر سرکاري میں در آیا اور لکھنو جو زیر محاصرہ تھا محاصرہ سے بري ہوا اب وہاں نہ صرف افواج آمد آمد بلکہ فوج آمد دھلي بھي جسنے بتاریخ ۱۰ اکتوبر سنہ ۱۸۵۷ ع باغیان دھولپور وغیرہ کو بمقام آگرہ شکست دي تھي داخل لکھنو ہوئي البتہ اکثر مقامات متفرق خصوصاً روہیلکھنڈ و اودہ میں جماعت ہاے باغیاں پھرتي ہیں اور جو کہ اُنکي جرات نہیں ہی کہ کہیں فوج سرکاري سے مقابلہ کریں بلکہ جہاں کہیں سامنے اتفاق سے آجاتے ہیں تو حملہ ہونے میں

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بےتحاشی بھاگ جاتے ھیں اسواسطے سر زنش اُنکي میں کچھہ دیر لگےگي لیکن کچھہ شک و شبہ نہیں ھی کہ اب چشمہ فساد کا سوکھا اور جو کہ روز بروز افواج سرکاري زیادہ ھوتي جاتي ھی جملہ باغیان پھل اپنے کئے کا پاوینگے غرض کہ ھم جسوقت ضلع میں پہنچینگے عندیہ ھمارا یہ ھی کہ حق رھی ظلم رسیدوں کي ضرور کرینگے لیکن جہاں تک ممکن ھوگا لوگون کو سزاے سنگین سے بچاوینگے البتہ یہ نھوگا کہ جس کسینے صریح کوي جرم سنگین کیا ھو اُسکو ھم بغیرسزا چھوڑ دین اور یہ بھي اطلاع دیتے ھیں کہ اگر باوجود مطاع ھونے اِس اشتہار سے پھر بھي کوئي منجملہ رئیس و رعایاے ضلع اِتاوہ بد چلن اختیار کرینگے اور بد خواھوں کے مشہور کئے ھوے جھوٹے افواھوں کو صحیح سمجھکر مرتکب بغاوت ھونگے تو ھم کچھہ رعایت اُنکي طرف نرکھینگے کیونکہ گو ھماري نیت رحم و رعایت کے طرف راغب ھو لیکن کیسي انصاف پر بیٹھکر تعمیل احکام قانون کرني پڑیگي فقط ۱۲/ اکتوبر سنہ ۵۷ع *

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## APPENDIX XXII.

As first arranged the scheme stood thus :—

| Jurisdiction. | Name of Managers. | Monthly allowance for establishment. | | | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pergunnahs Bidhoona, Phuppoond, | Kour Chatter Singh, of Sehar. Lalla Debee Pershad, Tuhseeldar of Bidhoona Dy. Magistrate Sp. Pr. | 1200 | ,, | ,, | Dabeepershaud to draw a salary of Rs. 250, and Tuhsildar of Phuppoond subordinate to him to draw Rs. 180. |
| Pergunnahs Etawah, and Burthenah, exclusive Thannahs Juswantnuggur, Burpoorah, & Chukkernuggur. | Rao Juswant Rao, and Moonshee Ishurree pershad Tuhsildar of Burtana Dy. Magte. Ast. pr. | 1500 | ,, | ,, | Ishureepershad to draw Rs. 250 a month, and Shambharee lall Supdt. of Police subordinate to him to draw Rs. 150. |
| Thannah Burpoorah | Rao Jowahir Sing, | 200 | ,, | ,, | |
| Chukkernuggur and trans Chumbul illaqua. | Raja Koosul Sing | 200 | ,, | ,, | |
| Thannah Juswantnuggur, and Agra Road as far as Shekoabad. | Kour Zohr Sing, | 800 | ,, | ,, | |
| Pergunnah Dullelnuggur. | Lala Rambukhs Tuhsildar, and Dy. Magte. | 1000 | ,, | ,, | To draw Rs. 200. |

When however the scheme was promulgated, Rao Juswant Rao declined the Office, he said he would help Ishureepershaud as much as he could, but would not himself undertake the management. Ishureepershaud declined interfering beyond his Pergunnah, and pointed out that Zohr Singh had already ably managed Etawah ; moreover Chatter Singh had in the interim committed himself, his offence was only fighting some of his neighbours, but still he had become a partizan and was unfit to be a ruler, I therefore modified the scheme, which in practice was as follows.

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| Pergunnah or Illaqqua | Manager. | Allowance. | | | Remarks. *(Salaries as before.)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Phuphoond. Bedhoonah. | Lalla Dabeepershaud. | 1200 | ,, | ,, | Phuphoond directly managed by Tuhseeldar subordinate to Dabee Pershaud. Chatter Sing, Laik Sing to assist when required, |
| Burthanah. | Lalla Ishurree Pershaud. | 800 | ,, | ,, | Rao Juswant Rao to assist. |
| Etawah. | Koour Zohr Singh. | 1500 | ,, | ,, | Kotwalee, specially under Shambeharee Lall Superintendent of Police, subordinate to Zohr Sing. |
| Chukkernuggur. | Raja Koosul Singh. | 200 | ,, | ,, | Turned rebel later. |
| Burpoorah. | Rao Jowahir Singh. | 200 | ,, | ,, | |
| Dulellnuggur. | Lalla Rambukhsh Tuhseeldar. | 1000 | ,, | ,, | |

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# POSTCRIPT

TO THE

# Etawah Narrative.

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SINCE the above was written, a large body of mutineers has again disturbed the peace of the district. On the 7th of December a body of some 2000 Cavalry, under Feeroz Shah and other leaders escaping from Oude, entered the district, plundering, burning and slaying almost indiscriminately. On the 8th with a small force of the Etawah levies under Lt. Forbes, we met them at Hurchundpoor in the Phuphoond Pergunnah and after a very severe fight, which lasted 3½ hours, and in which notwithstanding their immense superiority of numbers we routed them, killing 60, including 2 leaders of distinction, they made off toward Phuphoond itself and thence fled precipitately across the Jumna and Chumbul closely pursued by our little force and Brigadier Herbert's column, that had been sent from Cawnpoor to arrest their progress. Their subsequent annihilation by Napier is now a matter of History. Full particulars of the Hurchundpoor engagement will be found at Appendix xxiii.

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## APPENDIX XXIII.

*23rd December* 1858.—No. 1228.—The following letter, from Mr. A. O. Hume, Magistrate of Etawah, being the report of an action between the Military Police of that District under Lieutenant Forbes, and the Insurgents headed by Feroze Shah, is published by order of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General :—

No. 107.

FROM A. O. HUME, ESQUIRE,
*Magistrate of Etawah,*

To W. MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secy. to Govt. N. W. Provinces, Allahabad.*

*Dated Camp Suhson, 12th December* 1858.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that at 4½ P. M. of 6th December, (our Camp being at Deenarpore,) we received an express from the Magistrate of Futtehgurh to the effect, that the Nana had crossed at some Ghât near Meerun-ka-Serai at about 4 A. M. of the 5th, with a considerable Force.

2. Lieutenant Forbes and myself determined to march at once to Phuphoond with every available man,* leaving for the protection of Etawah men as per margin. † I chose Phuphoond, because from experience, I knew that it commanded all the rebels favorite routes in crossing the Doab from Oude to Bundelkhund, viz. viâ Oreyah and Sheregurh Ghât, Dullelnuggur and Beejulpoor Ghât, and lastly Ajeetmul and Johee-ka Ghât.

* WITH US.

4 Native Officers, 125 Bayonets, Etawah Local Infantry.
1 Sergeant.
2 Havildars, 44 Rank and File, 4 Native Guns, viz., three 3-Pounders, one 12-Pounder Carronade, E. L. Battery, 4 Native Officers, 118 Sabres, E. L. Horse.

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† For protection of Etawah.
1 Sergeant, 71 Bayonets, E. L. Infantry.
1 Native Officer, 112 Bayonets, E. Police Battalion.
1 Native Officer, 18 Sabres, E. L. Horse, 5 Artillery men.
1 English 18-Pounder Carronade, 180 Recruits, E. Police Battalion.

3. We arrived at Phuphoond (32 miles by the only road for guns) before day light of the 7th, and sent out Sowars at once to Sehar, Russoolabad, and Mungulpoor, who returning in the course of the day, reported that no rebels were to be seen, though strong rumours of their having crossed the Ganges were everywhere afloat. About 5 o'clock P. M., letters reached simultaneously from Belah and Sehar, (where the Tuhsil Office at is present located,) announcing that both places were attacked, and that the former had been taken and plundered, after the Thannahdar and several others of the Police had been wounded; a little later in the evening a letter from Lalla Laik Singh of Hurchundpoor announced, that his residence also was invested. At Sehar we had a large sum of money and the Pergunnah Records, besides all the Tuhsil Omlah, and Lalla Chutter Singh, a loyal zemindar, to protect at Hurchundpoor, poor Lalla Laik Singh, one of the staunchest and most unwavering adherents of the British Government in these Provinces.

4. We therefore determined to march at all hazards to relieve these two places. At Phuphoond we had been joined by reinforcements as per margin,* which we had ordered out to join us on first moving. We ought also to have been joined by 82 Infantry and 76 Cavalry under an European Officer, (some of the very best of the levies, who had gone into Mynpoorie on Treasure escort,) who reached Bukenar, en route to Phuphoond, but were thence recalled under a misapprehension (which though excusable was very greatly to our detriment,) by one of my subordinates. As we heard that the enemy numbered at least 3000, and many reports said from 5 to 7 thousand, (including of course, women and camp followers, &c.,) it was absolutely necessary to make all arrangements for the due protection of Treasure and Records at Phuphoond and Oreyah, in case of the rebels forcing us to the fall back towards Etawah, or to take up some fixed defensible position. Due orders were accordingly issued and admirably executed at Oreyah; even had the Tuhsil been like that at Phuphoond plundered and burnt, Government would have not directly suffered; but at Phuphoond, though we delayed the whole night, in order to allow the Tuhsildar to make the necessary arrangements, and though he personally reported to us that all had been done, it has since proved that nothing was really done, and in consequence a portion of the Treasure and all the papers (except the Canoongoes' papers) were lost. This was no fault of mine, acting in the absence of any other Military man as 2nd in Command of the Force, having the men, guns, rusud, &c., to look to and arrangements for the safety of the whole District to make, I could do no more than give the necessary orders, and wait till I had the direct assurance of the Tuhsildar, that they *had* been completely executed, he is a new man and must be dismissed, as the money lost (Rs. 8,000) did not fall into the hands of the rebels, we have hopes of recovering it.

* From Phuphoond, 70 Sabres, 13th Troop Meerut Police Cavalry.
From Oreyah, 1 Native Officer, 27 Sabres ditto.
From Chukkernuggur, 24 ditto, E. L. Horse.
From Suhson, 8 Sabres, 13th Troop, 1 Native Officer, 70 Bayonets, E. L. Infantry.
From Etawah, 2 Native Officers, 16 Sabres, 13th Troop.

5. At day break we marched from Phuphoond on Hurchundpore, distant about 9 miles; our force strengthened as above, consisting of 200 Infantry Etawah Levies under myself; the 4 guns and 46 Artillery men under Mr. Maconochie, Deputy Collector; 207 Cavalry (13th Troop and Etawah Light Horse), under Mr. Doyle, the whole viz., 453 men of all arms and ranks under command of Lieutenant Forbes. We reached Hundhon Bridge over the Canal 4 miles from Phuphoond without seeing any of the enemy, soon after crossing the bridge, we came in sight of a party of about 200 horsemen, and finding that they fell back as we advanced, we unlimbered, and gave them one round from the guns, killing one horse and one man, on which they galloped off. The first shot was fired at ¼ to 8 A. M.

6. By this time having received intelligence from various quarters, we had become fairly informed of the strength and character of the enemy, and subsequently this has been accurately ascertained from Chutter Singh and the Tuhsildar, whose position they surrounded for nearly 24 hours, from various villages, where they pressed men to carry their wounded, and halted to bury and burn their dead, and from a prisoner whom we captured near Suhson in the pursuit. They had 1600 well mounted and armed Sowars, 400 badly mounted (chiefly Infantry,) men on tattoos armed for the most part with rifles, muskets and carabines, about 125 Regular Infantry (28 Native Officers,) 200 women and children, some 4 or 5 hundred unarmed or badly armed camp followers, servants, &c., two small guns, eight elephants, a few camels, (20 or 30,) and a host

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of tattoos, baggage, cattle, &c.; attacking a force like this, weak as we were, was we know a desperate measure, every man of us fully felt the danger and the responsibility, and it was not done without full consideration, but on the other hand these wretches (accompanied, in fact really led, by an Etawah rebel) had marched through the district so far as they had come plundering (and in some cases partially burning) every well effected village, killing numbers of inoffensive villagers and wounding even women; Lehar and Hurchundpore (the former where there was much Treasure and no regular garrison) were threatened, and we saw the absolute necessity of making the attempt, however desperate, to arrest their course, trusting in a good cause to carry us safely through. I am particular as to the numbers, because in a memorandum of 8th of December received from the Chief Commissioner of Oude, the horsemen are stated at 900. The cause of the discrepency apparently is their having been subsequently joined by several large parties of mutineer Cavalry. The leaders were, as correctly stated in the memorandum, Feroze Shah, Lukker Shah, Goolab Shah, Mousin Allee Khan, Fuzzle Huq, several Resaldars of the 11th and 12th Irregulars, Deler Singh of Pareetchutgurh, but Summund Khan of Jhujjur mentioned in the memorandum was *not* with the force. Jassa Singh, Morad Ali Khan, *alias* the Nazim Aleedad Khan, and Resaldars of the 1st and 2nd Cavalry, and the 14th and 15th Irregulars, none of whom are mentioned in the memorandum were also there. The leader was Feroze Shah, but the *General* in the field of the whole force, was Aleedad Khan, the last of three noted Etawah Mevatee Dacoits, a very fine man and noted Pulwan. The 1600 Cavalry consisted chiefly of the 1st and 2nd Cavalry, 11th, 12th, 14th, and 15th Irregulars, with parties of 20 to 50, from almost every other mutinous Cavalry Corps late of the service. They included a number of Seiks and Afghans, and the Pustoo abuse that passed between one or two of our men, and these latter was very edifying.

7. To return when their picquet (for it proves to have been such) fell back, we limbered up, and for a short time advanced towards Hurchundpoor, when the main body of the enemy gradually came in sight; it was a very striking spectacle; as far as we could see masses of Cavalry moving about, but not at first showing inclination to attack us; after the picquet had been driven back we had continued to advance in line, the guns being covered on the left by Mr. Doyle with the Etawah Cavalry, on the right by 2 Companies of Infantry, beyond these on our right, (there being high bajra fields, a Company was thrown out in skirmishing order and beyond these again were the 13th Troop M. Police. It appears that we surprised the enemy and the delay that took place in their attacking us and opposing our advance was owing to their being engaged in concentrating their forces, from Sehar and Hurchundpoor and in sending off their baggage, women, &c. to the west, towards the Canal bridge of Humra, 3 miles higher up than Hundhon. They sent off with these, and the camp followers, 200 of the Regular Cavalry, a large portion of the tattoo sowars, and then about 1400 of the Regular Cavalry, their Regular Infantry and some of the rifle men on tattoos advanced to attack us on our left flank. We changed front to the left so as to face them, shifting the Etawah Cavalry to our right, where the enemy appeared in greatest force and the 13th Troop to our left; there was a village between our centre and theirs and the 13th Troop were sent round the village. The whole body of the enemy then wheeled and changing front (all this time we were giving them the guns) came down on our right flank, but we shifted front at the same time so as to face the enemy, and immediately advanced to meet them, in the same direction as that in which we were originally moving. As we drew close, as it was obvious that they were hugely outflanking us, Lieut. Forbes gave the word to advance and went off to the right with Mr. Doyle and the Etawah Cavalry, while the 13th Troop charged on our left; Mr. Doyle's charge was magnificent, after killing two men with his own hand, he was dismounted, and I regret to say cut to pieces. On this about 59 men ignominously fled altogether in every direction, spreading confusion through the district, and giving out that we had been entirely destroyed, a small portion galloped back to the guns for protection, throwing the Infantry into confusion and driving the little baggage and few camp followers we had, in amongst the guns and limbers; about 37 stuck by Mr. Doyle's body and after a very severe hand to hand combat which lasted nearly 10 minutes, in which 6 were killed and about the same number wounded, fell back on our right in good order. At the same time the Meerut Troop on the left under Resaldar Mahomed Assudollah Khan charged most gallantly, 19 of them indeed fled, but the rest after a very severe fight in which they killed a number of the enemy, fell back in good order to our left, when the enemy's Cavalry advanced; besides the three bodies of the enemy kept in check by our Infantry and guns, and detained in conflict by Mr. Doyle and Assudollah, two other bodies on their extreme right and left came down unopposed, that on their left wheeling round charged our rear, that on their right simultaneously came down on the unprotected left of our guns. Lieut. Forbes was away with the Cavalry, I wheeled one gun round to our left, one to the rear and divided the Infantry between the guns, so as to

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form 3 sides of a hollow square of Infantry with 2 guns in one face, and one in each of the others. This was done rapidly, and I cannot praise too highly the conduct of the men or sufficiently express my sense of the assistance I received at this critical moment from Mr. G. B. Maconochie and Sergeant Major Edmonds; down they came on all 3 sides, *not a shot* was fired by the Infantry till when the enemy were about 100 yards distance, I gave the word. Then they gave it with a will, but the smoke and dust was so dense, that but little execution was done and though repulsed in confusion on the front and rear, the enemy pushed in at the left and for a moment got possession of the Magazine camels; but the Infantry beat them back and recovered, (I really can't exactly say how, for the noise and smoke were over-powering) the baggage and our three sides were in a few minutes clear. The party who had attacked our rear some 400 in number had shifted further towards our original right, and had managed to cut off some baggage camels, &c., which they were carrying off. I did not see this, I was busy on the other side, but Lieutenant Forbes who had just returned from the Cavalry charge on the right saw it, and detaching one Company of Infantry, with an amount of courage and resolution rarely equalled, dashed after them, and after a chase of about six or eight hundred yards, actually recaptured our baggage after killing six or seven of the enemy. As he started after them the enemy's Cavalry re-forming charged down on the front and left face of our square, and the 13th Troop or at least such as remained of them still under the Resaldar Assudollah, who was desperately wounded, charged again to the left, while the Cavalry in front were brought up at about 50 yards by musketry and guns. Such of the 13th Troop as went in with the Resaldar got carried away in the rush of the enemy, and rejoined us on the right flank, twice more the enemy charged down at full gallop on the front left and rear of our square, once on the left getting almost up to the muzzles of the guns; each time they were repulsed and fell back helter skelter in confusion, suddenly forming into one mass, they came down some 800 strong at least at right angles to our front, and a little to our right obviously with the intention of wheeling in and charging our right where the broken Cavalry had taken refuge, and where we consequently neither had nor could use Infantry or guns—this was also a trying moment, but Sergeant Edmonds running our 12-pounder Carronade outside the front face of our square, wheeled it round to the right and gave them one steady coolly aimed round of grape at 200 yards; the effect was miraculous, they turned and fled in utter confusion, and the battle was virtually ended after a severe struggle, that lasted 3½ hours. At 11-30. A. M., a gun was then turned in the direction where Mr. Doyle fell and to whose corpse Cavalry was again approaching. Lieutenant Forbes returned with the baggage and advancing we recovered his body, which the enemy had never had time to loot, we collected our killed and wounded, and formed into a line once more. The enemy had disappeared; we received apparently trustworthy intelligence, that a body of 2000 Infantry were advancing to attack us. The men were tired, and parched with thirst and dust, and we conceived it best to advance the remaining mile to Hurchundpoor where we knew, we could well defend ourselves to rest and feed the men, and ascertain the truth of the report in regard to the Infantry; as we advanced, a considerable body of the enemy suddenly appeared in the rear charging down on us at a hand gallop, we let them come to within 250 yards, and then unlimbering one of the guns and making the Infantry right about face, gave them at 150 yards a reception that entirely broke them, many were killed and wounded, and the whole body turned and fled; we saw no more of them throughout the fight; the 28th Native Infantry did nothing beyond firing into the Local Horse when they advanced under Mr. Doyle and a few round shot broke and dispersed them.

8. Thus ended a fight in which the Etawah Infantry and Artillery Levies displayed a steadiness and courage unsurpassed I believe by any Hindoostance troops in the annals of Indian warfare. We lost heavily, besides Mr. Doyle, we had 21 killed and 19 wounded. One of the best and bravest men I have ever been acquainted with. Mr. Doyle died as befitted a soldier's son (so true a soldier himself) fearlessly leading his men (victorious so long as he was there to lead) against overpowering numbers of his country's enemies, and if any thing can lessen the regret that we feel for his loss it is the consciousness that he fell so gloriously, and in such a hard fought fight. I feel sure that a generous Government will amply provide for his helpless widow and orphans.

9. The enemies loss was considerable, at first knowing of only 21 bodies, we thought their loss confined to that number, but from enquiring at the villages where they pressed laborers to carry their wounded, where they burnt and buried their dead, and from the statement of the prisoner who appears to be dying, and who has given the fullest circumstantial details, it appears that they lost two leaders Moorad Alee Khan *alias* the Nazim and a Mahomedan Resaldar (name unknown) buried at Oncha, Pergunnah Phuphoond, and 55 to 58 others killed, that a 3rd leader Golab Shah lost his right hand, that 25 men were carried away in Doolies and on Charpoys

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badly wounded, besides a great number not so severely wounded as to prevent their riding. We have captured several carabines, some muskets and altogether about 50 horses, and we have recovered a considerable number of the horses of our men who were killed. There is no doubt that but for the report of the supposed Infantry advancing on us which chiefly deterred us from the pursuit, we should have killed many more and obtained many more horses.

10. By 10 A. M. the next morning (the 9th) we had ascertained that there was no Infantry in our rear as far as Belah, and were just starting in pursuit, as we heard that the rebels were still at Phuphoond when we heard a force had arrived at Sehar. This delayed us nearly two hours, but being joined at last by Lieutenant Thom and Franks with 104 horse, being a party sent out from Brigadier the Hon'ble Percy Herbert's column to obtain information, we pressed on to Phuphoond, sending all the information we had to the Brigadier. We reached Phuphoond 9 miles, after dark, but found that news of Herbert's Column had reached them at the same time as ourselves, and that the rebels had fled; the Cawnpore Column as we subsequently learned had reached Oreyah and shut them out from the Sheregurh Ghát.

11. At 5 A. M. of the 16th we pushed on to Ajeetmul (10 miles) where we learned that Brigadier Herbert having made a rapid move from Oreyah to Shahgoonpoor, had succeeded on coming up with some stragglers of the enemy, killing 12, causing 21 to be drowned and capturing over 200 horses and 8 camels, excluding numbers of horses and some camels that stuck in the quick-sand and were killed. Having communicated with the Brigadier and news having arrived towards the evening that the enemy, who were now between the Jumna and the Chumbul, were marching on Chukker Nuggur with the intention of making up the Customs line, and sending a party across at Dibhoulee to plunder Luckna, we sent an express to Lieutenant Allan, directing him to march with 2 Companies of the Levies to Gatee, between the two rivers so as to arrest their progress west, while we marched for Luckna (16 miles) which we reached before day light on the 11th, the Brigadier followed rapidly in support and soon after his arrival at Luckna, the Etawah force marched (at $2\frac{1}{2}$ P. M.) to Suhson, (10 miles) across the Jumna and Chumbul, he sending in support a considerable force of Cavalry as far as Chukkernuggur. Beyond Suhson one of the enemy's disabled men was captured, but the rest were, we found out of reach, indeed they made Mohona in Gwalior 20 miles from Suhson by evening, the same time we reached Suhson.

12. It is impossible to overrate the effect produced by Brigadier Herbert's most energetic and judicious pursuit. The fugitives beside the actual loss they sustained are entirely dispirited, and numbers have already separated themselves from the leaders. My humble but earnest thanks are due to him for the effectual and cordial assistance which he so promptly came forward to render to my district at a time of great need, and could I but have known of his approach 24 hours sooner, I scarcely think one rebel would have escaped.

13. On the 11th, Brigadier Showers by forced marches (having made 75 miles in 40 hours, an unexampled march with Europeans) reached Etawah, ready as he has ever proved himself to succour us when necessary, and I hope I may be allowed to express how warmly I feel the generous aid which he on this as on former occasions has so promptly rendered.

14. Rao Jeswant Rao and Moonshee Ishuree Pershad were as usual present in the fight, well to the front and in the pursuit making themselves useful as no one else can.

I have, &c.,

A. O. HUME,
*Magistrate.*

SUHSON :
*12th December*, 1858.

By order of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

W. MUIR,
*Secy. Govt., N. W. P.*

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# APPENDIX XXIV.

*24th December* 1858.—No. 1230.—The Notification issued by the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor General, No. 597, under date the 22nd instant, is republished for general information :—

"*22nd December* 1858.—No. 597.—The Governor General has much pleasure in directing the publication of the subjoined account of a very gallant and successful attack made by the Officers and men of the Etawah Levy, upon a Force of Rebel soldiery largely superior in numbers and well equipped. It was a daring exploit, and the Governor General desires to express his warm commendation of the courage, skill and determination which marked it. His Lordship's thanks are due to Lieutenant Forbes, Commanding the Levy ; to Mr. Hume, the Magistrate of Etawah ; to Mr. Maconochie ; and Serjeant-Major Edmonds. The death of Mr. Doyle, who sold his life dearly at the head of the Cavalry under his Command, is a great loss to the public service. It will be a satisfaction to the Governor General to mark, by the grant of a pension to Mr. Doyle's widow, his sense of the zeal and courage with which that Officer's duties have at all times been performed.

The Governor General desires to acknowledge the gallantry and good example of Ressaldar Mahomed Assudoolah Khan, also an Officer of the Police Cavalry. His Lordship confers upon this brave man the 1st Class of the "Order of British India," with the title of "Sirdar Bahadoor."

R. J. H. BIRCH, *Major-Genl.*,
*Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.,*
*With the Governor General.*

FROM LIEUT. FORBES,
*Commanding Etawah Yeomanry Levies.*

TO W. MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secy. to Govt., N. W. P., Allahabad,*

*Camp Sahson, 12th December* 1858.

SIR,—I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, that an engagement took place between the Etawah Levies, with a Troop of Police Cavalry, and a large body of rebels under Ferozeshah and other leaders.

On the afternoon of the 6th instant, while in Camp at Deenapore, intelligence reached Mr. Hume, the Magistrate, that a body of rebels said to be under the Nana, had crossed the Ganges; it was determined at once to march to Phuphoond. The distance, 34 miles, was accomplished during the night.

During the 7th, the rebels having arrived in the Etawah District, ravaging the villages, some information was obtained as to their numbers, and, as late at night, it was ascertained that they had surrounded the fort of Sehar, where the Tahseeldar of Biddoonah resides, and parties were threatening Hurchundpore, the fort of a very loyal Zemindar hard by, it was determined by Mr. Hume and myself to move out early next morning to the latter place, and attack the enemy at once, it being extremely probable that, with their superior numbers, they would choose their own opportunity and attack us at a disadvantage.

Some reinforcements reached Camp during the night, and, on the morning of the 8th, the Force, as per margin, left Phuphoond and just about 8 o'clock A. M., came across an outlying picket of the enemy. Their cattle, elephants &c., were grazing in the fields about 2½ miles from their main body. It was afterwards ascertained that they were surprised, no intimation of our movements having reached them. A couple of round shot drove in the picket, and another mile brought us in sight of the main body under Ferozeshah, numbering 1,400 Cavalry, and between one and two hundred Infantry; the latter, men of the 28th Native Infantry, who joined Ferozeshah after the evacuation of fort Royah. The remainder of the Cavalry, 600 strong, moved off with the followers, elephants, camels, &c., to the west, some distance from the scene of action.

*Etawah Levies.*
Lieutenant Forbes, Commanding.
Mr. Doyle, Commanding the Cavalry.
Serjeant Major Edmonds, Infantry.
N. Officer, N. C. Officer, rank and file.
5 5 190

*Cavalry.*
N. Officer, N. C. Officer, rank and file.
4 8 134

*Artillery men.*
Native C. Officer, rank and file.
2 44

*Guns.*
1 Light 12-pounder gun.
3 Light 3-pounder guns.
(2 French and 2 Native.)

13th Troop Police Cavalry.
N. Officer, N. C. Officer, rank and file.
3 5 53

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Our Infantry and guns advanced in line, the left being covered by the Etawah Cavalry, the right by a Company of Infantry, in skirmishing order, and the 13th Troop Police Cavalry.

When within 600 yards of the enemy, the guns were brought into action to the front, and the rebels, shifting a large body of Cavalry to our right, the skirmishers were recalled, and the Etawah Cavalry and the 13th Troop rapidly exchanged positions. The Etawah Cavalry were advanced against the enemy under cover of the guns, which, under the able direction of Mr. Hume, who acted as 2nd in Command during the day, played on them to the last moment.

The Cavalry, under their gallant leader Mr. Doyle, charged a large division of the rebels. A desperate struggle took place. Mr. Doyle distinguishing himself by the same skilful swordsmanship and daring bravery which gained himself so conspicuous a name in all the affairs of the Agra Militia during 1857 ; when, his horse being severely wounded, he was dismounted and cut to pieces. On this, about 50 of the men, pressed on all sides by superior numbers, gave way and, pursued by the rebel Cavalry, swept down on our right flank. A like number got completely separated from our Force, and being prevented from rejoining by the crowed of the enemy's horsemen, made their way into Etawah ; the remainder, for nearly 10 minutes, made a desperate stand over the body of their leader, and at last retired in good order.

The loss of so distinguished an Officer rendered our subsequent success most dearly fought.

Meanwhile, a party of the enemy came down on our left flank, but were stopped by two successive charges of the 13th Troop Police Cavalry, under the able leadership of Ressaldar Mahomed Assudoolah Khan, himself desperately wounded. This brave man, a model of a native soldier, is worthy of reward, and I have the honor to request you will be good enough to move his Lordship, in order that some recognition of his distinguished services may be made ; other men of this Troop also signalised themselves in hand-to-hand encounters.

The partial success of the rebels on our right emboldened them. A third detachment, leaving to engage the 13th Troop, swept round to our left rear, and attacked the Infantry ammunition guard ; they were repulsed with loss on both sides. A fourth party, avoiding the charge of the Etawah Cavalry, passed by our right flank to the rear, and succeeded in driving off 3 camels ; these were speedily re-captured by a Company of Infantry, who, extending in skirmishing order, advanced rapidly over the plain, retook the camels, and, closing up again, moved back to the guns, threatened in front and flank by the rebel Cavalry, who seemed ubiquitous.

During their absence, Mr. Hume was left in Command of the guns, and few remaining Infantry. He was charged front, left flank and rear, by the rebels in great force. Three times they forced their way boldly down on the guns, which, supported by Infantry, were brought into action in the above directions ; each time they were driven off with loss. This was the critical period of the fight.

The Infantry, and Artillery, reserving their fire, behaved to the admiration of all. Mr. Maconochie directed 2 of the guns, and Serjeant-Major Edmonds, conspicuous for his address, contributed mainly to the repulse of the last charge, by swinging round the 12-pounder gun he was serving, and taking the enemy in their flank with a volley of grape. Such clouds of dust and smoke were raised, that, except the flashing of the sabres and the noise of the horses, little could be perceived of the movements of the enemy, until they were almost into the square of guns and Infantry.

After these repulses, they seemed to have had enough of the fight, and sheered off in all directions. The affair lasted 3 hours.

We gathered up our dead and wounded, and intelligence (which proved false) having been received of the advance of a large body of Infantry, it was deemed prudent to move on to our destination, Hurchundpore.

The enemy on the field numbered 1,400 Cavalry, and between one and two hundred Infantry. The only large individual bodies of men were of the 1st and 2nd Regular, and 11th, and 12th and 15th Irregular Cavalry ; the remainder were made up of men of every mutinied Cavalry Regiment in the service, with 150 Seiks and Affghans, all well armed, the Cavalry well mounted.

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Their loss was 58 killed, and about 25 severely wounded, who were subsequently carried off in the doolies they had with their Force: many more were wounded and went off on their horses. Moorad Ally Khan, an Ex-Nazim of the Nawab of Furruckabad, and one of their leading Ressaldars were killed; Goolam Ghah Peerjee; (a disciple of the Moulvie killed at Powyn) severely wounded. These and other particulars were verified by the statements of one of the rebel sowars subsequently taken prisoner.

Our loss was heavy, and is detailed below.

Some carbines, muskets, and a large number of horses remained in our possession. The rebels, encouraged by our small numbers, fought with great energy and determination. They probably comprise the best body of Cavalry in the Field against us. Full particulars of the week's operations have been detailed in a report submitted by Mr. Hume.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. FORBES. *Lieutenant,*

*Commanding Etawah Levies, and*

*Military Police Battalion.*"

By Order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

F. B. OUTRAM.

*Assist. Secy. to Govt., N. W. P.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# ETAH,

IN 1857-58.

No. 61 of 1858.

From

A. L. M. PHILLIPPS, Esquire,

*Magistrate of Agra,*

*Late Joint Magistrate of Etah.*

To

G. H. HARVEY, Esquire,

*Commissioner Agra Division.*

DATED AGRA, THE 9th JUNE 1858.

Sir,

In conformity with the instructions of Government, contained in Circular No. 212, dated 30th April 1858, I have the honor to forward the following Narrative of my operations before leaving the District of Etah.

Mr. Hall was Assistant.

2. Mr. Hall was the Assistant in the Etah District. There was at that time no Uncovenanted Deputy Collector, either Native or other.

First news of the Mutiny and precautions taken.

3. News of the outbreak at Meerut, and the occupation of Dehli by the rebels, reached me about the 18th of May. The Road Chowkees were doubled, Jemadars appointed, and other precautions taken to procure intelligence and arrest suspicious stragglers, which, it perhaps, is not necessary now to dwell on. Daily communication was opened with Allygurh, Mynpoorie, Agra, and Furruckabad. All Zemindars of influence and character were written to, or verbally warned, that they were to exert themselves to the utmost to keep the country quiet, and to give the earliest intimation of any attempt at outbreak or disorder on the part of the villages. Almost all the treasure, leaving only a sum for ordinary expenses, was sent to Mynpoory.

Outbreak at Allygurh on the 21st May, and approach

4. On the 21st of May no communication was received from Allygurh. On the same day, about 10 P. M., *Jumshere Khan*, Jemadar of one of the Road Chowkees, about 10 miles from

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of the Mutineers; arrival and departure of, &c. Etah on the Allygurh side, came to my house and reported as follows: He had observed a large body of sepoys marching down the road, and had joined them in the hope of learning their intentions; he had discovered that the troops at Allygurh had broken out into open mutiny, that their Officers had gone to Agra, and that the main body of the Regiment had started for Dehli. This body of men were on their way to warn the Companies of the same Regiment, which were on detached duty at Mynpoory and Etah. In a few minutes he was called for by the Havildar, or Soubadar, who commanded. This person joined us, and confirmed in full the story before told by Jumshere Khan; after some more conversation, I dismissed him. The whole body ultimately left Etah early in the morning without making any disturbance.

5. I immediately despatched a Camel Sowar with a note by a bye-road to warn the Magistrates of Mynpoory and Etawah. This he succeeded in doing.

Warning sent to Mynpory and Etawah.

6. It was nearly certain that the detachment at Mynpoorie and Etawah would rise at the news of the mutiny of the Head-quarters of the Regiment; and quite certain that, if they did so, they would march viâ Etah and Allygurh to Dehli, thereby avoiding the hostile Fort of Agra, they might be expected the next day, the 22nd, or the day after. It was therefore necessary for me to consider the course I should take. There was very little money in the Tehseelee Treasury, (there was no Sudder Treasury at Etah.) There were about 25 Nujeebs at the Jail; but these men had displayed a very unsatisfactory disposition for several days, murmuring for arrears of pay, which, they falsely said, were owing to them. There was no place of strength, whence I could expect to offer resistance with any hope of success. I therefore determined to leave the Station at the approach of the mutineers from Mynpoory, and if possible to return after their passage through.

Expected return of Mutineers.

7. On the night of the 22nd, word was brought to me that the detachment from Mynpoory, joined with that from Etawah, had reached Mullawun, about 14 miles off, where they had halted. At about 5 A. M. on the 23rd, they arrived at Etah, and I left it simultaneously. My escort consisted of 8 Sowars. I halted about 8 miles off at the village of Nudraee, and there waited for tidings. About 3 P. M. these were brought me by Jumshere Khan, that all public buildings and my own house had been burnt and entirely looted, that the Rajah had taken no measures to preserve order, that the Gunj had been looted, and all was anarchy. Hearing this I continued on my way, and reached Bilram, the residence of Lahoree Mull, and his younger brother, Dilsookh Rae, whither Mr. Hall had gone before early in the morning. I was most hospitably received by these gentlemen; the latter of whom is well known to you, the former is since dead. I desire here to record my sense of the loyal conduct of both, and to express a hope that such reward as might have been deemed fit for Lahoree Mull be now given to his son, Kashmeeree Mull, who has long been known to me, and is now in the service of the Gwalior Government. The remainder of this Narrative would be more conveniently arranged by dates.

Warning of Mutineers' approach. My departure from Etah, and arrival at Bilram.

*May 24th.*—The country was in great disorder; all the roads were swarming with looters, and Kasgunj was reported as threatened. I sent the Jemadar of Sowars out to collect as many Sowars as he could of the Police, and as many as he could trust from villages.

Disorder of the Country.

*May 25th.*—The Jemadar returned about 7 A. M. with 15 Sowars, making 22 in all including myself. After being decoyed by a false alarm in other direction, I reached Kasgunj. Mr. Hall remained at Bilram. I found that a body of plunderers had already made an attack on Kasgunj, and were said to be meditating another; this news was being told us at the Bara Durree, a large building,

I collect Sowars and go to Kasgunj. Have a fight with Dacoits. Return to Bilram.

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where the four broad strait roads, intersecting Kasgunj, meet. While thus engaged, a cry was raised that the "Bulwa" was returning. I saw a compact body of men advancing up the street, filling it from side to side; the first rank marching in order, dressed in a kind of uniform with cross-belts, and carrying some guns, some latties held as muskets: the whole could not be less than 500 men. As soon as they saw us, there was some hesitation apparent; on which calling on the Sowars to follow, I and the Jemadar charged them. They fired some shots as we advanced, but broke before we reached them, and the whole body took to flight. We followed for some distance outside the Town, and killed many, but the ground was difficult for following dispersed footmen, and we were too small a body to separate far. Indeed with the exception of the Jemadar and two other Sowars, the rest showed little inclination to get forward. On this occasion the Jemadar behaved with undoubted gallantry. I saw him kill two men. The two Sowars who also distinguished themselves, were *Mahomed Alee* and *Jewun Beg*. They accompanied me afterwads to Agra; but I do not know how they have since behaved. I regret that the subsequent conduct of the Jemadar was such that I cannot now recommend him for reward. We counted the killed at ten persons, among whom one was a Zemindar of a neighbouring village. Two prisoners were also taken, who were presently hung. Soon after this, I was joined by the Nazir, Nuzumoodeen Hyder; the Tehseeldar of Etah, Daour Alee; the Darogah of the Etah Jail, Shah Zaman Khan; the Peshkar of the Etah Tehseelee, Ferok Shah Khan. With about ten of the Jail Nujeebs and some Burkundazes they had left Etah, having met with no personal ill-treatment from the Rajah, but they had found him surrounded by a crowd of blackguards, whom he was unable, or did not care to control, and they had been in fear of being plundered themselves. I ascertained personally that the plunderers had entirely dispersed from the neighbourhood of Kasgunj, and then returned to Bilram. The Tehseeldar of Etah also came to Bilram with his family.

I am joined by Etah Officials.

*May* 26*th*.—Considering it necessary in every respect to protect the Town of Kasgunj from plunder, I left Bilram and established myself at the Tehseelee of Kasgunj. We heard to-day of a dacoitee committed in the Town of Soron, in which the Thanahdar had been wounded. All night patrols, and constant watchfulness, were maintained. There were continual alarms through the night, but all groundless.

I return to Kasgunj and establish myself there.

*May* 27*th*.—This day the Nujeebs were murmuring among themselves. The Sowars too, as I was informed, were much discontented, saying it was not their duty to fight; all excepting the Jemadar, a Sowar named Choonnee Singh, and the two Sowars whose names were mentionned before. On the night watch I frequently found the Sowar sentries absent from their post, and perceived a general tone of insubordination, and resistance to authority.

Insubordination conduct of the Nujeebs and Sowars.

*May* 28*th*.—Under the circumstances above detailed, I determined to leave Kasgunj for Budaon, hoping to procure from Bareilly the assistance of some Sowars of the Irregular Cavalry there stationed. I reached Suhawur by the evening.

*May* 29*th*.—I left Mr. Hall at Suhawur and reached Budaon, travelling on horse back. Despatched an express to the Commissioner of Rohilkund at Bareilly, for assistance.

I proceed to Budaon to get help from Bareilly.

*May* 30*th*.—Answer returned from Mr. Alexander, that absolutely no such assistance must be expected from Bareilly. I received a note from a Zemindar of Etah, stating that Mr. Bramly had arrived at Putteealee, with a large body of troops.

Am refused.

*June* 1*st*.—I started for Putteealee by daybreak. At starting we heard that the troops at Bareilly had mutinied. On reaching Puteealee I met Mr. Bramly, who was accompanied by

Return to Putteealee where I find Mr. Bramly.

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60 Irregular Sowars on leave, belonging to different Regiments, collected from the Furruckabad district, and under the command of an old Resildar, named Ameer Khan. Mr. Bramly informed me of the tragedy in which Captain Fletcher Hayes and other Officers had met their death at the hands of the 7th Irregular Cavalry. This was discouraging us; it greatly shook our faith in the loyalty of the Sowars who accompanied Mr. Bramly.

*June 2nd.*—We were joined by Mr. Edwards, Collector of Budaon; Mr. Gibson, Customs Patrol, and Mr. Donnelly and his son, Indigo Planters, all from Budaon. They reported that the detachment of Native Infantry had plundered the Treasury of Budaon, and that from the presence of some Irregular Sowars, they inferred that their Regiment had joined in the mutiny. I established communication by Sowar Dâk with Futtehgurh: Mr. Edwards's Sikh servant begged his master not to place confidence in the Irregular Sowars, that they had heard some of them speaking approvingly of the conduct of the murderers of Captain Hayes. I sent expresses to hasten Mr. Hall's journey from Suhawur to Putteealee, two days before. All the Bunyahs of Gunj Doondwarra, a large and very wealthy village, had been utterly looted by connivance of the Zemindar, a Mahometan. To-day a vast mob of Hindoos, Thakoors, Jat, and Aheers collected, and completely looted the Zemindar in revenge for his conduct. The Sowar who brought a dâk from Furruckabad, reported that he had escaped with great difficulty from the villagers on his road. In the night some of our Irregular Sowars were found in the act of going off without previous leave.

Mr. Edwards joins us.

Plunder of Gunj Doondwarra.

*June 3rd.*—Joined early in the morning by Mr. Hall from Suhawur. News from across the Ganges, that the King of the Dehli's Raj had been proclaimed on Budaon and Bareilly. We held a council, and agreed that to stay in the District without means of coercing the rebellions, or of protecting ourselves, was futile. We therefore resolved to make for Mynpoory, and from thence to be guided by circumstances as to proceeding to Agra or not. About 4 P. M. I received an anonymous note from Kasgunj, stating that a large body of rebel sepoys had arrived at Kasgunj that morning, that they had enquired if any European were near, and would march to Put.eealee early in the afternoon. This note was, as I afterwards ascertained, sent by Soondursun Choube of Kasgunj. We therefore lost no time in starting; marched all night, and arrived at a village called Roopdhunee, about 3 miles from the Grand Trunk Road at Kerowlee, belonging to Narain Singh, Aheer, about 3 A. M., in whose Gurree we stayed till daybreak.

Joined by Mr. Hall.

Warning of approach of Mutineers.

Depart for Mynpoory.

*June 4th.*—We sent out scouts to ascertain whether all was clear in front. They returned with the disagreeable news that the road was occupied by a regiment of Sowars, who had mutinied at Lucknow, and who were going to Dehli: the place we were in was too close to such neighbours. We therefore started back to Putteealee, narrowly escaping a body of sepoys on our way, who had encamped half way between Kasgunj and Allygunj. We reached Putteealee by the evening.

We turned back by rebel Sowars and reach Putteealee.

*June 5th.*—This morning Mr. Edwards, and the other gentlemen who joined us from Budaon, determined on leaving us, and making for Nynee Tal across Budaon. They said we were altogether too large a party to go through the country undiscovered. They accordingly started for Kadergunge, where they however received such accounts of the state of the country, the other side of the Ganges, that they changed their minds and made for Futtehgurh, where they arrived after the loss of one of their party. We on our part dismissed the Sowars, Mr. Bramly had brought, to their homes. I then determined to make for Agra by another route; we accordingly marched to Suhawur, the property of Chowdree Mahomed Alee Khan, where Mr. Hall had stayed before. I cannot say that his welcome was very cordial; but I feel indebted to him for the shelter he gave my servants and

Mr. Edwards leaves us.

We reach Suhawur.

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some property for many months. I understand he has since been shot for treason. Our party then consisted of Mr. Bramly, Mr. Hall, and myself, the Jemadar, and about 10 Sowars.

We reach Manota.

*June 6th.*—We started from Suhawur early, and crossing the Karee Nuddee, made for Mahrera. On the way we halted at Manota, a Gurree, belonging to Mr. William Gardener, an English gentleman. There we ascertained that there was a large body of sepoys and Sowars at Mahrera. Mr. Gardener only two days before had been attacked by a body of sepoys, and had repulsed them, killing one. We therefore halted at Manota.

We reach Awah.

*June 7th.*—Remained at Manota to learn the movements of these Sowars. Having ascertained their departure, we started for Awah, a strong Fort, belonging to the Rajah of Awah. On the way being overtaken by a sand-storm, we got separated, and the Jemadar deserted, taking my gun with him. We were very hospitably received by the Rajah, and lodged in his Fort.

Agra.

*June 8th and 9th.*—After travelling all day and all night, we arrived at Agra early in the morning of the 9th of June.

I now have the honor to bring to the notice of Government, the good services rendered by the following persons, Zemindars and others.

1. *Jumshere Khan,* Jemadar, was the first to warn me of the approach of the sepoys. It is true their intentions were not hostile, but that was by no means certain, when he gave me the information. He afterwards joined me at Bilram, and stayed with me the whole time I was in the District; but having met with an accident, which lamed him, went to his home, where he stayed in a disabled state till December, when he came to Agra, where he is now employed. During his absence with the sepoys, his whole property was stolen by another Burkundaz. I have entered his name in the list of those who have done good service to Government.

2. *Lahoree Mull and Dilsookh Rae.* Besides the shelter and protection so readily given to Mr. Hall and myself, Davur Alee, the Tehseeldar of Etah, found a secure asylum in their house from May to October, when the advance of the Nawab of Furruckabad's troops forced both the Tehseeldar and Dilsookh Rae to abandon their home and take refuge in Allygurh. Lahoree Mull was then just dead; but I trust that such reward as would have been deemed suitable for him, may be given to his son. Lahoree Mull was the elder brother, and though the important services afterwards rendered by Dilsookh Rae has a little thrown his into the shade, they should not be forgotten.

3. *Davur Alee,* Tehseeldar of Etah. This Officer's behaviour I consider to have been of a nature meriting the marked approval of the Government. When he was forced to leave the Town of Etah, he stayed in the house of Lahoree Mull and Dilsookh Rae, about five miles from Kasgunj. His endeavours were constant and zealous to maintain order, and afford protection to that important Town. In his efforts to do so, he subjected himself to great personal risk, and had several narrow escapes of his life. He kept up a constant communication between Agra, and by his means with those legally disposed in the adjacent parts; and gave much valuable information as to the movements of the rebels. He did not leave the District till the advance of the Nawab of Furruckabad forced himself and Dilsookh Rae to fall back on Allygurh.

4. *Rughuns Sahai,* Tehseeldar of Allygunj. This Officer likewise has distinguished himself. He is a Kayut by caste, and the last person apparently to deal with warlike arrangements; but after I had left the District he remained at his post, and succeeded in repulsing one if not two attacks on the Telseellee from insurgent villagers. He remained thus till the advance of the Nawab from Furruckabad, when in despair at any other means of preserving the

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records of the Government, he took service with that rebel; at the same time informing me by an anonymous and mysterious note, of his conduct and the reasons which actuated him. Subsequently, I think about January, he was suspected by the Nawab of double-dealing, and put under restraint, from which he escaped with great difficulty to Agra. The exact circumstances of his conduct are better known to Mr. Cocks, who was Special Commissioner at Etah, than to me, none of them having occurred under my own observation.

5. *Pirthee Singh, the Rajah of Awah*, received us with as great respect and politeness as had he would have done before the disturbances. It is hardly necessary to observe further on this topic. The eminent services and unchanging loyalty of the Rajah are so well known, that the mere shelter of Officers for a night, can add but little to his claims on Government.

6. *Choube Soondursun Dass*, and his father *Rugnath Dass*, were wealthy Sowkars of Kasgunj. I had long been well acquainted with them. After my departure from Kasgunj they did their very best to maintain order and security in the Town. Soondursun Dass sent me the anonymous letter alluded to in para. 10, dated 3rd June; and since my arrival at Agra, sent constant and accurate intelligence of the doings of the rebels at Futtygurh. They were both obliged to fly when the rebels reached Kasgunj, and came to Agra. The elder, Rugnath Dass, since died; but the younger, Soondursun Dass, has a strong claim on the Government for his unswerving loyalty.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. L. M. PHILLIPPS,

*Late Joint Magistrate, Etah.*

AGRA MAGISTRACY:
*The 9th June* 1858.

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## *Sketch of Occurrences in the Etah District during the Rebellion of* 1857,

By C. J. Daniell, Esq.

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On May 23rd Mr. Phillipps, the Magistrate of the District, after the station of Etah had been plundered by the sepoys, left for Khasgunj. He stayed four or five days in Bilram with Dilsookh Rae, the Zemindar. Whilst in Bilram Rung Bahadoor, Chela of Dumber Singh the Etah Rajah plundered what was left by the sepoys in Etah, and the houses and public buildings, with the records, were at this time destroyed. He was assisted in this by the Sadhs of a village adjoining the station.

2. On June 20th Dumber Singh began to collect revenue, having set himself up as a Rajah independent of the British Government.

3. On June 16th Lall Ruttun Singh, Surburakar of the Estates of the Rajah of Rujor went to Suckeet, having usurped an illegal authority, and in all the parts of the country where the Rujor of Rajah's influence extended, collected revenue from the Zemindars and ryots, enforcing his claims, by digging down the houses of those who refused payment, hanging them up by the heels, and various other coercive measures. Doorjun Singh, a brother of Tej Singh, the Mynpoory Rajah, here came to his aid with nearly 500 followers, and in the middle of August they went to Manikpoor and burnt and plundered it.

4. In the end of July, Hussan Mirza came as Tehseeldar on the part of the Nawab of Furruckabad to Allygunj, and took the Tehseelee records under his protection. About the 15th of July Azeemoollah Khan, who had been dismissed from his office of Thanahdar by Mr. Bramly in June for refusing to stay in Putteealee, the head-quarters of his "ilaqa," came there as Thanahdar for the Nawab of Futtehgurh. In August Asad Alee Khan, the Zemindar of Saraval, came to Kasgunj, where he was appointed Tehseeldar by the Nawab of Furruckabad, and remained until the end of September, or beginning of November, when the force, under General Greathed, coming to Akrabad, frightened him away. He did not return again until the 2nd of December, when he inaugurated his entry by killing Gunseeam Dass, the blind Choube.

5. In the end of August Mr. Cocks sent Daood Khan, of Bheekumpoor, to hold the neighbourhood of Kasgunj for the British Government. He came to Kasgunj, and from all that can be discovered now, appears to have made common cause with the Nawab's adherents, and deceived Mr. Cocks by pleading his inability to turn out Asad Alee Khan, who I really believe was considerably weaker in followers and influence, than this double-dealing Khan of Bheekumpoor.

6. About the 18th of November Mr. Cocks, the Special Commissioner for Etah, came with a small force under Major Eld, to Kutchla Ghât by way of making a demonstration. The Nawab of Furruckabad's force were at that time in occupation of Putteealee.

7. On 18th October Mr. Churcher came into Etah as Deputy Collector to take charge of the District, and with the help of Tej Singh, of Pithunpoor, and other loyal Zemindars, held his own for some weeks, occupying the Gurhee of Dumber Singh, the Etah Rajah, who by this time began to see the folly of his defection in May. This Rajah died about the beginning of December. Mr. Churcher at this time (about 18th November) joined Col. Riddell, who had brought a force out to Secundra Rao, and left the District in the hands of Nujjuff Khan, the Moonsiff, and the Mofussil revenue officers, who kept affairs going until 12th January 1858, when I took charge of it.

8. In the end of November Mr. Wilson, C. S., with Captain Mackenzie of the 8th Irregulars, and a few foot soldiers under Captain Gowan, who had

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recently escaped from Rohilkund, marched to Soron, with a view of getting information of Christian refugees, who were known to waiting for an opportunity to escape from confinement in Rohilkund. The advance of the rebels from Putteealee to Suhawur obliged him to fall back upon Gungeree; and it was from here that Choube Gunseeam Dass, a blind and paralytic pensioner of the British Government, who during the whole of the disturbances had shewn the most unflinching fidelity to Government, and aided the district Officers in Allygurh in every way that the wisdom of his advice, his personal influence, and personal courage could be employed in, to the utmost of his ability, set out to get information of the rebels, and was murdered by them in Kasgunj, with the connivance of men who pretended to be well-wishers of Government. Among his murderers, it has since transpired, were some of the retainers of Mohumud Daood Khan. This Raees of Bheekumpoor's duplicity and double-dealing have been but too evident to those who have had opportunities of seeing how he bore himself towards the Government servants at Allygurh and towards the inhabitants of Kasgunj and Suhawur.

9. On the 14th of December the force that Colonel Seaton of the 1st European Fusiliers had brought down from Dehli, engaged the enemy under Ismail Khan, son of Wulleedad Khan of Malagurh, at Mulsee, near Gungeeree; and after a brief action, entirely routed them, taking their three guns and killing about 150 or 200 of the enemy. They fled through Kasgunj to Suhawur, and our force marching to Kasgunj the next morning, they evacuated Suhawur and fled to Putteealee, where another action took place, in which they again lost all their Artillery (13 guns), camp and baggage. The rebel force was completely dispersed, and the remains of it retreated to Furruckabad. Colonel Seaton returned to Kasgunj, and crossing the Kalee Nuddee, marched by Etah to Mynpoory, which was occupied after a brief resistance by the force about the 26th of December.

10. I received orders to take charge of the District about the 9th of January, and arrived in Etah on the 12th; since which time the usual official reports will furnish any information that may be desired on what has happened in the District.

C. J. DANIELL,
*Offg. Joint Magistrate.*

ETAH JOINT MAGISTRACY,
CAMP PUTIALEE:
*The 22nd April* 1858.

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# Supplement

TO THE

# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS, &c.

IN THE

# MYNPOORY DISTRICT.

FROM

JOHN POWER, ESQUIRE,

*Magistrate and Collector, Mynpoory,*

TO

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,

*Offg. Secretary to Govt., N. W. Provinces.*

DATED MYNPOORY, THE 25TH MAY 1857.

SIR,

In the absence of the Commissioner of the Division, I have the honor to report, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, the details of the mutiny of the 3 Companies of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry at this station, referred to in my demi-official letters to the Lieutenant Governor, of the 23rd instant.

2. Late on the night of the 22nd, Munsoor Alee, Tehsildar of Bhowgaon, came in to me, and informed me that he had heard positively of the mutiny of the head-quarters of the 9th Native Infantry at Allygurh, and warned me to beware of the conduct of the Companies at this station.

3. I immediately proceeded to Mr. Cock's house to consult with him, and we first decided on removing the ladies of the station in a Shigram, which the Tehseeldar of Bhowgaon had brought with him.

4. Arrangements being made for their departure, I may here mention that 14 females, consisting of ladies, sergeants and writers' wives, with their children, (an unlimited number,) left the station, under the charge of Mr J. W. Power, the Assistant Magistrate, who accompanied them a stage toward. Agra, from whence they were escorted by Sheik Ameen-ood-deen, a trusty Sowar of my own, as far as Shekoabad, from which place, I have been glad to heas, they have arrived safe in Agra.

5. Mr. Cocks and I then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant Crawford, Commanding the Station, and this Officer agreed immediately to take the detachment out of the station, and march them to Bhowgaon; towards which place they were despatched under the charge of Lieutenant DeKantzow.

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6. After leaving a small guard at the Treasury and Quarter-guard, which I visited with him, Lieutenant Crawford then left the station, and I then returned to my house, where I found Dr. Watson, the Reverend Mr. Kellner and Mr. Cocks assembled.

7. This was about 4 or 5 in the morning, and I had not retired to rest more than 10 minutes, before Lieutenant Crawford galloped back to my house, and informed me, that his men had broken out into open mutiny, and after refusing to obey him, had fired at him with their muskets.

8. Lieutenant Crawford stated, he had then found it useless to attempt commanding his men, and that he had thought it best to hurry back to Mynpoory, to warn the station, and that he believed Lieutenant DeKantzow was killed.

9. I then left my house, which I had no means of defending, and which, I was informed, the sepoys meant to attack, and proceeded to the large bridge over the Eesun, on the Grand Trunk Road.

10. My brother determined on accompanying me, and to share my fate, and I shall not be accused of favoritism, I hope, when I state that his coolness and determination were of the greatest aid and comfort to me throughout this trying occasion.

11. On proceeding to the bridge, I was joined by Dr. Watson, and shortly afterwards by Rao Bhowany Singh, the first cousin of the Rajah of Mynpoory, with a small force of horse and foot. Sergeants Mitchell, Scott and Montgomery, of the Road and Canal departments, and Mr. McGlone, Clerk in Mynpoory Magistrate's office, also joined me at the bridge.

12. I was, at this time, most doubtful of the fate of Mr. DeKantzow, for I did not coincide in Lieutenant Crawford's opinion that he had been killed, Lieutenant Crawford not having seen him fall; and on this account I was unwilling to leave the position I had taken, though strongly urged to do so.

13. The sepoys returned at this time to the station, having utterly thrown off all control, dragging (as I afterwards learnt) Lieutenant DeKantzow with them.

14. They passed by the dâk bungalow, and fired a volley into the house of Sergeant Montgomery, (which was close by,) the inmates of which had fortunately left, and they then searched the whole house over with the view of finding money. They also fired at Dr. Watson's house, who had, as I have mentioned, joined me; and they then proceeded to the rear guard, the magazine of which they broke open, plundering it completely of its contents.

15. Lieutenant DeKantzow informed me that the rebels took the whole of the ammunition away, and being unable to carry it themselves, they procured two Government camels, for that purpose, from the lines. Each man must have supplied himself with some 300 rounds or more, and an immense quantity of other Government stores was taken by them beside.

16. Lieutenant DeKantzow informs me, that his life stood in the greatest danger, at the rear guard, at this time. The men fired at random, and muskets were levelled at him; but dashed aside by some better disposed of the infuriated brutes, who remembered, perhaps even in that moment of madness, the kind and generous disposition of their brave young Officer.

17. Lieutenant DeKantzow stood up before his men; he shewed the utmost coolness and presence of mind: he urged them to reflect on the lawlessness of their acts, and evinced the utmost indifference to his own life, in his zeal to make the sepoys return to their duty.

18. The men turned from the rear guard to the Kutcherry, dragging Lieutenant DeKantzow with them. They were met at the Treasury by my Jail

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guard, who were prepared to oppose them, and fire on them; but Mr. DeKantzow prevented them from firing, and his order has certainly prevented an immense loss of life.

19. A fearful scene here occurred. The sepoys tried to force open the iron gates of the Treasury, and were opposed by the Jail guard, and some of the Jail officials;—the latter rallied round Mr. DeKantzow, and did their best to assist him: but they, though behaving excellently, were only a band of twenty or thirty, (if so many,) and poorly armed against the infuriated sepoys, who were well and completely armed, and in full force.

20. It is impossible to describe accurately the continuation of the scene of the disturbance at the Treasury. Left by his superior Officer, unaided by the presence of any European, jostled with cruel and insulting violence, buffetted by the hands of men who had received innumerable kindnesses from him, and who had obeyed him, but a few hours before, with crawling servility, Lieutenant DeKantzow stood for three dreary hours against the rebels, at the imminent peril of his life.

21. It was not till long after Lieutenant DeKantzow had thus been situated at the Treasury, that I learnt of his being there. I was anxious, with all my heart, to help him, but was deterred from going, by the urgent advice of Rao Bhowany Singh, who informed me that it was impossible to face the sepoys with the small force at my disposal, and I received, at this time, a brief note from Lieutenant DeKantzow himself, by a trusty emissary I sent in search of him, desiring me not to come to the Treasury, as the sepoys were getting quieter, and that my presence would only make matters worse, as the beasts were yelling for my life.

22. At this time the most signal service was done by Rao Bhowany Singh, who went alone to the rebels, volunteering to use his own influence and persuasion to make them retire.

23. It is unnecessary to lengthen the account. Rao Bhowany Singh succeeded ably in his efforts; drew off, and then accompanied the rebels to the lines, when after a space of time, they broke open and looted the bell-of-arms and the quarter guard, carrying off, it is supposed, 6,000 Rupees in money, and all the arms, &c., they found of use to them.

24. I had retired, with the Europeans with me, to the Rajah of Mynpoory's fort, on the departure of Rao Bhowany Singh, according to his advice, and shortly after the sepoys left the Treasury: Lieutenant DeKantzow joined me, and I again took possession of the Kutcherry.

25. I found, on my return, the whole of the Malkhana looted, the sepoys having helped themselves to swords, iron-bound sticks, &c., which had accumulated during ages past. The staples of the stout iron doors of the Treasury had alone given way; but the doors themselves stood firm.

26. My motives, in taking up a position at the bridge, were, first, that I might keep the high road open; second to keep the sepoys from proceeding to the city, and the budmashes of the city from joining the sepoys.

27. The effect of the victory (if I may use such a term) over the sepoys, trifling though it may appear, has been of incalculable benefit. It has restored confidence in the city and district, and among the panic-stricken inhabitants; and I hope the safety of the treasure, amounting to three lacs, will prove an advantage in these troubled times to Government.

28. It is wholly impossible for me duly to praise Lieutenant DeKantzow's meritorious conduct; but I express my earnest hope that it will meet with the approval and reward of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

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29. Rao Bhowany Singh's conduct has been deserving in the extreme. I believe he has saved the station and our lives by his coolness and tact, and has supported the ancient character of his race for loyalty to the British Government.

30. During the insurrection of the sepoys, I was joined by Dumber Singh, Ressaldar of the 2nd Irregulars,—a fine old Rajpoot, who did me right good service, and by Pylad Singh, Duffadar of the 8th Irregulars. These men guarded the jail, which the sepoys threatened to break into. Their conduct I beg to bring to the special notice of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor. These officers have since raised for me a most excellent body of horse, composed chiefly of Irregulars, which I have placed under the care of the Ressaldar.

31. I append a list of the Jail officials and others, who behaved well to Lieutenant DeKantzow, and to whom I have distributed rewards.

32. The mutinous conduct of the 9th Native Infantry I consider more infamous than that of any other corps. Their misconduct has been deliberate, and wholly unprovoked, and they have been broken up into four separate bodies, and had the example of no other corps to lead them astray. A few of the men behaved well to Lieutenant DeKantzow, whose letter regarding them I herewith append.

33. Previous to the mutiny they committed several acts of insubordination, which have only now become known. Rogonath Singh, a sepoy of the 20th, and evidently one of the mutineers at Meerut, returned to his village at Jewatee. I sent some Police and a Naik to seize him, and ten men of the 9th Native Infantry were ordered out to assist in his apprehension. The sepoys deliberately assisted in the escape of Rogonath Singh, reporting that he had left Jewatee before their arrival. Ramadeen Singh, a sepoy of the 9th, fired off his musket, loaded with ball, while on guard at Kutcherry. He was sent to Allygurh under a guard. The guard released him on the way, and filed off his irons. After the departure of Captain Tonnochy, by orders of the Lieutenant Governor, a guard of the 9th was placed over his house, and my brother consented to sleep there, for the protection of the ladies. On Mr. Cocks and myself preparing the ladies for their departure, and desiring my brother to accompany them, one of the sepoys proposed to shoot my brother, but another advised his comrade against doing so, remarking, with some consideration, that my brother was merely the Chota Sahib, and that it would be better to slaughter the Burra Sahib, meaning myself.

34. The presence of Dr. Watson with us is a great advantage and comfort, and he is ready to assist us in any way; and I cannot speak too highly of the indefatigable exertions of Sergeants Montgomery, Mitchell, Scott, and Mr. McGlone. They have helped, by their skill, to fortify the office, and we can easily stand a siege in it.

35. On the 23rd, we received information of an outbreak at Futtehgurh, and though this has since been contradicted, I have the very best authority for stating, that the 10th N. I. are *wavering*. Etawah has been sacked, and Etah is reported to have fallen, and all its prisoners to have broken loose. The guard has been taken off the Canal, and all its escapes opened; and some Europeans are reported to have been murdered on the Grand Trunk Road.

36. Without I hope being considered an alarmist, therefore, I may venture to say, our position is not pleasant; but we stand well prepared. All the Foujdarry records have been taken up to the roof of the Kutcherry, and being placed behind its railing, forms an excellent breastwork. This matter had better be reported to the Sudder; but at the same time it may be mentioned that the Foujdarry Record room of Mynpoory has undergone a thorough purification by the purpose to which its contents have been applied. I may also mention, for the Sudder's information, that a good stout khana jungee misl, pre-

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pared after the Sudder's last and most approved fashion, and thickened with false evidence, is an excellent article of defence, and has, by experiment, been found to be bullet-proof.

37. The zemindars of the district continue loyal, and I have constant offers of help from all quarters.

38. The Government Treasure is safely kept under the charge of Rao Bhowany Singh.

39. I hope the imperfections of this report may be excused, as I have much to engage my attention.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. POWER,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# MYNPOORY,

IN 1857-58.

---

No. OF 1858.

FROM

A. COCKS, ESQUIRE,

*Special Commissioner,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,

*Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

DATED ETA, THE 16TH NOVEMBER 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to furnish a short Narrative of my impressions, or recollections of the past year, as far as Mynpoory is concerned.

I only received instruction yesterday, that anything of the sort was required from me; so I trust the meagre nature of the subjoined remarks will be forgiven.

The news of the outbreak at Meerut, and excitement at Agra, reached us at Mynpoory on the 12th of May, on which we had a consultation as to the best policy to be pursued, and it was agreed that it would be advisable to get rid of the ladies and children; but with the exception of my own family, all the rest remained.

Mr. Power, the Magistrate, with the assistance of Rao Bhowany Singh, commenced enlisting Chohan Thakoors, in the hopes of being able to resist any attack by mutinous sepoys.

On the following Wednesday, the 19th, at 10 P. M., that gentleman rushed into my room, where I was sleeping, and informed me that he had just heard of the 9th Regiment N. I., at Allygurh, breaking out into open mutiny; that they had murdered their Officers, and had sent an express camel to desire their Mynpoory brethren to follow their example.

The Tehseeldar of Bhoegaon, Munsoor Ali, also rode in, and confirmed this intelligence. I at once dressed, and proceeded with Mr. Power to the different families, whom we desired to get ready, and proceed to Agra, —securing, at the same time, some dâk carriages for their conveyance.

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After this we proceeded to Captain Crawford, who commanded the station, and that Officer, with Lieutenant DeKantzow, walked to the lines, and desired their men to march towards Bhoegaon, thus putting their fidelity to the test.

It was now about 4 A. M., Mr. Power had a council at his house, consisting of the Rao, the Deputy Collector, the Jail Darogah, Dr. Watson and myself.

We asked our native friends what was to be done in case of the troops returning.

The Rao said, his followers were staunch, but could not be assembled before evening. The Darogah considered his guard, consisting of fifty well-drilled sepoys, would imitate the conduct of their brethren belonging to the Regulars, and altogether the prospect, in case of mutiny, was cheerless, and apparently hopeless. We however were much relieved by getting rid of the helpless portion of the community, and it was agreed by the rest of us, that if the sepoys did not obey their Officers, we had nothing for it but to make our escape.

At this moment Captain Crawford galloped in, and informed us that his men had broken out into open mutiny, had probably killed Lieutenant DeKantzow, whom they had taken prisoner ;—he added, when the question was put to him, that nothing more could be attempted, and that he was about to ride into Agra.

I asked Mr. Power if he had any plan to suggest, and on his replying in the negative, it was agreed, as I thought, that we were to be guided by the Commanding Officer's opinion,—which was to retire on Agra.

The sepoys were now approaching the station, and firing off their muskets, and shouting like mad men. Mr. Power seemed to hesitate what he would do. I considered it no time for hesitation. I fairly told him, I did not consider any one bound to remain; soon after which I ordered my buggy, and with the Reverend P. Kellner, drove leisurely away, having told the people about, that I hoped to return in a day or so with a force.

On reaching Agra I asked for a small force, and it was sent from Gwalior ;—at the same time I was deputed to accompany some Volunteers to Allygurh.

What occurred after my departure has been doubtless recorded by Messrs. Power and DeKantzow.

These gentlemen, supported by Doctor Watson, Major Raikes, and his Gwalior Cavalry, and others, chivalrously and nobly held out till the end of June, when the 12th Regiment Native Infantry, and some Irregular Cavalry from Jhansie, advanced on the station, and it was abandoned.

Every house and building was burnt and plundered, and anarchy prevailed.

Two unfortunate Clerks were cut down by these scoundrels ; their names were Richards and Lawrence.

Mr. Power, previous to leaving, made over two and a half lacs of treasure to Rao Bhowany Singh, and the general charge of the district to Tej Singh.

For my opinion of the conduct of these Chiefs, I must refer to my letter dated July last.

We finally resumed our position at the commencement of this year, and without difficulty have restored order and confidence ; and it would be difficult to imagine there had been any convulsion.

It is satisfactory to feel that our rule has been appreciated by the mass of the population of this district.

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The governing class,—the Chohan Thakoors,—were carried away for a short time by the folly and ambition of their drunken young Chief; but when once there was a glimpse of a white face, they have shown every desire to co-operacte in restoring order, and there never was a year so free from crime or acts of violence as this has been.

The merciful proclamation of Her Majesty will be thoroughly appreciated by the foolish individuals who have absconded, none of whom, I believe, will come under the denomination of those excluded from this gracious pardon.

Not a Christian, besides those referred to above, was put to death; on the contrary, those who would not leave the station were protected and cherished by Muhundur Singh, and other zemindars of villages adjoining the town of Mynpoory.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. COCKS,

*Special Commissioner.*

FROM

J. POWER, ESQUIRE,

*Collector and Magistrate,*

To

THE COMMISSIONER OF

*The Agra Division.*

DATED MYNPOORY, THE 12TH JUNE 1858.

SIR,

The outbreak at Mynpoory occurred on the morning of the 23rd May of last year, and is detailed in my letter to Government, dated May 25th 1857.

2. The Officers who remained in Mynpoory, after we were able to take repossession of the Kutcherry, were Lieutenant DeKantzow, Dr. Watson, the Civil Surgeon, and my brother, Mr. J. W. Power, the Assistant Magistrate; Sergeants Mitchell, Scott, and Montgomery, of the Road and Canal Departments; and Mr. McGlone, Head Clerk of the Magistrate's establishment, also joined us, together with Mr. Richards, the Treasury Clerk, and Mr. Donovan, a writer attached to the Jail.

3. We took up our abode in the Kutcherry, which was well fortified by the Sergeants, who understood the work. They collected also some old guns of different sizes, which were made useful, and were well mounted. A large quantity of rifles, swords and ammunition was supplied to us from Agra.

4. The Government Treasure, amounting to nearly 3 lacs, I placed in the Rajah of Mynpoory's fort, under the charge of Rao Bhowany Singh. Rajah Tej Singh, at that time, was absent from Mynpoory.

5. On the evening of the 29th May I was joined by Major Hayes, Military Secretary to Sir H. Lawrence, and by Captain Carey, of the 17th N. I.

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6. Major Hayes had come by forced marches from Lucknow, to be under the orders of the Lieutenant Governor. He had under his command three or more troops of an Oudh Irregular Regiment, and the Officers with him were Captain Carey, before named, Lieutenant Barbor, of the 20th Native Infantry, and Mr. Fayrer, a Gentleman Volunteer, brother of Dr. Fayrer, Residency Surgeon at Lucknow.

7. Major Hayes had intended ordering this force into Futtehgurh, whither he had proceeded from Goorsahaigunge with Captain Carey, but was dissuaded from doing so by Colonel Smith, of the 10th Native Infantry, and Mr. Probyn, the Magistrate, at the instance of the sepoys of the 10th Native Infantry themselves.

8. Major Hayes therefore sent orders to Lieutenant Barbor to march to Bhowgaon on the 30th May, and to meet him at Kurowlee on the 31st.

9. The troopers arrived at Bhowgaon on the 30th, but Major Hayes received early intimation that they had not marched on the 31st. He wrote to Lieutenant Barbor to know the cause, but received no reply. It was not known then that the troopers had mutinied, but I subsequently learnt that the men had shewn strong signs of mutiny on the 30th May; that they had broken out into open mutiny on the 31st May; and that their conduct had been reported by Lieutenant Barbor, but that his report had been seized by the mutineers, and purposely kept back.

10. This would appear to be true, for it is impossible to suppose that an Officer of Lieutenant Barbor's standing, left in a responsible position, should, when within an easy reach of Mynpoory, have left his Commanding Officer's letter unanswered, and not have reported the mutiny, which then, beyond doubt, had broken out among his men.

11. Late on the afternoon of the 31st May Munsoor Alee, Tehseeldar of Bhowgaon, arrived. His report of the state of the troopers was made with hesitation, and was by no means clear.

12. He merely stated that the men were grumbling at the long marches they had made;—at the same time he gave an accurate description of the desponding and dejected state of the two young Officers at Bhowgaon.

13. Major Hayes prepared to go to Bhowgaon, but as he was leaving, several of his troopers arrived. They reported that the force had halted at Bhowgaon, as the men were tired, and that they were then proceeding to Soolangunge, the next encamping ground, to halt there for the night. They brought also a letter from Lieutenant Barbor to Major Hayes. This letter has always appeared a mystery to me. It appeared like the continuation of a letter previously despatched, and as if the writer were unable fully to express his meaning.

14. Lieutenant Barbor stated that the men were *then* proceeding in an orderly way to Sooltangunge, and requested Major Hayes not to join the force till the following morning, the 1st June.

15. Major Hayes delayed his departure. I despatched Munsoor Alee to Sooltangunge, which is only five miles from Mynpoory, to ascertain the state of the troopers. Munsoor Alee returned to me after an absence of three hours or so. He reported that the troopers were quiet and contented, but he brought no letter from Lieutenant Barbor.

16. I afterwards learnt, beyond doubt, that Munsoor Alee had never proceeded to Sooltangunge, and that his story was a mere invention.

17. Had he gone there and made enquiries, he would have learnt that the troopers had forcibly compelled their Officers to accompany them; that a guard was placed over them: and that the party sent to Mynpoory, were merely intended to deceive Major Hayes, and decoy him to Kurowlee.

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18. Major Hayes and Captain Carey left me early on the 1st June to join their force. They found the troopers drawn up on the plain at Kurowlee to receive them. As they approached, some Native Officers rode out to warn them off. They saw their danger and turned to escape, and rode for their lives. The troopers spread over the plain in pursuit. Major Hayes was overtaken, and receiving a deep sword cut across the face, which penetrated to the brain, fell dead from his horse. Captain Carey, though closely pursued, was enabled to escape, and got safely back to Mynpoory.

19. About the same time that Major Hayes was thus killed, the troopers murdered also Lieutenant Barbor and Mr. Fayrer.

20. The bodies of the three unfortunate gentlemen (fearfully mutilated) were conveyed to Mynpoory by Luchmun Singh, Talooqdar of Kurowlee, and were buried by me in the Church-yard at Mynpoory.

21. I have given this statement in detail, as a demi-official report of the event was only made by me last year to Government.

22. The murder had unquestionably been planned at Lucknow, and Kurowlee selected as a favorable spot for the perpetration of it. After the murder the troopers made off towards Dehli.

23. On June 1st, Major Raikes joined us with 70 troopers of the 1st Regiment Gwalior Contingent Cavalry. Captain Carey placed himself as second in Command under Major Raikes. Some Seiks of the disbanded 19th N. I., and of other Corps, altogether six or eight in number, joined us, and were placed under the command of Major Raikes and Captain Carey. Ten or more sepoys of the 9th N. I., who had behaved most faithfully to Lieutenant DeKantzow, were also allowed to remain with us.

24. At the commencement of June, a Telegraph Office was opened at Mynpoory by the Lieutenant Governor's order; it was found to be the greatest convenience and comfort to us. Mr. Boodrie was sent as signaller, and Mr. Collins as artificer.

25. About this time I was joined by Mr. George Lawrence, formerly Clerk in the Judge's Office at Futtehpoor, who was desirous of taking employment with me. He was a willing and excellent man.

26. I was enabled also to rescue Sergeant Swan, of the Canal Department, at this time, from concealment in the District, who reached the Kutcherry safely, and joined heartily in all the work of the other Sergeants. Sergeant Swan spoke highly of the conduct of the Zemindar in whose house he had been secreted.

27. After the mutiny of the sepoys, I received the Lieutenant Governor's orders to raise a strong body of Mounted Police. I collected more than 100 men together, most of them of the Irregular Cavalry, well mounted and armed. Three Native Officers were appointed to the force,—Dumber Singh, and Chutter Singh, Resaldars, on leave from some Irregular Corps in the Punjab, Pylad Singh, a Duffadar of the 8th Irregular Cavalry.

28. Lieutenant DeKantzow was gazetted as Commandant of the force. They promised well at first, patrolled the station with great regularity, and readily attacked, by my directions, some insurgent villages.

29. In the early part of June, a large body of this force, with some of the troopers of the Gwalior Contingent, were sent to reconnoitre at Bhowgaon, under the command of Lieutenant DeKantzow. They fell in with a party of the 7th Regular Cavalry, and a severe engagement occurred. The rebels were the stronger party, and had the advantage of being better mounted and armed. Lieutenant DeKantzow received a severe sword cut on the head, and several of the Gwalior troopers, and of the Police levy, were killed. The rebels then attacked the Thannah. The Thannahdar ran off, but the rebels were bravely met by Balkishun, a Jemadar of the Thannah, who fell at his post with some burkundazes who stood by him.

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30. Shortly after this a cruel attack was made on Sergeant Wells, at the Toll bar at Nubbeegunge. Sergeant Wells bravely remained at his post, which at this period was one of extreme danger, and refused to leave without orders. He was attacked by a large body of Infantry soldiers, who were passing up the road, and received a mortal wound. His wife had hid herself with her children in a garden. An Assistant Toll-keeper (a Hindoo, whose name I unfortunately forget) saved the children, and would have saved Mrs. Wells, but that she was pointed out by a villanous Abkar to the rebels, who shot her down; but she has fortunately I believe recovered from her wound. I managed to get the whole party into Mynpoory, but Sergeant Wells shortly afterwards died of his wounds.

31. In the early part of June our position became extremely precarious, as all the surrounding Districts broke out into open rebellion; and Mynpoory remained the only small spot in which authority was upheld.

32. We were hourly kept in anxiety. The worst information reached us from Cawnpoor, Futtehgurh, Lucknow, and Jhansie. The Trunk Road swarmed with mutineers proceeding to Dehli, whose spies intrigued about us, and whose picquets reconnoitred our position at Kutcherry. The Thannahs, Tehseelees, Schools, Bungalows and Chowkies along the Etah branch of the Grand Trunk Road were burnt, and all Moostufabad was in rebellion, influenced by the state of the adjoining district of Etah. Every night villages were to be seen burning in all directions around us, and every hour brought notice of some heavy affray having occurred, or the commission of some fearful murder.

33. We had to contend with the treachery of Rajah Tej Singh, on his return to Mynpoory. We knew that they held nightly meetings in the Fort at Mynpoory, and plotted against us, and that their emissaries were sent in all directions to draw some mutineer force to Mynpoory.

34. We momentarily expected an outbreak in the Jail, and I had constantly to hear that the Police had been overthrown, or had grossly misconducted themselves in different parts of the District.

35. These troubles hourly increased throughout the month of June. During this trying time, however, nothing could exceed the cheerful energy with which each gentleman at Mynpoory, and the European Sergeants nsadt Clerks, labored to uphold our position.

36. Major Raikes and Captain Carey were unremitting in their attention to their men, and never left them. Dr. Watson had numerous sick and wounded to attend to, to whom and to ourselves he showed the utmost consideration and kindness. Lieutenant DeKantzow did his best to organize the levies under his charge, and undertook any other work entrusted to him. Mr. J. W. Power had the charge of the Jail and of the Treasury, and all the miscellaneous work belonging to the Office.

37. In addition to this work, all these gentlemen patrolled the Station and Town in all directions at night, at uncertain hours. They were always accompanied by the Sergeants or Clerks of the Office, whose aid in all matters was of the very greatest advantage to us. The watchfulness thus evinced, and the constant preparation to resist attack, enabled us in fact to keep our position.

Mr. J. W. Power had to leave Mynpoory from illness on the 23rd June.

38. We were also materially assisted by several faithful Zemindars, and by those Native Officials who remained at their posts, and whose services I shall particularize hereafter.

39. I was occupied at this time by carrying on extensive correspondence with various Officers, whose letters were most interesting. Mr. Colvin wrote daily, and his letters were of the greatest value to me; but all this correspondence has, I regret to say, been lost, with the exception of three letters I

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have saved from Captain Vibart. I enclose copies of these letters, which may be thought of value, as being perhaps the last written by that brave and high-spirited Officer.

40. I also enclose the books kept up at Mynpoory which contained the telegraphic messages sent to us from Agra, many of which, as containing particular orders and appointments, may be still useful.

41. Towards the end of June, it became manifest that our authority was drawing rapidly to an end. The Mounted Police were insolent and disobedient. The telegraph was nightly cut. The whole District was influenced by the rebellion then raging on all sides, and all was faithlessness and defection around us.

42. On June the 28th, people flocked in from Kurhul, and informed us that the Jhansie force had reached that place, and, on the 29th June, the advanced guard of this force had reached Mynpoory itself.

43. The force consisted of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, of the 12th Native Infantry, a large body of other mutinous Sepoys, and 4 or more guns. It was deemed absurd our facing them, owing to the state of feeling then existing in Mynpoory.

44. The Jail broke loose on the morning of the 29th, and this was effected with the aid of Rao Bhowany Singh's men, the Jail guard and Jail officials. Nothing could be more disgraceful than their conduct. The place then swarmed with every description of villain, who with the Collectory Sowars and Mounted levies commenced plundering our property before our eyes.

45. After consigning the Government treasure to the joint care of the Rajah of Mynpoory and Rao Bhowany Singh, I left Mynpoory in company with Major Raikes and Captain Carey, the Sergeants who had joined me, Mr. McGlone, Mr. Collins and Mr. Boodrie. We were guarded by the troopers of the Gwalior Contingent, but for whose faithful conduct at that time we should not have escaped with our lives. The other Officers, not abovenamed, proceeded to Agra in advance.

46. We reached Shekoabad early on the morning of 30th June, and there remained for four days or more. It was not my intention to go beyond this place, but I received Mr. Colvin's urgent orders to proceed to Agra, as he required the services of Major Raikes's troop of Gwalior horse.

47. On the morning of the 3rd, the Gwalior troopers, though they had behaved so faithfully throughout the period of their service at Mynpoory, left Major Raikes at Ferozabad, and proceeded direct to Gwalior. They mutinied quietly, and did not attempt any harm to their Officers.

48. If it had not been for Major Raikes' excellent management of these men, the knowledge he showed of them, his consideration for their wants, and the confidence he placed in them by which he won their regard and fidelity at Mynpoory, there is no doubt we should have lost their support.

49. Captain Carey evinced the same interest as Major Raikes in the welfare of the Gwalior troopers, and ably supported Major Raikes in the management of the men.

50. I beg to be permitted to record the services of these two Officers at Mynpoory, which have not before been brought to the notice of Government.

51. I have in my previous report I hope given due credit to Dr. Watson, Lieutenant DeKantzow, and Mr. J. W. Power, for their conduct at the beginning of the mutiny, and I trust that their conduct, up to the period of their remaining at Mynpoory, may be duly noticed and approved of.

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52. On the day after our departure from Mynpoory, June 30th, the Jhansie force arrived.

53. They plundered and burnt every bungalow, and attempted to ransack the Town, but they appear to have been beaten out by some of the better disposed among the inhabitants, and many of them were killed.

54. Mr. Richards, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Donovan, unfortunately remained behind us, being anxious to save their property. They were discovered by the mutineers, and barbarously killed.

55. Mr. Richards had been for nearly fifty years a most meritorious servant of Government, and if he has left any heirs, they deserve every patronage and support.

56. Mr. Lawrence's case I have previously reported to you, and again urgently beg that his widow and children's condition may be brought to the notice of Government.

57. The case of Mr. Donovan I beg may be enquired into by the present Acting Magistrate of Mynpoory, as I am unacquainted with the circumstances of his family.

58. The conduct of these three unfortunate writers was deserving of every praise.

59. In accordance with paragraph 7 of the Government Circular No. 212, I beg that the truly excellent conduct of Sergeants Mitchell, Scott, Montgomery and Swan, of the Road and Canal Departments,—of Mr. McGlone of the Mynpoory Magistrate's Office, and of Mr. Boodrie and Mr. Collins of the Telegraph Department, may be prominently brought to the notice of Government. After leaving Mynpoory they all served in some capacity in the Fort at Agra, and Mr. McGlone afterwards joined the Volunteer Horse, and was present in various actions at Allygurh. All are men of excellent character, and have the highest testimonials from Officers with whom they previously served.

60. I trust that the Toll man at Nubbeegunge, and the Zemindar who housed Sergeant Swan, may be duly sought for and rewarded. The Toll man will be able to mention the name of the Abkar who betrayed Mrs. Wells.

61. Of Native Officials who rendered me aid at Mynpoory, I beg to notice Willayut Alee Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen of Mynpoory. Of his qualities as a Native Judge I cannot give an opinion, but I can bear ample testimony to his loyalty, and to the excellent service he rendered me. Being an inhabitant of Futtehgurh, he was able to engage spies well acquainted with the place, and to convey daily intelligence from me to Colonel Smith and Captain Vibart, and the replies of these Officers to myself. I obtained promotion to the highest grade in June last for Willayut Alee Khan, but he died in August last without enjoying his honors. I would therefore beg that some favor may be bestowed on his family, who perhaps might be permitted to receive the pension, which would have been awarded to the Principal Sudder Ameen himself.

62. Ahmud Hosein Khan, Deputy Collector, continued his duties to the last at Mynpoory, and I can speak of his conduct with the greatest praise. I obtained for him full promotion on the 4th of June 1857. He left Mynpoory by my directions. His conduct at Agra, in conjunction with that of his brother, the Principal Sudder Ameen of Agra, has been open to some suspicion; but I understand Mr. Money, at Shahjehanpoor, has now no doubt of his loyalty, and has taken him into favor.

63. The conduct of Prag Dutt, Tehseeldar of Shekoabad, must be well known to you. He held Shekoabad to the last, and his influence kept the pergunnah faithful to the Government, though the rebellion was at its height in all surrounding directions. As long as it was possible, he also kept the road

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open to Mynpoory, and preserved the Telegraph, and he only retired from his post when the Rajah of Mynpoory brought his force to Shekoabad, which the Tehseeldar had no means of opposing. In a telegraphic message dated June 4th, the late Lieutenant Governor sanctioned the promotion of Prag Dutt to a Deputy Collectorship, which I trust he may receive.

64. It will be in your recollection, that it was intended that a new Tehseeldaree should be made at Gihror, including the Thannah of Beebamow, and that a Huzzoor Tehseel should be made at Mynpoory, under the charge of a Peshkar. Fuzl Ahmud, Serishtedar of Futtehgurh, of whom I have separately reported, was sent for by me, with your sanction, to hold the former appointment; and Seetaram, formerly Darogah of the Jail at Lahore, was by your sanction placed in the latter appointment. Seetaram not being allowed leave, resigned his place at Lahore. Up to the time I left Mynpoory, Seetaram was most useful and attentive, and never left me; and if his subsequent conduct has been good, he is entitled to every favor, and to arrears of pay. Fuzl Ahmud behaved to my entire satisfaction at Gihror, and was of the utmost assistance to Prag Dutt, at Shekoabad. He remained at his post till the last, and is entitled to every favor, and arrears of pay from the date of his appointment as Tehseeldar.

65. Rahm-ood-deen, Tehseeldar of Moostufabad, behaved well, and remained at his post as long as it was possible, and afterwards joined Prag Dutt.

66. The Thannahdar of Padhum's conduct deserves particular notice. His Thannah was fiercely attacked by some Aheers, whom he repulsed, but from whom he received a severe wound in the leg, which has greatly disabled him. I trust he may receive promotion.

67. The Kotwal of Mynpoory remained at his post, and behaved well.

68. The Thannahdar of Shekoabad was newly appointed, being recommended to me by Mr. Phillips, and I am unaware how he behaved; but his conduct can be spoken to by Prag Dutt, at Mynpoory.

69. With the above exception all the other Thannahdars of the Mynpoory district behaved infamously. The Thannahdar of Kurowlee, a relation of the Treasurer's, left his Thannah early in the rebellion, and afterwards became Thannahdar of Gihror, under the Rajah. The Thannahdar of Bhowgaon hid himself, and, as I heard, sided with the rebels. He might have been most useful in his important post. The Thannahdar of Kurhul went off early in the rebellion, and was not heard of again.

70. The conduct of the Jail Guard is deserving of the severe condemnation of Government. With the exception of a few men on guard at the Rajah's fort over the treasure, the whole of the rest assisted in the escape of the prisoners. They had been handsomely rewarded by the Lieutenant Governor's order, for their good conduct at the beginning of the rebellion, and received a large increase of pay. They had therefore no temptation to misbehave themselves. Among those who were faithful, I particularly remember one named Munwunt or Munbhawunt Pandy, whom I beg to bring to your notice.

71. The conduct of all the Collectory Sowars and of the Mounted Police levies was equally as bad. They were the first to begin and plunder the station, and, when I left Mynpoory, not one offered to remain faithful.

72. Of faithful Zemindars, Luchmun Singh, Talooqdar of Kurowlee, is a man who deserves the highest praise.

73. He was exposed to the greatest danger, as the rebels passed hourly by his abode. He kept for me the Thannah of Kurowlee, and assisted me in keeping the villages on the roadside deserted, to harass the mutineers on their journey. By his help almost all the villages on the Grand Trunk Road, in the Mynpoory district, were forsaken, and the mutineers were unable to obtain supplies. There was no assistance I asked from Luchmun Singh which he did not cheerfully and readily afford. He has previously received rewards from Government.

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74. Golab Singh, of Sumaon, also at this time held the Thannah of Kurhul and did good service, and kept the whole country about his estates quiet. He also kept the communication to Etawah open. He corresponded with me long after my departure from Mynpoory, and I was grieved to hear he had subsequently joined the Rajah.

75. I can speak in the very highest terms of the Zemindars of Burrowl, during the time I was at Mynpoory. They guarded the Telegraph, the Bungalows and the road, and there was no work required of them which they did not well perform. Their conduct subsequent to this period, and the loss they have met with, will be well known to you. The Government have no more faithful adherents than these Zemindars, and their loyalty has been marked since the introduction of British rule.

76. Many other Zemindars behaved most faithfully, and gave me their best aid, but I am obliged to omit their names which I cannot recollect in my absence from the District, and owing to the loss of all my Memorandums.

77. I beg that the case of Balkishen, the Zemindar at Bhowgaon, may be inquired into, and his relatives provided for, and the relatives of the other Burkundazes who fell at their posts on the occasion before referred to.

78. The case of Mrs. Wells was previously referred by me last year to the Government at Agra, and I trust it may be ascertained whether relief has been afforded to her.

79. I would beg that inquiry may be made at Mynpoory regarding the sepoys of the 9th Regiment N. I., who behaved so faithfully to Lieutenant DeKantzow. They are named, and their conduct specially referred to, in a report dated May 26th, of last year, and the highest rewards were given them by the Lieutenant Governor, in accordance with the General Order of the Governor General in Council, No. 698, of the 19th May 1857. When I left Mynpoory, the Rajah requested these men to join him, but they came to me for orders, and I directed them all to go to their homes. Since then they have not been heard of; but if they can be found, and their conduct can be proved to be blameless, they fully deserve the rewards which were previously awarded to them.

80. I make no mention of the conduct of Rao Bhowany Singh and the Rajah of Mynpoory, having, in accordance with previous directions, given an opinion regarding them.

J. POWER,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

*June 12th* 1858.

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To

J. POWER, ESQUIRE,
*Mynpoory.*

DATED 19TH JUNE, NOON.

MY DEAR POWER,

The Regiment has mutinied. All Europeans in the fort No Natives. Prepared to defend it to the last. But we must have assistance. Two Squadrons 9th Cavalry, and 2 guns, or as much less as you can afford.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) E. C. VIBART.

This is my third note to-day. Let no time be lost. More than fifty women and children.

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DATED FORT FUTTEHGURH, 20TH JUNE, 6 A. M.

MY DEAR POWER,

Received your telegraphics. We are shut up in this fort, but mean to defend ourselves. We have run up guns and take watch, and watch day and night. Mais nous n'avons pas à manger que pour quinze jours, et il y-a bien pen de poudre. Les nouvelles à Gwalior nous empêchent d'esperer que vous nous donnerez de secours. We are writing to Cawnpore and Lucknow. Perhaps the Lieutenant Governor could spare us some men; and this is a good opportunity for the Agra Volunteer Horse, whom we have heard so much about. I trust you yourselves are safe. The 10th has dispersed, but the 41st, from Seetapoor, are here, and brag of being ready to attack us; but if they are wise, they will let us alone. We have been in expectation of an assault for the last two days and nights, but it has not yet come. Remember me to Carey most kindly.

Ever yours,

(Signed,) E. C. VIBART.

We have here of more or less able-bodied men, besides women and children. entre trente et trente cinq. The bearer is promised 12 Rs. from you.

*J. Power, Esq., Mynpoory.*

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FUTTEHGURH FORT, *June* 21*st*, 11 A. M.

MY DEAR POWER,

Received your extras. I have nothing to add to my note of this morning. Our fortifications are nearly completed, and si nous avons plus de force, we should be secure enough. J'ai ecrit a Cawnpoor et a Lucknow et puis à Hurdeo Buksh pour du "russud." The ladies are our worst circumstance. I trust in God that you may succeed in keeping your people with you. The villagers and bazaar people are greatly exasperated against the sepoys. The latter are said to be starving, and in want of ammunition. We hope for the best, and trust in the chapter of accidents.

Write daily.

Ever yours,

(Signed,) E. C. VIBART.

*J. Power, Esq. Mynpoory.*

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(COPIES.)

No. 4025 OF 1857.

FROM

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,

*Offg. Secy. to Govt., N. W. Provinces.*

To

THE REGISTER SUDDER DEWANNY ADAWLUT,

*North Western Provinces.*

DATED AGRA, THE 25TH JUNE 1857.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 981, dated the 19th June, and in reply to inform you, that in accordance with the information contained in the telegraphic message sent by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor to the Magistrate of Mynpoory, Wilayut Alee Khan, the Principal Sudder Ameen of that District, is promoted to the senior grade, as a special case, to mark the sense entertained by Government of his services at the present juncture, as reported by the Magistrate.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) C. B. THORNHILL,

*Offg. Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

(True Copy.)

J. POWER.

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*From Agra 15th June, 2-45 P. M. From Lieutenant Governor, to Mynpoory, to Magistrate.*

The Principal Sudder Ameen at Mynpoory shall be raised to the highest grade, as a special case, on your sending in a recommendation to the Sudder Court for the purpose.

(True Extract.)

J. POWER,

*Magistrate.*

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS AT ALLAHABAD.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

# RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# MEERUT,

IN 1857-58.

---

No. 406 OF 1858.

FROM

F. WILLIAMS, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner 1st Division,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces, Allahabad.*

DATED THE 15TH NOVEMBER 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward a Narrative, compiled from the reports of the District Officers noted in the margin,* regarding the occurrences in their jurisdictions, from the commencement of the outbreak to the re-taking of Dehli.

2. No special report has been received, nor is one required, from Deyrah.

3. Protected by the Jumna and Ganges and the Sewalic range, and safe as long as Seharunpoor was kept in order, the little valley has remained perfectly quiet, and free from disturbances, with the exception of the appearance of some mutineers from the Punjab at Ramghât, on the Jumna, when a party was promptly got together from Landour, and sent in pursuit. They however made no stay, and were not to be stopped, but passed on to Dehli.

4. The only other event deserving of notice that occurred in the Dhoon, was a case of cattle-theft, with murder, which was successfully worked out; the offender punished with the utmost severity of the law, and part of the property recovered.

* From Magistrate Seharunpoor, No. 84, dated 26th September 1857, and enclosures.
From Ditto, No. 152, dated 9th June 1858, and enclosure.
From Ditto, Moozuffernuggur, No. 7, dated 11th October 1857.
From Ditto, No. 21, dated 1st December 1857.
From Ditto, Meerut, No. 74, dated 11th July.
From Ditto, No. 75, dated 26th July.
From Ditto, No. 77, dated 14th August.
From Ditto, No. 78, dated 15th August.
From Ditto, No. 79, dated 16th August.
From Ditto, No. 95, dated 11th November.
From Ditto, Boolundshahur, No. 110, dated 18th June 1858.

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5. Mr. Keene has, owing to the hearty co-operation of the Officer Commanding at Landour, Colonel L'Estrange, and the readiness of those under that Officer's command, to move whenever and wherever their services were required; and with the loyal aid of the Government servants and the residents of the Dhoon, whose good conduct has been before brought to notice, had the satisfaction of keeping his district in good order. The Revenue was punctually collected, and the prisoners in the Jail kept in perfect order.

6. Mr. Keene has reported the promptitude with which Mr. J. C. Robertson, his Assistant, acted on the receipt of the news of the outbreak, when Mr. Keene was in the interior.

7. The inhabitants of the Dhoon and the Hills behaved very well. Great apprehensions were entertained regarding the crowd of people from the plains, who accompany, or are attracted to the Sanatarium by the Europeans resorting to it; but they remained quiet. Occasionally individuals showed the evil spirit which elsewhere broke out.

## SEHARUNPOOR.

8. The news of the outbreak at Meerut reached Seharunpoor on the 12th of May. The intelligence was forwarded to Umballa.

9. On the 13th Mr. Spankie very properly ordered all the ladies and children of the station to be sent to the Hills.

10. The news of the massacre at Dehli soon arrived.

11. The Goojurs and Ranghurs at once commenced plundering; and when the disturbances began in the Moozuffernuggur district, disquiet spread through that of Seharunpoor.

12. At first bankers were robbed, or had to pay for exemption from plunder; money-lenders and traders were forced to give up their books of accounts, and vouchers for debts; old feuds were renewed; the first outbreaks were to pay off old feuds, or to clear off accounts, or for the sake of plunder.

13. It was not till the prospect of the immediate suppression of the mutiny disappeared, that open rebellion against Government was thought of.

14. The force of soldiers in the district at this time was a Company of the 29th Native Infantry.

15. Mr. Spankie commenced to disperse the disturbers of the peace on the 21st of May. Similar expeditions were undertaken on the 22nd and 23rd. The insurgents did not face these small parties.

16. On the 23rd of May, in consequence of repeated robberies on the Mohun road, Mr. Robertson, Joint Magistrate, proceeded to Kheree with some twenty Foujdaree sowars. They caught two Chumars that morning in the act of plundering the dawk; and under an escort supplied by the Hurowra zemindars, a band of 26th men, captured with plundered property, were forwarded to Seharunpoor. As the village of Gokulwalah had attacked parties passing near it, it was determined to seize the zemindars; but Mr. Robertson not considering himself strong enough to attack the village with sowars alone, should resistance be offered, called on Deedar Singh and the Kheree zemindars to supply him with men. The former at once brought about a hundred, the latter some fifty men, many of whom were well armed; they started at night and by daybreak. The village was surrounded and the zemindars quietly seized. All the Chowkees were then doubled, by enlisting a portion of the men who had so willingly come forward, and since that date there has not been any disturbance on this road. Throughout it was painful to observe the totally deserted state of the road; still the loyalty of the majority of the villagers was very encouraging. Mr. Robertson reported that he received much assistance from Mr. Hyde, of the Judge's office.

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17. About this time disquiet extended to the town of Seharunpoor. The head Police officer was exciting disaffection, while pretending to be actively loyal. The shop keepers got alarmed, and a disturbance seemed probable. Aid from Umballa was solicited. A party of the 4th Cavalry under Captain Wyld, and of the 5th N. I. under Captain Garstin, accompanied by Mr. Plowden, C. S., crossed from the Umballa district, and confidence was for a time restored.

18. On the 26th of May Mr. Robertson returned to the station, and started the same night, accompanied by Major Williams, 29th Native Infantry, Captain Wyld, a troop of the 4th Lancers, and 30 men of the 29th Native Infantry, to Deobund, on approaching which place they were met by all the respectable inhabitants, who accompanied them into the city, where the whole population greeted them with the most hearty demonstrations of loyalty. This town, as all others of any importance in the district, invariably was found to be decidedly loyal to Government. On the 27th of May, after carefully examining several cases, it was determined to punish the villages of Baboopoor, Futtehpoor, and Sunplah Bukal. These villages had united in an attack on a Ressaldar, and 30 armed men, travelling with their families on the Bijnour road. The aged Ressaldar, with several of his men, were severely wounded; their property plundered, themselves and wives deprived of their clothes, and the whole party driven back to Deobund. During the day notices were issued to the zemindars to appear and answer the charge; but ascertaining that they had no intention of doing so, and had despatched horsemen to all the neighbouring Goojur villages to collect re-inforcements, it was determined to attack them at once,—the force being very small, as a guard for the Camp was necessary. On approaching Baboopoor they found some 400 men drawn up, and being in plantations, mere Cavalry were useless; it was for some time doubtful whether the sepoys would be up to the mark. This delay emboldened the villagers, who came forward into the open ground. Major Williams then advanced with the men of his own Regiment, and Captain Wyld shortly after charging with the Lancers, the whole were put to flight. Seven of the villagers were killed, and fifteen or sixteen wounded. Some of the latter were sent into the hospital at Seharunpoor. Only one Sowar on the Government side was hit, when far to the rear, the villagers, as usual, firing very high. The three offending villages were burnt down, and their cattle seized. It had been Mr. Robertson's intention to punish other villages to the westward, but being informed of the preparations made to receive his party throughout the Khata, where there were several old mud forts, it was determined not to proceed without a stronger force, as the slightest reverse would have disorganized the whole district, at a very critical time. It was trusted that the example already made would keep them quiet, till an attack, with certainty of success, could be made. On the 29th May this party marched to Naugul, to act in concert with Mr. Spankie. On the 30th May Mr. Spankie went down towards Munglour, accompanied by Messrs. Trench, Plowden and Edwards, and by Captain Garstin, joined at midnight by Mr. Robertson and Captain Wyld. The intention was to attack the village of Manuckpoor, in the hope of apprehending the head man, Oomrao Singh, for whose apprehension a large reward had been offered. This man had been very forward, calling himself Rajah, and levying money from the surrounding villages. His intelligence was too good, and they found the village all but deserted. It was burnt and the party captured a few prisoners.

19. After Mr. Spankie's return to Seharunpoor, while encamped at Kheree, the 29th Native Infantry became extremely excited regarding a missing man, who, as far as could afterwards be ascertained, was killed by a Brahmin, while plundering a temple. As the 5th Native Infantry were also very excited, notwithstanding the long night march and work of the morning, it was determined to move again in the evening, so as to engage the minds of the men. This had the desired effect with the 29th; but a few days subsequently, viz. on the 2nd of June, an outbreak occurred in the Company of the 5th, under Captain Garstin. Several of the men had been unsteady, and on the evening of the 2nd sixteen were allowed to cut their names. They managed to

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secure their muskets, and when ordered to receive their pay, refused to take it, fell back to the gate of Mr. Spankie's compound, close to which they were encamped, and commenced firing on Captain Garstin, and the men who remained w th him. One of the mutineers was shot, it is believed, by a Havildar. Messrs. Brownlow and Home, Engineers, and Plowden of the 4th Cavalry, who had been out for a drive, and on returning had met with an accident, were fired upon; but happily the shot missed. Captain Wyld, in his endeavour to reach his own men, was also fired at thrice.* Mr. Spankie went (having been at the spot when Captain Wyld was paying the men) to make his Sowars, ten of them, stationed in the compound, follow the mutineers, but he found they had run on the first shot towards the city. The evening was gathering in fast, and the villains escaped.

20. On the 3rd of June the Goorkhas under Major Bagott arrived, bringing the cholera with them. However their arrival was of great importance. All confidence in the remaining portion of the 5th, and also in the 4th Light Cavalry, had ceased. The news of the mutiny of the 29th Native Infantry at Moradabad had also been received on the same evening. The Magistrate took a portion of the Goorkhas, and some of the 4th Light Cavalry, to attack and disperse a body of Goojurs, which was assembled near the Treasury, with intent to plunder it. The rebels, on seeing the force, retreated. They had withstood the Kotwal and Police during the day. The Cavalry pursued them for some distance. On this occasion there were, on the Government side, a few men of the 15th and other Irregulars on leave belonging to the district. A few men were cut up, and some prisoners made. Two villages were burnt. In this affair Lieutenant Brownlow, and most of the residents of the station, and the District Officers, joined; all could not go, though they were willing to be useful.

21. On the 5th June Mr. Robertson proceeded to Roorkee, after visiting some refractory villages, seizing some offenders, and making arrangements regarding the collection of the revenue. He returned to Seharunpoor on the 8th.

22. On the 16th of June a party of Goorkhas was detached to meet a body of the Jullunder mutineers, some 300 strong. Lieutenant Boisragon and Mr. Edwards accompanied the party. The mutineers however lost no time in traversing the district; in fact they almost ran through it, marching from the foot of the hills to the south border in 30 hours. On the 17th or 18th June a second party, under Major Bagott, with 30 of the Irregulars under Captain MacDougall, of the Stud Department, accompanied by Mr. Robertson, went on a similar expedition, but they were unable to catch the mutineers.

23. On the 20th June, about 4 P. M., Mr. Robertson proceeded to Nukoor which had been threatened by dacoits. 30 Goorkhas, 40 Seikh (Puteeala) Sowars, Mr. Colledge, the Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Willcocks, Canal Overseer, and Mr. Hyde, of the Judge's office, accompanied him. He arrived at Nukoor with the Horse about 11 P. M., in time to see the Tehseelee and Thanah in flames, though not a vestige of the dacoits. The Infantry came in much later; but being convinced that much of the plundered property could not have been removed very far, Mr. Robertson started in pursuit at daybreak. Sending the Goorkhas, with Messrs. Colledge and Willcocks, due west, so that their probable position might be known, he himself scoured the country with troopers, and, when almost despairing of success, came upon a large body of men and women, removing the plunder into the village of Futtehpoor. The plunderers and their property were seized, and the village burnt. It was not till late that their party got back to camp, and shortly after information was received that the whole country round had risen to release the prisoners, on hearing of the small force opposed to them. A Sowar was sent into Seharunpoor for reinforcements, but being attacked and obliged to return, two others were despatched viâ Leisawah, and a fourth to Muleetah to call in the Irregulars there

* This was a critical time for Seharunpoor. Had Captain Wyld or Mr. Spankie been shot, the station would most probably have been destroyed.

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stationed. To be the more prepared for a night attack, the Camp was removed to the top of a large brick kiln, nearly surrounded by water. Parties, with drums beating, were assembled in the neighbouring gardens throughout the night. In the morning file-firing was heard at no great distance, which, from its direction and regularity, it was concluded must be the Goorkhas under Lieutenant Boisragon, who shortly after made their appearance in high spirits, reporting that they had been attacked by some 250 Goojurs, whom they had dispersed. The party hardly exchanged greetings, when an outpost of Irregulars brought information of the advance of the villagers, and shortly after, on hearing their drums, preparations were made to attack them. Lieutenant Boisragon's report to Major Bagott regarding the affair at Nukoor, is to the following effect:—

"About 6 A. M., on the 22nd, we reached the Camp, where our arrival was heartily welcomed. I had just fallen out, my men warning them to be ready at a moment's notice, when we heard the dhols* and shouts of a large body close to our Camp. I was sure the arrival of my detachment was unknown to the insurgents, and therefore fell in the men by word of mouth; told off a party of 30 under the Sergeant Major to advance skirmishing; sent a party of 12 under Mr. Willcocks into a heavy tope of trees, to protect our flank on that side, and detached the Cavalry (consisting of about 40 Sowars) under Mr. Robertson to the open ground on the right, while I brought up the rest of my men through a very heavy mango tope. With the assistance of the cover from the trees, and a deep ditch, the whole party sneaked up to the skirmishers, and in concealment. During this time the insurgents only having seen about 30 men, advanced boldly. Unfortunately, however, before we had all got properly into position, the order was given (they say by the Sergeant Major) to commence firing, the enemy having been peppering at us the whole time. As they were still about 180 yards off, and not wishing to warn the enemy by bugle sounds, I went out in front to stop the firing on our side. While trying to do this, three shots fell close to me, on seeing which the men rushed out of the ditch and fired, and with a cheer went on, despising numbers or distance, quite forgetting that, with 40 rounds of ammunition, and an 18 miles march, they had no chance in running with the enemy. While this was going on to my front, Mr. Robertson was attacked by a large body on the right, and had some narrow escapes from their bullets, one man (an amateur city sowar) being killed close to him. As soon as the party in front gave way, the whole 6 or 700 took to their heels. We pursued for about 5 miles, overtaking numbers, and finding many concealed in trees. The loss on the enemy's side must have been between 50 and 60, while we escaped without a scratch, with the exception of the city man alluded to. We took several prisoners, from whom we obtained much information, and also the names of the lumberdars, one of whom was among the killed. We burnt four of the principal villages, where I first collected the charpoys, and we returned to Camp about 10 o'clock."

24. On the 23rd the party attacked and burnt the village of Sundowlee and Rundehwah which had been abandoned. In examining the extent of the damage inflicted by the dacoits at Nukoor, it appeared that all the Mohullahs had been attacked and gutted, with the exception of that inhabited by the Mahomedans, where the Thanahdar, with his Police, and the Tehseeldar, took refuge during the assault. Not the slightest attempt at resistance seems to have been made by the Police. All the Government records, with the Mahajuns' accounts, bonds, &c. were torn up and scattered over the neighbouring gardens; some three or four city people were killed, and several wounded, but the assailants seem to have suffered the most severely.

25. Although Geetampoor and several villages in the vicinity of Muleetah were principals in these disturbances, there was not time to punish them, as it was necessary to push on before the rains commenced, and to attack the Ranghurs, reported to be assembled in the khadir of the Jumna, which would become inaccessible the moment the rain fell; so the party marched at once

* The Indian drums.

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for Gungoh, intending, if possible, to surprise "Futtuah," the proclaimed King of the Goojurs, at Boodah Kheree.

The following is from Lieutenant Boisragon's report:—

"The next morning (June 24th) we started at 2 A. M. and marched along quietly until near "Nyagaon," one of the villages that we burnt down the first day, and where, we were informed, a large body were waiting in ambush for us. All night we moved along cautiously, a reconnoitring party going on under Mr. Robertson, while I brought my men right under the walls on all three sides. After some little delay, owing to the intense darkness rendering every thing invisible, we got through the village, empty as usual, but showing symptoms of very late occupation; in fact Mr. Robertson had a shot at some fellows bolting. With daylight came rain, but the men were all anxious to push on to meet "Futtuah," for whose apprehension, with Mr. Robertson's sanction, I offered Rs. 200. During our arrangements of observation at Nyagaon Mr. Robertson had gone on a mile or so in advance, with thirty of my men and some sowars, and we did not overtake them until we got to Mohunpoor, where their further progress was disputed in the shape of a few bullets fired at Mr. Robertson, who seeing a large collection of men, demanded of the lumberdars to account for the gathering. They however sent word back, that if the Sahib wanted them, he might go into the village and fetch them himself. On my arrival we made arrangements to attack the village, out of which we drove them in a very few minutes; pursued them a short distance, and killed six, one of whom was recognized as an escaped prisoner from the Meerut Jail, and who had only two days previously murdered a bunyah at Gungoh. We took several prisoners, who corroborated the statements of those taken at Nukoor, that Boodah Kheree was the leading village in the rebellion. We now went straight to Boodah Kheree, where we were informed there were two small guns mounted on the towers of an old Mahratta fort in the village. This was my first point of attack, and the parties were told off for either of these towers. But the place had been abandoned, so with the elephants I demolished the "would-be-King's" palace, and then burnt the village. We then marched into Gungoh, another seven miles, which we reached about 2 P. M., having marched fully 21 miles."

26. In consequence of the constant heavy work lately, it was determined to give the men a day's rest at Gungoh;—in the mean time, by high offers of reward, what afterwards turned out to be very correct information was obtained regarding the position and numbers of the Kondah Ranghurs. Early on the 26th June the party started to attack them, and the following is from Lieutenant Boisragon's account:—

"On the morning of the 26th we started at 1½ A. M. As it was a good road, I took the Goorkhas down on the hackeries, which I intended to make use of as barricades, should necessity compel me. During the 25th we had most unpleasant reports regarding the Irregulars. I will however give the Irregulars the credit to say, they had hitherto done their work thoroughly, though they were very troublesome in Camp about supplies. However I kept them between the Sikhs (than whose conduct throughout nothing could have been more satisfactory) and the Goorkhas. When nearing the place, where we expected to find the insurgents, I dismounted my sepoys from the hackeries, and detached reconnoitring parties under Messrs. Robertson, Colledge, and Willcocks. Mr. Robertson's party had not left me five minutes, when we heard some six or eight shots, and Mr. Robertson galloped in to say that a large party were in front, and that he had been fired at by a number of men amongst the trees. We all got together, and advanced as quickly as we could. About 150 yards on, we came in sight of the villages Omerpoor (to our left), Shahpoor (on raised ground in the centre), and Mânpoor (on our right). All round and close to Omerpoor was an extensive tope of mango trees, with underwood and plantain groves. From Omerpoor to Mânpoor must be about half a mile, and the whole of this extent was covered with human beings; in some places 10 and 20 deep. We saw a goodly party of horsemen, and the whole force could not have numbered under 3,000 men. The extent of ground

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covered by the insurgents prevented my attacking them in line, so I divided the whole force into two divisions, flanking each with Cavalry, and a party of Cavalry in the centre. Mr. Hyde took the Cavalry on the left flank, and I detached the Sergeant Major and Mr. Willcocks to assist Mr. Robertson with the left division. Mr. Colledge accompanied me with the right. The two divisions attacked them on either flank, beating them up towards Shahpoor. This was very soon done, and they all amassed between Shahpoor and Omerpoor, where they kept firing at us until the party under Mr. Robertson gave them a volley, followed by several successful shots from our side. As soon as we saw the enemy wavering, (we had all met by this time,) we gave a cheer, and charged, when they scattered. We found a good many had been killed by the volley, and as we wanted to give them a good lesson, I allowed my men to follow as they liked. Mr. Robertson had galloped off with the Cavalry in pursuit, and gave a first-rate account of them. We chased them for some two miles, when coming on an extensive thick jungle, I sounded the "Assembly," and from the accounts of the Officers with the various parties we calculated their killed to be upwards of 150. The main body of the runaways having turned towards "Kondah Kulan," we marched on to it, coming across numbers of dead bodies and men concealed in wells and trees. On arriving before Koudah we saw a large body behind trees and walls, who immediately began firing on us. Mr. Robertson on one side, and Mr. Colledge on the other, went off with the Cavalry to prevent their escape from the rear of the village, but this a large party effected, though numbers were driven back into the village and plantain gardens. It was here that a Sikh trooper was wounded by a bullet in the arm, and another's horse killed. Several men were concealed in their houses, and attacked our Goorkhas as they went through, but they paid dearly for their rashness, as our men spared none of them, and upwards of 70 were killed near and about the village. We then burnt the village."

27. The object of the Ranghur gathering was to attack the towns of Luknowtee and Gungoh, and their total defeat saved those important places.

28. Mr. Robertson had been for two days pressed to return to Seharunpoor, and the force accordingly started the following morning viâ Rampoor, which had been threatened, arriving at Seharunpoor on the 28th June. Mr. Robertson remarks, that from the almost universal opinion expressed by all classes of natives, with whom he had an opportunity of conversing, it would seem that the extensive rising in this part of the district was attributed entirely to the influential Mahomedans of Muleetah and Nukoor. They had excited the Goojurs generally by hopes of plunder, destruction of bunyahs' accounts, bonds, &c., and the more influential amongst them, such as "Futtuah" with the chance of regaining the consequence tradition had assigned them in this part of the country, once the principality of their ancestors. With the Ranghurs, as being fanatic co-religionists, there was little difficulty in procuring their assistance. The fact, that neither at Muleetah or Nukoor were the mohullahs of the Mahomedans attacked, and that they did not unite with the towns-people in measures of resistance, tends much to confirm this general impression of the well-affected. The Ranghurs in this part of the district seem decidedly hostile to anything short of Mahomedan supremacy; unlike improvident Goojurs, their villages are generally populous and wealthy so that plunder could hardly be their inducement to disaffection. It was impossible not to admire their bigotted daring, never deigning to ask for quarter, but turning at once upon their pursuers, though perhaps only wretchedly armed with a gundasah,* or some such weapon. The extracts from Lieutenant Boisragon's report will shew the active and intelligent assistance invariably given by that Officer to the Civil Authorities, as also the hearty co-operation of all the Europeans present. Mr. Robertson says, it was a pleasure to accompany troops that were invariably game, day after day, to undertake the very heavy work imposed upon them at this trying season of the year.

* A rude kind of half club, half Battle-axe.

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29. When Nukoor was plundered, Sirsawah was also. Mr. Plowden punished several villages in that neighbourhood.

30. On the 9th of July the Company of the 29th Native Infantry, on duty at the Treasury, decamped from the station. About 8 P. M. it was reported that the 12 men over Captain McDougall's treasure chest had deserted their post, and Major Bagott instantly turned out his men, and all started for the Treasury, distant near a mile from the Barracks, Messrs Trench, Edwards, Robertson, Brownlow, of the Canals, &c. accompanying. After arresting the guard at the Post Office, whose muskets were loaded, and who evidently intended to have gone also, when opportunity offered, the party passed on to the Treasury, and found the Barrack deserted, the office lights burning, but no guard present; all the seals and locks were right, but the guard had fled in such a hurry, that they left their cooking utensils, blankets, &c. behind them. Captain McDougall had remained to bring up the Putteealah horse, 40 of whom relieved the 4th Light Cavalry detachment left at Seharunpoor, when Captain Wyld returned with Mr. Plowden to Jugadree, but as these men had only matchlocks, and it was raining hard, they did not like turning out. It was necessary to place a guard over the Treasury and buildings, and on so dark a night, and in the pouring rain, it was not considered advisable to detach any men in pursuit. The Police Sowars, however, were ordered to follow up the mutineers and catch them. The Jemadar brought in a musket the next morning, which had been dropped on the road to Dehli *viâ* Rampoor, 79 men got off.

31. On the 11th July, Mr. Robertson went again to Roorkee, in order to visit, in conjunction with Captain Reid, commanding at Roorkee, the Khadir of the Ganges, and put down the Bunjarahs, who had been committing great excesses. On arriving at Roorkee, he received information that the Bunjarahs had assembled in considerable force, and as Captain Reid considered it advisable, if possible, to procure the assistance of some Goorkhas, an application was made to Seharunpoor, but being unsuccessful, Captain Reid ordered a gun, accompanied by Europeans, with as many Sappers as could be spared, to proceed with Mr. Robertson, under the command of Captain Maclagan. On the 14th they arrived at Jowalapoor. It was raining the whole day, 15th. They marched, intending to attack "Futtuah," but were unable to cross the Bangungah about five miles from their destination, they therefore encamped near its banks; at a place called Ranee Majrah, which had been plundered and abandoned. During the march through this lonely country, it was distressing to observe the desolation caused by these rascals. For miles the villages were burnt down, and not a living soul remained in the neighbourhood. On the 16th the river was still higher. The boats did not arrive till late in the day, but even had they made their appearance earlier, the party could not have crossed, on account of the large amount of timber in this rapid stream.

32. While at breakfast, some firing was heard towards the river, and shortly intelligence came in that the Bunjarahs had crossed. While the troops were getting under arms, Mr. Robertson and another Officer went down to see the actual state of affairs, and were fired at from the opposite side by a body of from 70 to 100 men. They returned the compliment with their rifles, when the rebels retired into the grass jungle, and the gun coming up, drove them off altogether. On the 17th the river had considerably fallen; the party crossed in about four hours, and in the long grass came on a Bunjarah, whose leg was broken by a rifle shot. He stated that six had been killed, and 19 wounded, on the previous day (amongst the former were the uncle and nephew of Sehrah, their leader,) and that 400 men had been present, concealed in the grass. On reaching Futtuah, it was found that the Bunjarahs had made a precipitate retreat to an island on the Ganges. A number were however intercepted, and others shot in crossing. Some grape was also fired whenever any number were seen on the island, but with what effect it was impossible to discover. The party burnt Futtuah, and six Tandahs, or temporary villages; drove off from three to four hundred head of cattle, and allowed the Jowala-

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poor Rao, who had accompanied, and were considerable sufferers, to remove the plundered grain, which was stored round Futtuah in large quantities. On July 18th and 19th, the Camp marched and returned to Roorkee.

33. The great enemy during this trip was the constant rain, for had the party been able to cross the Bangunga on the first day, the prisoners asserted that the Bunjarahs would have fought, but having time to remove a considerable portion of their plundered property to the island, it was not thought worth the risk. It was not proper to risk the lives of the Europeans and natives, by continuing long enough encamped in this low swampy land, to procure boats from the Canal. All those on the banks of the Ganges had been sunk. Though the results were not so satisfactory as they might have been, had the weather been more favorable, still the Bunjarahs seem to have felt the loss of their cattle, as the following day eleven gave themselves up, offering to betray all the ringleaders, if a sufficient force would accompany them. The news from Deobund, however, rendered necessary a move in that direction. The prisoners taken in the Khadir were tried at Roorkee, when eleven were hung, the remainder being released, after receiving corporal punishment.

Which had in the mean time been attacked.

34. On the 21st Mr. Robertson moved to Mahomedpoor with the same force, and there heard that the dacoits assembled before Deobund had scattered, and returned to their respective villages. On the 22nd the force marched to Deobund, visiting certain villages in the vicinity of Poor, in the Mozuffernuggur district, who had joined in the attack on Deobund. Here they made prisoners of the lumberdars, and some notorious characters. Further on, at Chota Sampla, they surprised a party of Goojurs in the act of dividing plundered property, and in the ravines below, another party at the same work. All this property was subsequently recognized in Deobund. In the evening Mr. Robertson examined the city, and found that in the mohullahs inhabited by the mahajuns, bunyahs, and other wealthy men, all property not removed by the plunderers had been broken up. There was however little appearance of digging, so there was reason to suppose that the actual cash and valuables possessed by the Deobund men escaped. In fact the resistance seems to have been so determined, that there could have been but little time at the disposal of the rebel villagers to dig for treasure. The attack had been most systematically carried out, certain villages confining their operations to certain mohullahs. The mohullahs inhabited by the Goojurs, Mahomedans, and Chumars, were uninjured, though actually on the outskirts of the city, from which it might be suspected that these parties had some interest in the attack, but no plundered property could be found in their houses.

35. Bhugwan Singh, an important person there, with almost all his relatives, was severely wounded in defending his house, and his son carried off by the dacoits. The village Sullahpoor, where Bhugwan Singh's son was concealed, was surrounded at daybreak by the Sikh horse and Captain Drummond's Canal Sowars. As Bhugwan Singh had expressed considerable alarm that the child would be killed, if the village was attacked, a reward of 100 Rupees was offered to any one, who might succeed in bringing him out safely. This had the desired effect, and most of the men of the village being secured, the party advanced to Bunhera, the inhabitants of which had been the original captors of the boy, and from whom the village of Sullahpoor had taken him after a fight. Here also the party seized the men, and burnt a portion of the village.

36. While Captain Drummond and Mr. Robertson were engaged in this direction, Captains Read and Boisragon burnt the village of Dookchera and Mankie, from which the inhabitants had fled. During the 24th and 25th the Officers were engaged in examining the prisoners, and bringing them forward for recognition by the residents of Deobund, and in the evening received orders to return to Seharunpoor, in consequence of reports of an intended

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attack on that place. This recall was unfortunate, as many of the leading villages were left unpunished, in consequence of the unceasing rain during the 24th and 25th: still so severe was the punishment on those attacked, that the Katah remained quiet.

37. While the party was at Deobund, 45 men were hung, and seventeen sentenced to ten years' imprisonment,—the remainder being released, some on security.

38. Mr. Spankie recalled the party to Seharunpoor, having received intelligence of a proposed attack on the station and jail by the Goojurs, Rajpoots, and Ranghurs, aided by the lower Mahomedans of the city. He disarmed the jail guard, some of the men in which had listened to overtures from the city, and replaced the guard by 40 men of the Goorkhas. Colonel L'Estrange, commanding at Landour, to whom an express was sent, ordered down 40 Europeans, who arrived on the 27th, the evening before the proposed attack, which, in consequence of the reinforcements, did not come off. The Europeans remained until after the Mohurrum, which passed off tranquilly, as did a large fair, which was held (at the same time that the Tazeeas were carried) within three miles of the town. Before the Mohurrum, 2 six-pounder guns sent from Meerut arrived at Seharunpoor. Previous to the great day of the Mohurrum, the Kotwal was removed into the district, to Nukoor, where he could do no harm. There not being evidence against him at the time, it was premature to try him, and he could not be got rid of, as his home was in Shahjehanpoor, to which place he could not be sent.

39. After he went to Nukoor, evidence was obtained, of a satisfactory character, against him; he was arrested, and according to arrangement previously made with Mr. Barnes, deported to Umballa. Mr. Colledge, Assistant Magistrate, and Lieutenant Boisragon, arrested him, and took him to the Jumna. Mr. Colledge escorted him from the river to Umballa.

40. This party, on its way to Nukoor, surprised Sudowlee, seized Futwah, a head man, and about 20 prisoners.

41. Mr. Lowe, C. S., who was appointed to act as Assistant in the district on 28th July 1857, volunteered to do duty, leaving the Hills, to which he had gone on medical certificate, and was employed in collecting the revenue in Deobund. Mr. Melville, appointed Extra Joint Magistrate on the 14th August 1857, was on the same duty in Roorkee tehseel. A portion of Captain Hughes' Regiment of Punjab Irregulars was ordered to Seharunpoor, in order to give Cavalry, the want of which had been felt;—50 of these men were sent to Mozuffernuggur to Mr. Edwards, 55 with Mr. Lowe to Deobund, and 30 with Mr. Melville to Roorkee. When the disturbances at Thannah Bhowun broke out, Mr. Lowe at once joined Mr. Edwards, and Captain Hughes sent him 20 more men. Mr. Spankie also sent Mr. Melville, with his 30 Sowars, to Mozuffernuggur. Both Messrs. Lowe and Melville were present at the attack on Thannah Bhowun. The former was severely wounded, and was therefore ordered in, though he wished to join the stronger force that subsequently went to Thannah Bhowun.

42. The only event of any importance that remains to be noticed was the invasion of some rebels from the Bijnour district into Hurdwar in January 1858. The Electric Telegraph signaller was taken away prisoner by them, but has been well treated, and is alive up to date. On receipt of this news Lieutenant Boisragon, with 70 Sikhs and Goorkhas, and 2 guns, with 10 Europeans, started, and happily came up with about 1,000 of these rebels. The little party attacked the mass most gallantly, and utterly routed them, killing a considerable number. The Ganges Canal was most happily turned into the river before the fugitives could re-cross it, and a great number were drowned: altogether, the rebels confessed to a loss of between 4 or 500. This creditable little affair occurred on the 10th of January.

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43. The foregoing Narrative shews that Mr. Spankie had to deal with disaffected Mahomedans in the city, with desertion and mutiny of Native troops in the station, with threatened attacks on it by rebels, which however did not take place, and with serious disturbances in the district.

44. The Government will doubtless observe with approbation, the firm energy with which the Magistrate and the European residents of the station met the emergency, and how, notwithstanding mutinies and desertions, they held their own, till strengthened by the arrival of the Goorkhas, and afterwards of two guns from Meerut, they were relieved from the dangers through which they bravely stood at their posts. The seditious inclinations of the villagers near the station were checked by small parties of the Native Infantry, with the district Police Sowars and other Cavalry, headed by Mr. Spankie, and the European Officers and residents of the station.

45. Though no opposition was ever met with, it was doubtless the manful readiness of the Europeans in the early part of the outbreak, and after that the promptitude with which Mr. Barnes, the Commissioner of Umballa, and Col. L'Estrange at Landour, met requisitions for aid, (which must have co-operated to awe the disaffected,) and the unceasing watchfulness of Mr. Spankie and his Native subordinates in the town, whose conduct has been separately reported, that saved the station.

46. In the district, order was to a great extent preserved, and altogether restored, under Mr. Spankie's general superintendence, by the untiring energy and gallant conduct of the Joint Magistrate, Mr. H. D. Robertson, and the ready zeal of Messrs. Melville, Colledge and Lowe, C. S., Assistants to Mr. Spankie.

47. It has been seen that Mr. Robertson having cleared the road to the Hills, next with Mr. Plowden, C. S., who crossed over from Jugadree to aid Lieutenant Boisragon and his party of Goorkhas, who throughout rendered excellent service, chastised insurgents on the west part of the district, and again, with a small party of Sowars, reinforced by Europeans and some Native Sappers and Miners from Roorkee, under Captain MacLagan and Captains Drummond and Read, of the Canal Department, put a stop to the plundering of the Bunjarahs in the Ganges Khadir, and with the same force, and again joined by Lieutenant Boisragon, punished the villagers who had attacked Deobund. Mr. Spankie was fortunate, first, in having such Officers to assist him; second, in getting over troops from Umballa, though most of them proved eventually untrustworthy; third, in having them at once replaced by the Goorkhas and Punjaub Cavalry; fourth, in having most efficient aid from every Officer at Roorkee; and fifth, in being so thoroughly supported by the Officers and residents, Military, and Civil, of Seharunpoor.

48. But great credit is due to him for the manner in which he availed himself of these means of upholding authority in the district, and that through much danger and difficulty. He did so to such an extent, that he was able to continue throughout, in some parts, and soon to re-enter upon, where it was suspended, the work connected with the Revenue Settlement.

49. The Seharunpoor Jail is one of the very few that has been preserved.

50. Mr. Spankie has concluded his report with the best proof of the firm efficiency with which he has managed his district, the statement that nearly all the Revenue has been collected, and the Courts kept open.

51. I need hardly recommend to the favorable notice of Government the Officers and European Residents, whose names and good services are fully detailed in Mr. Spankie's report, from which the following paragraphs are extracted :—

Para. 31.—"The thanks of the Government are due to the whole of the Residents of the place, all of whom are Officers of Government, Covenanted or Uncovenanted. I have always received the most cordial co-operation from all. Mr. Robertson, Joint Magistrate, has particularly distinguished himself through-

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out, being always ready for any duty, and energetically carrying out what he was sent to do. Mr. Edwards, though posted as Joint Magistrate to Mynpoory, gave me every assistance that his long experience and local knowledge of the zillah could suggest. He was subsequently posted to Mozuffernuggur as Officiating Magistrate. Lieutenant Brownlow, Superintendent of the Eastern Jumna Canal, before his departure to camp at Dehli, and in the earlier part of the disturbances, inspired all with confidence. To me he was an excellent counsellor, indefatigable in organizing our resistance and always ready for duty outside. He received a letter of thanks from our late lamented Commissioner, Mr. Greathed; so did Mr. Robertson, of whom I should say more, did I not feel that his own report best illustrated the service he performed.

Para. 32.—"It was owing to Captain McDougall, that our troops were able to make rapid marches, as carriage was difficult to obtain, and Captain McDougall was always ready to supply us with Stud Carts and Cattle, at great inconvenience, as they were much required for Stud purposes. Captain McDougall moreover took upon himself the entire charge of the Irregulars on leave, who have done well. Having been in this service himself, he knew how to deal with these men, which was of great advantage to me.

Para. 33.—"I am also much indebted to Mr. Plowden, who twice entered the district to assist me, and both near Nukoor and at Sirsawah did good service. It would be difficult to speak with sufficient praise of the way in which Captains Wyld and Garstin managed their men whilst here. Desertions took place from the former force, and the mutiny occurred in the latter's Company. Nothing but their constant watchfulness kept the men together. Both regiments, as is well known, have since been disarmed.

Para. 34.—"Since the Goorkhas came here there has been a long continuance of quiet, to which Lieutenant Boisragon's treatment of the rebels in Pergunah Gungoh greatly contributed. This Officer received from Mr. Greathed a warm letter of thanks for his good service on this occasion and on others. My thanks are also due to Major Bagott for his constant assistance and support since he joined the station.

Para. 35.—"But all the residents are deserving of praise for their ready co-operation when required. It is impossible to name all, though all were ever eager to be of service. Amongst the Uncovenanted body, I think Mr. Hyde did useful service, accompanying Mr. Robertson on several occasions, and distinguishing himself when out on duty.

Para. 36.—"Mr. Willcocks, Deputy Superintendent of the Eastern Jumna Canal, was very useful also on several occasions, but we soon lost his services, as he proceeded to join the camp at Dehli.

Para. 39.—"I am particularly indebted to Captain Read, and to Captain Drummond of the Canal Department; their services were brought to your notice when I submitted Mr. Robertson's report, No. 213, dated 4th August 1857. Captain Read has been extremely anxious to assist me, and preserve peace and order. It is also well known to the Government, that in the first instance Lieutenant Colonel Baird Smith's energetic measures secured order at Roorkee and the surrounding villages.

Para. 41.—"I beg to submit a return,* shewing the names and number of our community, who were here before the relief from Umballa was obtained."

* *Civil Covenanted.*

1. Mr. P. C. Trench.
2. Mr. R. Spankie.
3. Mr. R. M. Edwards.
4. Mr. H. D. Robertson.
5. Mr. G. W. Colledge.
6. Dr. J. Hutchinson.

*Uncovenanted.*

7. Mr. J. Morgan.
8. Mr. J. Lamb.
9. Mr. W. Hyde.
10. Mr. H. C. Bradford.
11. Mr. J. Sheils.
12. Mr. R. E. Powell.
13. Mr. J. Thompson.

*Stud Department.*

14. Captain McDougall.
15. Mr. Henderson.

*Uncovenanted.*

16. Mr. E. W. Morrisy.
17. Mr. V. R. Freeander.
18. Mr. Fox.

*Canal Department.*

19. Lieut. Brownlow.
20. Lieut. Homes.

52. I trust that the fact that this district was thus held, will be considered to merit the highest praise and ackowledgments of Government, and that I shall be allowed to communicate the same to every Officer brought to notice in this Narrative.

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52½. To these remarks of Mr. Spankie the attention of Government is solicited. Every Officer of every rank in the Seharunpoor district deserves the special thanks of Government.

## MOZUFFERNUGGUR.

53. The reports from the Mozuffernuggur district refer to two different periods. The first, that between the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut and Mr. Berford's departure from the place on leave; the second, subsequent to Mr. Edwards's taking charge of the district.

54. At Mozuffernuggur the outbreak was not met as it was at Seharunpoor; the Magistrate and Collector, Mr. Berford, was not equal to the emergency.

55. The excuse for this,—I believe solitary instance of the Civil Officers of an out-station succumbing to danger, in this case at first more imaginary than real,—was the physical inability of Mr. Berford to take the active and energetic measures, which it would certainly appear would have saved the treasure and station. Without a head of course the other Officers and the residents of the place were paralyzed. This preamble is required to introduce the following Narrative of Events.

56. The 9th and 10th May being holidays, Mr. Berford went over to Seharunpoor, where, on the afternoon of the 11th, a letter from the late Mr. Johnstone, Officiating Magistrate of Meerut, reached him, giving intelligence of the mutiny at that place. Mr. Berford left in a few hours for Mozuffernuggur, and on arrival there, was told by the Native officials the most exaggerated, indeed wholly false reports of the arrival of mutineer Regiments, and of the immediate presence, on the outskirts of the city, of large bands of dacoits. Mr. Berford at once ordered that all Public offices should be closed for three days. They were never again opened. Rumours of the rapid approach of mutineer Regiments gathered ground, and in the absence of all letters, official or private, from Meerut, appear to have been pretty generally believed.

57. It appears that on the evening of the 12th Mr. Berford received information, which he considered accurate, that the convicts in the Jail would rise that night, and that the town would be plundered. Everything was however, at the time, perfectly quiet. He repaired to the bungalow of Mr. J. Dalby, Head Clerk, and from there went out to the jungle, towards the village of Surwut, where he remained till morning.

58. Nothing occurred that night.

59. On the 13th Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, who had been in camp at Shamlee, arrived, having been called in by Mr. Berford.

60. Mr. Grant states, that that day Sergeants O'Farrell and Taylor were sent for, and plans for the future discussed; the result of which was that the party, accompanied by Mrs. O'Farrell and her sister Mrs. Hussy, and the Office Clerks and their families, went to the Tehseel. The movement was hurriedly carried out, in consequence of the gentlemen learning from Mr. Butterfield, Jail Darogah, that the Jail guard were in collusion with the prisoners, and both intended to attack the bungalows. This turned out to be utterly without foundation.

61. That night Mr. Grant and Sergeant Stewart's bungalows were burnt by the villagers, and Mr. Berford's attacked; but the assailants were kept off by the guard.

62. Property to a trifling amount was plundered in the city during the night. There was also a slight disturbance in the Jail among the prisoners, but successfully repressed by the guard. Mr. Berford, for their conduct that

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night, gave them a present of a month's pay. The party next morning, May 14th, returned to Mr. Berford's bungalow.

63. The Tehseeldar asserts that the disturbance in the city might have been prevented, but he, and all the rest of the Government servants, were strictly prohibited by Mr. Berford from leaving the Tehseel, where all the gates and doors were secured.

64. Between 10 and 11 A. M. of the 14th, the party, for what reason is not known, suddenly returned to the Tehseel.

65. The Tehseeldar, Imdad Hossein, also states, that his intention was if possible to get the treasure into the Tehseel, and that both Mr. Berford and he spoke to the Havildar on the subject, who agreed to bring it at 2 P. M. that day (May 14th). This, when the time came, the sepoys refused to do. They broke into the treasure chests, and subtracted as much as they could remove, having first placed sentries all round the premises, to prevent any person arriving or interfering with them when thus employed. The Subehdar who commanded the party, which was composed of 28 sepoys* of the 20th Native Infantry, sent an abusive message to the Tehseeldar, saying that he had believed him a Mahomedan, but that he had proved himself a Kaffir; had eaten pig, &c.; and that he and his men intended paying him a visit, and squaring accounts with him.

66. The plunder of the Treasury, and the report sedulously spread, that a large party of the 20th from Meerut had joined their comrades, and that a body of dacoits was rapidly advancing on the town, caused considerable consternation to those collected in the Tehseel, and to the Government Officials generally. They were persuaded that the Tehseel was no longer safe, and Messrs. Berford and Grant proposed proceeding to Jowlee, the residence of the Tehseeldar's cousin, Syud Kasim Alee, and Mr. and Mrs. O'Farrell for Roorkee. But these latter abandoned their intention on hearing that the road was closed about Chuppar. Mr. Grant had actually started for Jowlee, accompanied by the Tehseeldar; but Mr. Berford not joining them, they returned, and found that Officer had left the Tehseel by a back entrance, and gone to the residence of some Syuds in Aboopoorah, a suburb of the city, where, Mr. Grant states, they were treated extremely well. They slept there that night, guarded by half the jail guard, 30 in number, and returned to the Tehseel next morning.

67. The amount of money plundered from the Treasury was Rs. 85,000. The Treasury guard amounted, including Officers, to 35 men. It is clear that they, wholly unprovided with carriage, and encumbered with their arms and ammunition, could not have removed more than one-third of the whole, as not a single sepoy of their regiment had arrived; nor were there any villagers present with them. They took away as much as they could carry, and the remainder was plundered by the townspeople and Mr. Berford's private servants. The latter lived in the adjoining outhouses, saw what was going on, and immediately on the departure of the sepoys, commenced on their own account. The sepoys left quietly and unmolested.

68. The remainder of the Government money was just as quietly plundered. The people were allowed to pour into the Treasury and help themselves. Not one single official,—high or low,—raised a finger to prevent it. Everybody seems to have been paralyzed.

69. Towards evening, on the 14th, Mr. Berford, considering that his force, which was solely composed of his own and the Joint Magistrate's guard, numbering 12 men, armed with muskets and bayonets, and the Thanah and Tehseel burkundazes, was insufficient, determined on drawing off the Jail guard, and letting the prisoners loose. Ragnath Singh, Jemadar of the Tehseel, was sent to the Jail, with orders to the Native Officer commanding the guard, to at once release the prisoners, and bring away all the sepoys for the protection of Mr. Berford and the other Europeans. This was at once done, and

* This was the whole Military Force employed in the whole district.

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the men marched to the Tehseel, where 30 were retained, and 30 sent to Aboopoorah to Mr. Berford. The villagers subsequently came in and destroyed the Jail barracks, carrying off the doors, shutters, and iron rails, &c. &c.

70. This measure Mr. Grant at the time considered a grave mistake, though he says he may not have sufficiently opposed it. If any thing had been wanting to convince the people that the Government rule at Mozuffurnugger had ceased to exist, this release of the convicts supplies it. The inhabitants saw that they could with impunity commit any excesses; that nobody interfered or meddled with them; and that even the few individuals who had been captured by the Sowars in the city on the night of the 13th had been set free with the others. The Civil, Criminal and Collectorate records were burnt by the people that night (May 14th). On the 15th, or following day, information was received that the people of the neighbouring villages were collecting in great numbers round the city, and proposed attacking and plundering it. On this the Kotwal and Duffadar of Sowars, whose conduct throughout these disturbances shows in a favorable light, went with a party of District Sowars, attacked and completely dispersed the dacoits, bringing in some 15 or 20 prisoners, several of whom were wounded.

71. For want of a Jail, these dacoits were ordered to be flogged and released. The prisoners were caught, with arms in their hands, in open resistance to Government authority, and should one and all have been hung on the spot.

72. From this time to the mutiny of the 4th Irregulars on the 21st June, no attack or dacoity was committed or attempted in the town, though reports of intended attacks were frequent.

73. About this period letters containing instructions were received from the Commissioner, which appear to have been wholly carried out by Mr. Grant; indeed all the arrangements for the district seem to have been made by that Officer. These arrangements were the establishment of Chowkees on the main line of communication, the enrolment of sowars and burkundazes, and the despatch of letters of encouragement to the several extensive landholders and native gentlemen throughout the zillah. These measures, which were well and carefully carried out by the Joint Magistrate, would have proved far more successful than they did, had it not been for the utter supineness of the Police, who throughout literally did nothing. They appear to have come to an understanding with the people, that neither should interfere with the other;—that if the villagers permitted the Police to remain quietly at their stations and draw their pay, the villagers might commit what crimes they pleased, without any attempt at prevention on their part. The natural result was, that violent crimes of all kinds were daily, almost hourly, committed throughout the district, not secretly or by night, but openly, and at noonday.

74. It is needless naming the chief crimes; it is sufficient to remark that here, as in other parts of the country, the bunyahs and mahajuns were in the majority of cases the victims, and fearfully have many of them been made to suffer for their previous rapacity and avarice.

75. On the 18th or 19th, a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry, under a Native Officer, arrived from Meerut, and at first caused no slight consternation, as it was not known whether they were friends or enemies. On the day of their arrival, one of the troopers shot a bunyah, with whom he had a quarrel. Mr. Berford seems to have been satisfied with the man's explanation.

76. Nothing particular seems to have taken place for several days, but towards the end of the month, it was deemed advisable, to send Mrs. O'Farrell and her sister Mrs. Hussy into Meerut. Arrangements were made for their departure, and Mr. Berford determined to accompany them, which he did, taking the whole of the Cavalry with him, and leaving Mr. Grant, who refused to quit the district with Mr. Dalby, Head Clerk, his family, and that of Mr.

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Butterfield, Jail Darogah. Mr. Berford, after proceeding some miles, returned to the station, and the Cavalry were the next day reinforced by a party of the same regiment, under Lieutenant Clarke. Arrangements were now made for patrolling the roads, and some of the most refractory villages were visited and punished.

77. On the 29th, Lieutenant Smith arrived with 80 troopers of the 4th Irregular Cavalry and relieved Lieutenant Clarke.

78. Mr. Grant received orders from the Commissioner to proceed to Shamlee, and make arrangements for keeping open the dâk communication between Meerut and Kurnaul. In accordance with these instructions Mr. Grant, after the lapse of a few days, went to Shamlee, and having effected the object of his journey, returned two days after to the station, having written a full account to the Commissioner of the arrangements made by him, and the state of the country about Shamlee.

79. Mr. Grant received in reply a communication from the late Commissioner, Mr. Greathed, transferring him to Boolundshahur, because he had in the first instance delayed to carry out the instructions, and secondly, because he had left Shamlee without his, the Commissioner's orders. Mr. Greathed's letter has been lost, but such, Mr. Grant states, was its purport. Though there certainly appears to have been unnecessary delay in proceeding to Shamlee, neither Mr. Berford nor Mr. Grant seems to have understood the Commissioner to intend the latter to remain at Shamlee, after the dâk arrangements had been completed.

80. Mr. Grant reports that he found the state of affairs at Shamlee most satisfactory, owing to the exertions of Ibraheem Khan, Tehseeldar, since murdered by the insurgents of Thanah Bhowun, under Inayut Alee Khan.

81. Shortly after the return of the Joint Magistrate from Shamlee, the villages of Puraee and Bijopoorah were visited and punished. Matters were improving, and a little revenue was collected in the Huzoor and Khatowlee Tehseels, when, on the 21st June, the troopers of the 4th Irregular Cavalry mutinied and murdered their Officer, Lieutenant Smith.

82. Several days previous to the mutiny of the 4th Irregulars, information was given at Seharunpore by Dooley Chund, an extensive landholder in that and the Mozuffurnuggur districts, that the Irregulars were in a disaffected state, and not to be depended upon. Mr. Grant was informed of this. Similar rumours had reached him, but Lieutenant Smith, to whom he had communicated them, was satisfied of the staunchness of his men. The event proved the rumours only too well founded.

83. The troopers were billetted in the Magistrate's Kutcherry, only part of which had been destroyed by fire. Their horses were picketted on either side the road leading from the Kutcherry to Mr. Berford's bungalow. The space between is rather less than 100 yards.

84. The account of the mutiny, as given by the different individuals who witnessed it, varies considerably. The following is a pretty correct description of what occurred:—

85. About 3 P. M., on the 21st June, a Shootur sowar* arrived from Shamlee. He did not come in by the direct road, but passed round by the Public Offices, and entered the lines of the 4th, and no doubt brought some letter or message to the men from their comrades stationed at Shamlee. He left again in a short time, and soon after his departure a trooper went into Mr. Berford's bungalow, apparently to call Lieutenant Smith, as that Officer accompanied him into the lines. Mr. Dalby, Head Clerk, who was in a tent outside the bungalow, saw the arrival and departure of the Shootur sowar, the trooper go to the bungalow, and Lieutenant Smith return with him; and the same time noticed that Lieutenant Smith was going to his men at an

* Camel rider.

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unusually early hour. Shortly after the report of a shot was heard, and the natives called out that a dog had been shot. This was however almost immediately negatived by one of the chuprassees rushing into the bungalow, saying that the Adjutant had been shot by his men. The party there, viz. Messrs. Berford, Grant, and Mr. Dalby, and Mr. Butterfield, with their families, at once left the bungalow, and went to the out-houses in the rear of the house, where the Jail guard were stationed. The Ressaldar came to Mr. Grant, told him that he had put the man, who shot the Adjutant, into confinement, and asked that Officer to go to the bungalow and see Lieutenant Smith, who had been brought in there by some dooley bearers, and was being attended by the Native Doctor. Mr. Grant was accompanying the Ressaldar, when Mr. Butterfield went forward and prevented his doing so. The sepoys of the Jail guard now said that the whole party should at once repair to the Tehseel, which they did by a short and unfrequented road, as the sowars were evidently preparing to mount, and were beginning to surround the bungalow. Mr. and Mrs. Butterfield, when half way, returned to the bungalow, to procure some clothes, &c., forgotten in the hurry of departure. These they managed to secure, and had proceeded some distance towards the Tehseel, when he was shot by one of the troopers. His wife begged them to shoot her also, but thought hey threatened her, she was left uninjured. Mr. Butterfield's body was slashed with sword-cuts, and a hand cut off on account of the ring upon it.

86. The party reached the Tehseel only just in time, as several of the troopers galloped down the main road, with the evident intention of cutting them off, but returned on seeing them enter the Tehseel gate.

87. There seems to be little doubt that the Ressaldar's object was to get the party back into the bungalow, where they would all have been murdered.

88. Lieutenant Smith, whose first wound was not mortal, was put into a dooley, and was being taken to the Tehseel, when he was followed by some sowars, dragged out and murdered. The body was much disfigured by sword-cuts, and one of the hands cut off for the sake of the ring. Lieutenant Smith's and Butterfield's bodies were removed that night by Mr. Dalby's younger brother, and Mr. Kelly, brother of Mrs. Butterfield, to their bungalow. They lay there unburied for two days and two nights, and were eventually interred by these two men close to the house. The bodies have since been removed to consecrated ground.

89. About 8 o'clock the same evening the whole of the 4th came over to the Tehseel, asked the sentry what Regiment he belonged to, called out to all true Mahomedans to come over and join them, and demanded that the "Kafirs" should be given up.

90. They at first insisted that the Tehseel should be opened, in order that they might rob the Treasury, and murder the Christians. Imdad Hossein, Tehseeldar, behaved extremely well, and stoutly refused to listen to the troopers, though taunted, threatened, and abused by them. Daood Khan, Duffadar of sowars, went out to the mutineers, and asked them what they wanted. They replied, the lives of the Christians. He answered, that though the Europeans had certainly come to the Tehseel, they were no longer there; if they were, he would not give them up. They then demanded the treasure. He said he had nothing to do with the money, and no power over it, and re-entered the Tehseel, when it was settled to give up the amount in the chest, about 6,000 Rs. On receiving it, the sowars left in a body, going round by Aboopoorah, with the intention apparently of discovering whether the Europeans had again sought refuge there, and passed on to Shamlee, where they were joined by their comrades.

91. Before their departure they burnt Mr. Berford's bungalow, and carried off Messrs. Grant's and Berford's horses. The staging bungalow and Mr. O'Farrell's bungalow were burnt the same night.

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92. Lieutenant Smith's men were disaffected for some time previous to the actual mutiny and murder of their Officer, which may have been hastened by the intelligence the Shootur sowar brought from Shamlee, or of the trifling altercation in the lines, of which two distinct accounts are given.

93. One says that a Puthan, who had been a short time before in the Mozuffernuggur jail, and a thorough reprobate, was constantly with the troopers; that this man had gone on the previous night to the grog shop in the town, where he made a disturbance, and severely beat the Abkar. The man next day complained to Mr. Berford, who said the offender should be punished. On Lieutenant Smith's going to the lines, as already described, one of the sowars came forward, and said the man was a relative of his, and should not be punished; that his horse had been ill the previous night, and that he had sent him to obtain some native spirit to administer to the animal, but the Kulal had refused to give him any; and abused him, and that the man was not to blame. On this Lieutenant Smith is reported to have said,—"If you try and shield such a known bad character, and claim him as a relative, it is evident that you are yourself as bad," or words to that effect, when another trooper came up behind, and shot him in the side.

94. The other account is, that Lieutenant Smith was finding fault with a "bargeer" of the troops for having appropriated some Government iron, when the man replied angrily, and there and then shot him.

95. Lieutenant Smith's life might probably have been saved, had the rest of the party known at once that his first wound was not mortal, as they might, in that case, have taken him along with them to the Tehseel, guarded, like themselves, by the Jail sepoys, who appear to have behaved well throughout, with the exception of one or two black sheep, who assisted in plundering the Treasury.

96. The conduct of the Tehseeldar, Imdad Hossein, on the occasion of the 4th Irregular Troopers appearing before the Tehseel, seems to have been particularly good, but fully equalled by that of Daood Khan, Duffadar. Had either of these two men wavered in the slightest, or shewn any inclination to agree to the demands of the Sowars, nothing could have saved the lives of the Europeans. They would, one and all, to a certainty, have been murdered. To these two individuals, the Europeans concealed in the Tehseel owe their lives.

97. The Tehseeldar, who is an educated and clever man, had the sagacity throughout to perceive that the British Government must eventually win the day, and all along told the people, that whatever might be the loss inflicted on the European force in this country, large and irresistable reinforcements would, without doubt, be sent from Europe. But Daood Khan is a wholly uneducated and illiterate man. His conduct is especially worthy of notice. He had himself been a trooper in that very Regiment. He not only did not join them when they mutinied, but used all his influence to get them away from the Tehseel, and when he failed, declared he would defend his Officers to the last. The whole body of District sowars resolutely refused to have any t hing to say to the mutineers, though many were old Irregular Cavalry men, and from first to last, in these disturbances, not one man has deserted.

98. The Jail guard were quite prepared to resist the troopers, and Mr. Dalby states, that not a single man, of their number, in any way responded to the call of the troopers, when summoned in the name of the Prophet. It is indeed said that they offered to fire on the mutineers, but were prevented, as the Authorities did not think they could be fully trusted, and that the towns-people might rise and side with the sowars, and attack the Tehseel in the rear. This suspicion seems to have been unfounded, as they remained perfectly quiet, and save three or four known bad characters, none of the city people left with the troopers.

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99. About 9 next morning (the 22nd) the villagers collected in very large numbers round the town, but were completely dispersed by a party of District sowars and Jail guard sepoys sent against them.

100. On the 26th, Lieutenant Clarke arrived with a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and on the morning of the 2nd July, Mr. Edwards marched in with 130 Goorkhas of the Nusseeree Battalion, under command of Lieutenant Chester. Lieutenant Chester was next day recalled by Major Bagott, and eighty of the Goorkhas, thus leaving only fifty men.

101. Mr. Berford, the Magistrate and Collector, left on the night of the 4th, along with the Goorkhas. Mr. Edwards, therefore, in accordance with the instructions received by Mr. Spankie, from the late Commissioner, Mr. Greathed, assumed charge of the district in both departments.

102. It will be clearly perceived from the foregoing statement, that the authorities at that time at Mozuffernuggur had great difficulties to contend with, and no real force to aid their efforts at preserving the peace of the station and district,—though there is no doubt that some of Mr. Berford's acts, such as closing the Public Offices, and releasing the prisoners, were far more calculated to increase than to repress the disturbances; and though it is evident that much could have been effected which was not even attempted, still great credit is surely due to those, who in such trying circumstances never left their district.

103. The chief error committed by the Authorities was, in not going themselves, and examining into the amount of truth, in the alarming reports brought to them—in placing matters really in the hands of the natives, instead of acting promptly and energetically on their own judgment. Firmness, decision, and self-reliance, were absolutely necessary for the crisis, and were unfortunately not sufficiently displayed.

104. The total absence of any intelligence from Meerut, during the first few days of the outbreak, is greatly to be regretted. It gave a color of truth to the greatly exaggerated tales, which were circulated by the natives, and prevented their being satisfactorily refuted or denied.

105. It is also a matter of surprise and regret that no force, however small, was sent from Meerut, to assist the Authorities in holding the district. Had this been done, the great loss to Government and to private individuals would certainly have been prevented. Even without such force there can be little doubt that if the District sowars had been made to patrol the station on some regular plan, and the Police generally had been made proper use of, the plunder of the Treasury by the towns-people, and the burning of the Government offices, might also have been prevented.

106. On his arrival, Mr. Edwards found the district much disorganized; all work seemed to have been suspended; and some Government servants, with whom had been found large sums of money, plundered from the Treasury, had not only remained unpunished, but had been permitted to retain their appointments. The Tehseels were certainly in existence, but not the least attempt was made to collect the Government Revenue. The Thanahs were also nominally at work, but the occupants, as in the Tehseels, did nothing but clamour for their pay, and there was no money wherewith to settle their claims.

107. His first efforts were principally directed to,—1st, the restoration of confidence in the town of Mozuffernuggur; 2nd, the re-establishment of the Jail; 3rd, keeping open the communication along the several lines of road, and insisting on the Police, posted at the several chowkies, regularly patrolling along their several beats; 4th, the security of the Government and District dâks, in their progress through the district; and 5th, the realization of the Revenue for May and June. Of these the latter was, as might be supposed, by far the most difficult. Mr. Edwards insisted on the collections being at

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once renewed, and on the Tehseeldars and Peshkars ceasing to shut themselves up in their Tehseels, but proceeding to the villages, and in person collecting the Revenue, providing at the same time for the prompt punishment of those, who dared to show resistance or contumacy.

108. The people generally regarded the payment of the Government demand as a decided proof of allegiance; the idea was fostered and worked out. Payments commenced at once in the Mozuffernuggur, Khatowlee, and Thanah Bhowun tehseels, and after a few days in Poor; but not a rupee was collected in Shamlee till a considerably later date.

109. The city of Mozuffernuggur was, when Mr. Edwards arrived, in a greatly perturbed state. The shops were all closed, and the towns-people were accustomed to fly on hearing any report of an intended attack of dacoits. These reports, as well as others, stating that our forces at Dehli had been driven from their position, the ships carrying European Troops from England wrecked, and others of a similar nature were so frequent, and evidently spread with the view of doing mischief, and unsettling men's minds, that deeming it necessary to put a stop to them at once, the Magistrate proclaimed through the city, by beat of drum, his intention of hanging, then and there, the first person caught propagating such falsehoods. This had the desired effect. Dacoitees and other heinous crimes almost entirely ceased throughout the district; order was in a great measure restored; the Revenue was being rapidly collected, and all going on quietly and satisfactorily till the beginning of September, when the disturbances arose in Thanah Bhowun.

110. Throughout the Doab, owing to the protraction of the operations against Dehli, disaffection was spreading widely and rapidly. The rebels of the Burrouth Pergunah, in the Meerut district, were getting bolder, and the men of the south-west part of the Mozuffernuggur district began to join them.

111. On the 2nd of September, Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate, with a party of the 3rd Cavalry under Captain Galloway, proceeded from Shamlee, where they were at the time stationed, to the village of Purasowlee, in the Kandlah Pergunah, with the object of apprehending Khyratee Khan, Pindaree, a shareholder in the village, and a man of considerable influence, from whose village a number of men had joined the Burrouth rebels, and who was reported to have gone to Dehli, to obtain aid in troops from the King, and to have returned, having failed in his object.

112. Mr. Grant's party met with resistance and some loss. The Cavalry were of course useless against walls, and the party retired on Shamlee, having altogether failed in their object. This successful opposition to Government troops gave encouragement to all rebels in that and the neighbouring Pergunah. Jowla, a royal village adjoining, made common cause with Purasowlee. The force of Khyratee Khan being rapidly joined by the disaffected not only of the district, but from Burrouth and Bijnour in that of Meerut, proceeded to Boodhanah, where they ousted the Government Police, and took possession of the Fort.

113. Mr. Edwards, anxious to move out against the insurgents at once, as each day's delay served but to strengthen their bands, and render them bolder, was unable to do so, as more than half the Goorkhas, the only Infantry he had, were on their way to Meerut with treasure. Previous to their return, Mr. Grant's representations were so strong as to the almost certainty of an immediate attack on Shamlee, that Mr. Edwards detached to that place every man of the Punjab Cavalry then in Mozuffernuggur, recalled Mr. Palmer* and the twenty-five troopers with him from Meeranpore, and those attached to the Tehseeldar of Poor, and as Mr. Grant's requests for reinforcements became each time more urgent, on the arrival of the party from Meerut with two mountain train guns, moved out direct to Shamlee.

* Joint Magistrate of Bijnour, doing duty in the Mozuffernuggur district.

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113. Khyratee Khan, with Bhugtah and Lujjah of Bijroul, purposed attacking in force the party at Shamlee. They met however with an unexpected difficulty in the Goojurs, who assembled to oppose their passage through their villages. This, and the fact of their discovering that the force at Shamlee had been strengthened, made them retire on Jowlah.

114. There were considerable bodies of men collected in several villages whose intention was to concentrate their force at a stated time at one common rendezvous, and from there assume the offensive. Their designs were however temporarily abandoned, by the retirement of Khyratee Khan and his allies, as already mentioned. Mr. Edwards then determined to punish the Rangurh village of "Hurhur," lying directly on the road between that place and Thanah Bhowun.

115. The people of this village had, since the commencement of the disturbances, waged war against all comers, and by robbing or murdering every traveller that passed along, had succeeded in completely closing the road.

116. No opposition was met with, though probably such was at first intended, as loaded matchlocks, with the matches lighted, were discovered.

117. All arms found in the village were secured, and the cattle driven away.

118. Large quantities of plundered property, consisting of sugar, gum, dyes, birch bark, &c., amounting to about 25 cart loads, were found. These had formed consignments from firms in Bhowanee, in the Rohtuck district, to mercantile houses in Shamlee, and had been robbed, when passing the village. As much of this property as could be removed was taken to Shamlee, and one of the captured zemindars released, on security, for the purpose of bringing in the remainder, which, for want of carriage, was left behind. The village was not burnt.

119. When the force was about to return, a man arrived from Thanah Bhowun, and reported a Mahomedan rising in that town, headed by Enayut Alee Khan, nephew of Qazee Myhboob Alee, and brother of Abdool Raheem Khan, who had been shortly before executed at Seharunpore by Mr. Spankie. By the most gross misrepresentations, this act of justice was made the cause of an extensive Mahomedan insurrection, in which all the plundering tribes of the neighbourhood joined. The Tehseel and Thanah were plundered and destroyed, the officials escaped, the principal part of them to Shamlee.

120. As the men had then been out 12 hours, and required rest and food, it was deemed advisable to return to Shamlee, instead of proceeding at once to Thanah Bhowun, as recommended by the Tehseeldar. It was fortunate this was done, for the small and fatigued force would certainly have failed, in getting into the town and the inevitable result would have been the loss of the camp at Shamlee, which had been left with a very small and wholly inadequate guard.

121. Information was received during the 12th, that the sowars, chuprasees, &c., collecting the revenue in Pergunah Jhinjaneh, had been expelled from the villages, while some of those employed, on a like duty in Pergunah Kandleh had been robbed of every thing they possessed, and barely escaped with their lives.

122. Disaffection generally prevailed from the line of the Hindun going westward, including portions of the Pergunahs of Boodhaneh, Shikarpoor, Bughrah and Churthawul, with the entire pergunah of Thanah Bhowun, and the Jât villages of Shamlee, while the Kandleh Pergunah, as far as the Jumna Canal and part of Jhinjaneh, was also disturbed.

123. The Tehseeldars of Thanah Bhowun and Shamlee were decidedly of opinion that the main danger to be apprehended was from the combination of the Jâts. Both were satisfied that for 4 or 5 days at least, the Qazee and

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his people would not move out of their town, but confine themselves to levying men and making preparations, and Mr. Edwards determined to attack Jowlee and Purasowlee, giving the following reason:—"That blow, if successful, would in all probability be the means of breaking up the combination, and removing our chief difficulty, would enable us to replace the Government Police in Boodhaneh, and return to Shamlee, to keep in check the Thanah Bhowun insurgents. By this means also I should be enabled to re-open the direct communication between Kurnaul and Meerut, one of the main objects for which I had been directed to proceed to Shamlee."

124. The severe illness of Lieutenant Cayler, Commanding the detachment, prevented any movement on the 13th. The force started at 2 A. M. on the 14th, with the intention of proceeding direct to Boodhaneh, and taking possession of the fort, said to be garrisoned by about 150 men, leaving the baggage there, and after the men had taken their food, proceeding against Jowlah and Purasowlee. The original plan was however prevented by the force being attacked on the line of march by the men assembled at the forme place. They were at once driven back with great loss, and the village entered at the point of the bayonet. The main body escaped among the high crops, but the number of dead outside, and in the village, were estimated at 200.

125. This little affair took so much time, that it was determined to go on at once to Boodhaneh, as the force might there meet with serious resistance from the men in the fort: however the fort, which is of considerable size and strength, was evacuated, on their approach. Some time elapsed before an entry could be made, as the gates were closed, and had to be blown in, which was effected by Mr. Palmer with the mountain train guns. Camp was not reached till 4½ P. M., the whole party being thoroughly exhausted from fatigue and exposure to the sun.

126. Of course constant information of all that was passing was received in Meerut; indeed, apparently better than the Magistrates could get in their districts. Warning of the rising of Thanah Bhowun was sent to Mr. Spankie, who however at first discredited it, and so Mr. Edwards, but owing to the state of the country, it was difficult to get any communication to him without great delay. Mr. Spankie was urged to co-operate, to the utmost of his power, with Mr. Edwards, to crush the insurrection in Thanah Bhowun, and all the reinforcements that could be spared from Meerut; viz., 100 Seikh Infantry and two Horse Artillery Guns were sent to the latter by the direct road to Shamlee *viâ* Sirdhaneh, and joined Mr. Edwards at 7 P. M. on the 15th, and the whole party marched to Shamlee that night.

127. But the Tehseelee of Shamlee had been surrounded, and the Tehseeldar of that place, Ibraheem Khan, who had behaved excellently from the commencement of the disturbances; the Tehseeldar of Thanah Bhowun, who, driven out by the insurgents, had taken refuge in the Shamlee Tehseel, and nearly the whole of the subordinate officials, with a party of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, who behaved most loyally, were overwhelmed; and after having, under the most solemn promises of safety, given up their arms, were massacred in the Musjid in the Tehseelee by the Thanah Bhowun rebels, who, pretending to be fighting for their religion, thus treacherously murdered Mahomedans infinitely better than themselves. Rupees 8,483-1-3 of Government treasure were plundered from the two Tehseelees.

128. Owing to the disaffection of the inhabitants of this part of the country, the only intelligence Mr. Edwards received of this attack, was an urzee from Mohur Singh, zemindar of Shamlee, telling him that the Tehseel was attacked. This urzee was, there is every reason to believe, written some time after the massacre had taken place. No report was received from any of the Thanah on Tehseel people; nor till his arrival at Shamlee did he learn the full extent of the massacre. Even those who had escaped, had been rendered so helpless from fear, that they had not even sent notice of the outrage which had been committed.

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129. The following is a list of those killed and wounded at Shamlee:—Ibraheem Khan, Tehseeldar of Shamlee, Bukhtawur Singh, Tehseeldar of Thanah Bhowun, Bhowany Sahoy, Thanahdar of Shamlee, and nine men of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, besides inferior Native officials, chuprassees, burkundazes, &c. A separate application has been made in the statement, of Natives who have distinguished themselves by good services,—regarding Ibraheem Khan's family, and those of the other Native officers, who were killed at Shamlee.

130. Ibraheem Khan behaved most nobly. Himself a Mussulman, he resisted the Mahomedans, and directed the men with him to fire on the green flag. He was nobly supported by the men of the Punjab Cavalry, who shot the standard bearer dead.

131. The heirs of all who perished will of course be provided for by Government, but for those of Ibraheem Khan, who shewed great energy and marked loyalty throughout, a handsome provision should be made by the grant of landed property in Rohilkund, where a near relative, Abdoollah Khan, who has also distinguished himself by his loyalty, can assist the family to manage it.

132. The Tehseel was a place of considerable strength, and previous to Mr. Edwards's departure, both Tehseeldars declared their conviction that it could be held against all comers;—that there was not the least danger to be apprehended, and that the garrison left in it was well able to resist successfully any attack.

133. Mr. Edwards intended proceeding at once to Thanah Bhowun, and attacking the insurgents in their stronghold; but receiving repeated letters from Mr. Grant, that Mozuffernuggur was threatened, and hearing also that vast crowds of Mahomedans had joined the Qazee's party, he deemed it advisable to fall back on Mozuffernuggur, as in the event of receiving any check at Thanah Bhowun, the almost certain result would have been an attack by the rebels on the Sudder station; whereas, by advancing on Thanah Bhowun from Mozuffernuggur, the station would be secure from any such danger.

134. Urgent orders were sent from Meerut to Mr. Edwards not to attempt an attack on Thanah Bhowun till he had been further reinforced, and he had a force sufficiently strong to ensure success; but those orders did not reach him in time, and with some reinforcements of Cavalry from Saharunpore, he marched against the rebel town. He laid the best information he could procure before the Military Officers, and left it with them to decide, whether they had a sufficient force to attack the place, declaring at the same time his own belief, that it would be keenly defended. Captain Smith determined to attack it. On approaching the place, large bodies of men were seen drawn out in the "Baghs" (plantation of trees,) and behind the high standing crops. The Artillery opened fire, and speedily dispersed them. The guns however could not do much, owing to the view being obstructed by trees, up to the very walls. Some Goorkhas and Seikhs were next sent out as skirmishers, to clear the cultivation, which they effected; but Lieutenant Johnstone, commanding the Seikhs, was wounded by a musket ball in the arm, and obliged to go to the rear.

135. After a time, finding that the skirmishers were unable to keep down the fire of the town, the rebels firing from behind walls, the skirmishers were directed to be withdrawn. The force then moved more to the left, where the ground was clear, and the Horse Artillery again opened fire; but finding, after a few rounds, that little or no effect was produced, the rebels keeping under cover, the guns were withdrawn.

136. A storming party of the Seikhs and Goorkhas, the former under Captain Smith, who commanded the whole force,—the latter under Lieutenant Cayler, advanced to storm the town, which they did under a smart fire of musketry, and after clearing and taking possession of several detached buildings, which were well defended, charged over the wall into the town, and got

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possession of 2 guns, which they held for some time; but losing a number of men, and the supports failing to come to their aid, they were at length obliged to retire, leaving the captured guns behind, as there were no means of removing them. The Artillery fired a few shots into the town, which were not replied to, and the force retired towards Mozuffernuggur. The line of baggage, when en route, was attacked by a large party of horse and foot, near the village Kheaoree. They were at once charged in gallant style by two detachments of the 1st Punjab Cavalry one led on by S. S. Melville, Esq., C. S., and the other by M. Lowe, Esq., C. S.;— the latter was severely wounded, receiving three sword cuts, while his horse was also much cut. The insurgents fled in utter disorder, and were cut up by the Cavalry to the number of about 100. The rest escaped through the high crops. No further opposition was met with.

136½. Mr. Edwards observes:—"The demi-official letter, telling me on no account to attack Thanah Bhowun, as it was far too strong for our small force, reached me just as we retired. Had it arrived earlier, as it certainly should have done, your order would have been acted up to; but your previous communication had directed me to proceed at once to crush the rebels, if, after the arrival of re-inforcements, we considered ourselves strong enough."

137. Though the attack on Thanah Bhowun failed, and the Officers, Captain Smith, and Lieutenants Cayler, Johnstone, and Fraser, have consequently not obtained the praise which success would have secured to them, their gallant conduct deserves honorable mention. Lieutenant Fraser could not, of course, leave his guns, and Lieutenant Johnstone was wounded in the first attack. Captain Smith and Lieutenant Cayler forced their way into the town, under circumstances which should entitle them to reward, for distinguished bravery. Captain Smith was severely wounded, and has lost the use of his hand. Lieutenant Cayler escaped in a most wonderful way. Mr. Edwards says that Lieutenant Cayler was under such a hot and close fire, that his clothes were even burnt in many places. Storming a strong place, as it was subsequently ascertained Thanah Bhowun was, obstinately defended as it also was with only about 70 or 80 Goorkhas, and fresh Seikh soldiers, taking two guns, and holding their own, under a withering fire, though they were eventually obliged to retire, because the rest of the small force could not be persuaded to advance, though Messrs. Edwards, Palmer and Lowe did all that could be done to induce them, was a desperately gallant piece of work. Lieutenant Cayler, moreover, distinguished himself by another act of heroism, which alone, under more favorable circumstances, would have won for him the Victoria Cross. After calling in vain on his men to go and bring in the body of a wounded Goorkha, who was lying in an open space, much exposed to the enemy's fire, Lieutenant Cayler himself, with one brave Seikh, afterwards killed, went through a heavy fire, and picked up and brought the wounded Goorkha in, and thus saved his life, for the man recovered.

137½. It was most unfortunate, that when Mr. Spankie did credit the rising in Thanah Bhowun, he was only able to send his Assistants, Messrs. Melville and Lowe, with about 100 of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, to help Mr. Edwards, and that Major Bagott, Commanding the Nusseeree Battalion, who had, including recruits, who might have guarded the station for the time, above 450 Goorkhas of all ranks, though urged by Mr. Spankie to assist, could not detach a man to aid in the suppression of this outbreak, and that aid was not called for from Landour, till, from the failure of the Mozuffernuggur party, danger to Saharunpore was apprehended, when the most urgent requisitions were sent. Had this been done earlier, and had assistance been secured from Roorkee, there is little doubt that a force sufficient to destroy the Thanah Bhowun rebels might have been collected.

138. Major Bagott has given his reasons for not weakening the force at Saharunpore; and Mr. Spankie has shewn that he did all that it occurred to him he could do, and I do not mean to impugn the correctness, in a Military

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point of view, of the Commanding Officer's decision, or Mr. Spankie's efforts to assist the Mozuffernuggur Authorities, when I repeat that it was unfortunate that the co-operation from the Saharunpore side was not more effectual, for on receipt of the intelligence of the return to Mozuffernuggur of Mr. Edwards' party, it became necessary to call in the only troops available—those that had been watching the Malagurh rebels, whereby *they* eventually escaped. This small Column, under Major Sawyer of the 6th Dragoons, reached Mozuffernuggur by forced marches, and being joined by the troops there, went against Thanah Bhowun, which was evacuated by the rebels. The leaders of the insurrection escaped down the Burouth Pergunah, and by Malagurh into Rohilkund. The Column marched through the western Pergunahs of the Mozuffernuggur and Meerut districts, putting down all rebels. Dehli was taken, and all opposition to Government authority ceased; and under Mr. Edwards' management, the district was restored to order, in which it has been maintained, up to the present time, with the exception of a few petty invasions of the Bijnour rebels.

139. Once they came across the river Ganges, which was fordable, in many places, and burnt the Thanah Bokhurheree on the 3rd of December 1857, doing no other damage.

140. Once they crossed in considerable force, and burnt the Thanah at Meeranpore on the 5th of January, when the Movable Column was about two marches off; only a very small body of troops with Mr. Edwards, about a march off, went against the rebels forthwith, but not in time to catch them before they crossed the river.

141. On another occasion, a small party came over and plundered a merchant of the village of Ferozpore, on the 31st March, to the extent of Rs. 1,000, and disappeared again before morning.

142. With a very inconsiderable number of troops to guard a long line of river, it was impossible to prevent these petty raids; and it is highly creditable to Colonel Baird Smith, who had command of the troops,* and to the officers under him, and to the Magistrate, that a large rebel force of about 8,000 men, with a number of guns, were by such a small Column kept so effectually in check, with the exception of the very dregs who were summarily punished. The people showed no inclination to join them, at which the rebels loudly expressed their disappointment.

| Corps. | Officers. | | No. of European Commissioned Officers. | European Rank and File. | Native Officers, Rank and File. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Co. Sejkh Artillery, | Lieutenant G. Ballie, | | 1 | 1 | 45 |
| Meerut Light Horse, | Lieutenant S. Clarke, | Local. | 9 | 109 | 0 |
| | Lieutenant Pearson, | | | | |
| | Lieut. Fraser, | | | | |
| | Lieut. Ray, ... | | | | |
| | Cornet Knowels, | | | | |
| | „ Gibson, ... | | | | |
| | „ Pocock, | | | | |
| | „ Beeher, | | | | |
| | Asst. Surg. Knight, | | | | |
| Pnthan Horse, ... | Lieut. A. S. Smith, ... | | 1 | 0 | 53 |
| Sappers and Miners, | „ W. Jeffreys, ... | | 1 | 1 | 105 |
| 7th Punjab Infantry, | Captain Sage, ... | | 1 | 0 | 105 |

143. All the revenue of the District has been collected, with the exception of 2 or 3,000 Rs., the realization of which, it has been thought proper, to suspend for the present, as the villages were completely plundered during the disturbances, and the cultivators, Goojurs, had joined the rebels on the east of the Ganges.

144. Mr. Edwards has been deservedly rewarded, by being appointed to the permanent charge of the District he restored to order.

145. For what happened previous to Mr. Edwards' arrival, Mr. Grant cannot be considered to be responsible. He could not, while Mr. Berford was in the District, without orders of superior authority, take upon himself the control of affairs. Mr. Greathed ordered the removal of Mr. Grant to

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another District, and therefore was not likely to have sanctioned his interfering with Mr. Berford.

146. Mr. Grant fully accomplished what he was deputed to Shamlee to effect; the Kurnaul road was kept open, and was, with the exception of a few days, during the Thanah Bhowun insurrection, an unfailing line of communication. Mr. Grant was, with the sanction of Government, retained at Mozuffernuggur, and has since been working well in the District, in which he steadily remained throughout all the dangers with which, beyond all doubt, the Officers of this out-station were eventually surrounded.

147. Messrs. Melville and Lowe behaved most gallantly when sent from Saharunpore to assist Mr. Edwards.

148. Mr. G. Palmer, Joint Magistrate of Bijnour, who was temporarily posted to this District, when driven from his own, was for some time posted at Meeranpoor, in the south-west corner of the District, where he did good service, keeping the disaffected in check and realizing revenue, and restoring order, and keeping up communication with the loyal landholders of Bijnour. He was with the force that fought at Joulah, and took the Boorhaneh Fort, as mentioned above, and at Thanah Bhowun. He took the two Mountain Train guns under his own charge, as has been separately reported.

149. Lieutenant Melville Clarke, with the 3rd Light Cavalry troopers did good service in this District; at a time when few Officers trusted Hindoostanee soldiers, he trusted his men and kept them at their duty.

150. When the Column from Roorkee was about to cross into Rohilkund, the Magistrates were required by the Military Authorities to disarm the Districts of Saharunpore and Mozuffernuggur, as a precautionary measure to make the rear secure. A large number of arms were taken by Messrs. Spankie and Edwards, and the Officers under them; but I question whether the Districts have been thoroughly disarmed.

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## MEERUT.

151. All the rumours by which the minds of the native soldiers were prepared for revolt, were industriously disseminated at Meerut, especially those regarding the use of polluting grease in the preparation of the new cartridges, and the mixture of ground bones in flour, by which, it was said, Government desired to destroy the religion of the people.

152. One of the many emissaries who were moving about the country, appeared at Meerut in April, ostensibly as a fukeer, riding on an elephant with followers, and having with him horses and native carriages. The frequent visits of the men of the native Regiments to him attracted attention, and he was ordered through the police to leave the place. He apparently complied; but, it is said, he staid some time in the lines of the 20th Native Infantry.

153. The Officer Commanding the 3rd Native Cavalry, commenced testing the readiness of his men to use the new cartridges.]

154. A trooper of the name of Brijmohun, announced to the Regiment that he had used them, and they would all have to do so.

155. All Hindoos and Mahomedans bound themselves by an oath, not to use them.

156. The burning of Brijmohun's house on the 13th of April, was the first of the incendiary fires which then became frequent.

157. On the 23rd of April, the skirmishers of the 3rd Cavalry who were paraded for the purpose of practising the new drill, to a man refused to use the old cartridges, which they had been using for years. They were tried by court-martial.

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158. On the 9th of May, at a parade of all the troops at the station, the sentence was announced to these mutineers, by which 80 were condemned to ten years' imprisonment, and 5 to five years.

159. Their uniform was stripped from off them, fetters were fastened on their legs before the assembled troops, and they were marched off to the new Jail, under a guard from H. M.'s 60th Rifles, and made over to the Magistrate, who applied for an extra guard. One was sent from the 20th Regiment Native Infantry.

160. A native official reported on the 10th, that the natives had fully expected a serious disturbance on this occasion, and that the Goojurs of the neighbouring villages, and bad charaters generally, were ready in thousands to take advantage of it, and *plunder the city*. But all went off quietly, and the crisis was evidently considered to be past.

161. A rumour, that the Europeans were going to take possession of the Magazines of the Native Regiments, evidently prevailed on the 9th.

162. A note was received by the Clerk of the Judge's Court, about 6½ P. M., from his brother in Cantonments, saying he had better come home, as there was a disturbance going on in Cantonments; the Rifles having come to take the native Magazines. There was no foundation for this; all was quiet, but the rumour gained strength evidently with another, that 2000 fetters were being forged for the native soldiers.

163. Between 5 and 6 P. M., on Sunday, the 10th of May, the cry that "the Europeans were coming to take the Magazine," rang through the Sudder Bazar and the 20th Native Infantry lines; the sipahees rushed to their arms, and the mutiny commenced. The men of the 20th Regiment began the butchery; shooting Colonel Finnis of the 11th, who had approached to pacify them; Captain Macdonald of the 20th, who tried to control them, and Mr. Tregear, Inspector of Schools, who had unfortunately gone to the lines.

164. The rest of the Officers, of both Regiments, were shot at and driven off the parade, or urged by their men to leave, who were excited by ill-designing men, and false rumours into a revolt, for which they were ready, or frightened into it by pure dread. The two Regiments, the 20th and 11th, fair specimens of the feelings of the whole Native Army, prepared for their further depredation.

165. Before a shot had been fired, the inhabitants of the Sudder Bazar went out, armed with swords, spears, clubs, any weapon they could lay hands on, collected in crowds, in every lane and ally, and at every outlet of the Bazars; and the residents of the wretched hamlets which had been allowed to spring up all round it, and between it and the city, were to be seen similarly armed, pouring out to share in what they evidently knew was going to happen.

166. The European soldiers who were at the time in the Bazar, were at once savagely attacked by crowds, in many instances headed by the Police in uniforms.

167. The Officers who first hurried to report what was going on, to higher Authorities, were with difficulty able to pass through the crowds, who scowled upon them, some partly concealing, some shewing their weapons, as if they were eager to use them. Many of those who came a little later were mobbed and butchered.

168. In the meanwhile, a large party of the 3rd Cavalry, a few in uniforms with their horses fully accoutred, but most in undress and many with their horses, just as they had been hastily taken from the stables, with watering bridle and blanket, but all armed with sword and pistol, rushed round to the new Jail, into which they were allowed to enter without the slightest opposition from the Jail guard, or that of the 20th.

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169. They dug out of the wall the gratings of some of the windows of the ward, in which the 85 mutineers were confined, and took their comrades away, the guard of the 20th accompanying, and the armed guard of the Jail soon followed. None of the other convicts in this Jail, in number about 800, were released by the Cavalry troopers, nor was any injury done by them to the buildings. The jailer's house and property were left untouched, and the jailer himself and his wife, though Europeans, were not molested. It would appear that the forbearance towards Europeans, in this instance, was owing to the jailer having behaved as kindly, as consistently with his duty he could, to the convicted mutineers.

170. Small parties of Cavalry troopers, with cries of "Yah Ullah," and "Deen Deen!" rushed into the city, and called upon the people to join in a religious war against the infidels. Having got together some of the butchers and bad characters of the city, they attacked and destroyed the Tehseelee and the Judge's Office.

171. About 300 or 400 sipahees released the convicts from the old Jail, which is between the city and the native lines, and which contained about 720 prisoners altogether.

172. In less than an hour, from the first alarm, numerous bodies of the mutinous soldiers had swept into the enclosures of the Officers' quarters, and crowds of the low denizens of the Sudder Bazar and its environs, hangers-on of the native soldiery, low Mahomedan rascals and thieves, but only such from the city; many of the prisoners released from the old Jail with men of the guard; all parties always headed and urged on by mutineers. Troopers and sipahees were plundering, burning and destroying in every direction, and savagely hunting to death every European, every Christian, man, woman or child they could find.

173. Owing to the straggling arrangement of the Cantonments and station, and the distance of the Native Infantry and Cavalry lines, from the other end, more than an hour elapsed before what had occurred, and was going on, was generally known.

174. In part of the Civil lines, at 6½ P. M., the quiet stillness of a Sunday evening was unbroken, and the European community of that part of the station were on their way to Church, and only learnt on the road what had happened from people flying to their houses, or Officers hurrying to their posts, along the mall, where groups of native servants were collected, looking at the volumes of smoke which began to rise above the trees, in the direction of the native Cantonments.

175. It has been assumed, that the detached parties of the native troops, posted in different parts of the station, mutinied at the same time as the main body on the parades of their Regiment.

176. In the east end of the station, such guards, even later than 6½ P. M., allowed Officers to pass unhurt, and in some instances saluted them. Two guards listened quietly to the request of the Judge and Magistrate, to the General and Brigadier, to send guards to the Treasury and Jail; these immediately afterwards commenced firing on every one that passed, and then by round-about roads, moved off to join their comrades. But some remained steady to their duty; most of those at the Treasury, the place of the greatest temptation, behaved admirably, though some deserted; the native Officers and men made over the treasure safe to the European guard, which was happily ordered to defend it.

177. The Deputy Paymaster's guard faithfully kept their treasure for many days.

178. Both these last mentioned guards were from the 11th N. I., one from the 20th stood firm at the Cantonment Joint Magistrate's.

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179. In the midst of the tumult, one troop of the 3rd Cavalry was ordered out, made to accoutre themselves and their horses fully, paraded and marched off to prevent, if possible, the rescue of the mutineers from the new Jail, led by Captain Craigie, and Lieutenant now Captain Melville Clarke. This troop passed under the walls of the town when the uproar was at its height, and so round to the Jail, but found the mutineers had been taken away. Lieutenant Clarke actually rode out from the head of this troop, and run his sword through a trooper of this Regiment, who was insulting a European lady, and Captain Craigie gave the wretch the finishing stroke. It is probable, that owing to the confusion and dust, the troopers did not know that the Officers were so disposing of one of their own men, and that had they known it, the Officers' lives would have been taken at once. But as it was, these gallant Englishmen handled this Troop, as if mutiny was a crime unknown to their men, and took them back in order to their own parade ground; and later, a party of the men of this Regiment escorted some of their Officers into the Dragoon lines, and another party guarded Captain and Mrs. Craigie and a young lady, staying with them throughout the night, and took them safely to the European Cantonments at daylight. Altogether about 80 or 90 men of this Regiment remained throughout staunch.

180. Many an anxious eye and ear were strained that night, watching for the expected approach of British soldiers, or for sounds of their having got at the mutineers, and gangs of plunderers and murderers, whose destructive advance could be distinctly traced, as it progressed from house to house, by the upward rush of flame, as roof after roof fell in, but in vain.

181. It was hardly known whether the tramp of horses and clang of steel scabbards, once heard passing rapidly, not into the midst of the tumult, but away from it from the Dragoon lines to the east end of Cantonments, and thence towards the Jail, was that of the Carabineers, or of the native Cavalry.*

182. At last, but after some time, the booming of guns gave hopes that the punishment of the mutineers and suppression of the mutiny had commenced. But the firing stopped, and all was again as quiet as, with flames roaring and murderers yelling, the night could be. A happy few, hearing the voices of the Riflemen, came out of their hiding places and were saved.

183. The salvo of Artillery was as it were a parting salute shotted, it is true, but inocuous to the mutineers, who drew off and commenced their march to Dehli, there to mature their mutiny into a general rebellion, and to seize, in that unprotected but nobly defended Arsenal, the means for a protracted opposition to Government, and there to exceed by the number of victims, and the relentless violence of the murderers, the massacre at Meerut.

184. They went not, as has been supposed, in military array, but in straggling disorder, some along the main road, but most along bye-roads, for fear of the pursuit they expected; some dispersed to their homes, some stopped in villages near the station, some went other roads altogether. A number of the troopers were well down the Hauppur road next morning.

185. Many of the Sudder Bazar and City ruffians, and the camp followers, went off with the mutineers; and the remainder having spread fire and destruction nearly up to the Treasury, stopped when they found it guarded by Riflemen, and retired with their plunder.

186. The European troops were withdrawn, and a close line of sentries posted round their barracks and lines.

187. About midnight, the Goojurs crowded in thousands to attack those parts of the station which had been hitherto spared. They set fire to the Sapper and Miner lines. A fine barrack for Europeans, and the native huts were destroyed and the Sergeant's bungalow. The only occupants of this

* It was a party of Carabineers.

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quarter, a Conductor and his family fell into the hands of these savages, the father and some of the children were cut to pieces, the mother with the rest of the children; each individual dreadfully wounded and ill-treated, reached the Artillery hospital, where another of the children died soon after admission.

188. Repeated attacks were made on the house of the Deputy Superintendent of the Ganges Canal, where there were some valuable Plans, Accounts, &c.; the servants repulsed the first, and Mr. Parker himself with a double barrelled gun kept off about 200 or 300 assailants, till the appearance of a picket of Rifles and Carabineers put a stop to all further attempts on that house.

189. Other houses in this neighbourhood were saved, by the good conduct of the police sowars, and the guards and private servants of the Judge and Magistrate.

190. The Goojurs also attempted to burn, and did plunder a part of the Artillery lines, but were prevented from doing further mischief by the picket.

191. The new Jail was attacked about 2 A. M. Nearly all the guard had marched off with their arms to Dehli with the mutineers; the rest of the prisoners, about 800, were released; the jailer's house burnt; a number of gratings were wrenched out of the barracks; a quantity of iron and wood collected for new Buildings was stolen or burnt; altogether about 22,000 Rs. worth of damage was done. But there being nothing in the barracks to pile up, the roofs escaped, as did also a number of valuable roof timbers, lying about in different parts of the enclosure.

192. The inveterate animosity with which the work of destruction was carried out in other places, may be judged of by the fact, that houses built entirely of masonry, with nothing inflamable, except the doors and the beams which a considerable height from the ground supported the roof formed of cement, resting on kiln-burnt bricks, were as effectually destroyed as the thatched bungalows. Property, which the miscreants could not carry off, was thrown out and smashed into fragments, evidently pounded to pieces with heavy clubs.

193. The escapes of some of the residents from the midst of these wretches were truly marvellous; and where fiendish barbarism was rampant, some individual natives behaved nobly. It would take too much time and space to detail all; but that of the late Commissioner is a good instance, both of the good conduct of natives and of almost miraculous preservation.

194. Situated near the city, the native lines and the Sudder Bazar, the premises were immediately surrounded; and escape was impossible. The Sirdar Buhadoor, Syud Meer Khan Sahib, a pensioner receiving Rs. 600 a month, for aid rendered to the Cabool prisoners, and good conduct in Afghanistan, who had, on hearing the disturbance, immediately joined the Commissioner, offered to escort him to the European lines; but it was decided, that there was no hope of the lady escaping through the crowd. He then went out to hold back the mob, and was shot through the thigh, and his horse mortally wounded. This fine Afghan was obliged to retire to the city.* When the mob attacked the house, the Commissioner and his wife, with the wife of one of the residents of the station, retired to the roof; when asked where their master and mistress were, the servants said they had gone to Church: though drawn swords were put to his throat, the Jemadar, Goolab Khan, persisted in this statement, and the other servants were faithfully silent, regarding their master's presence. The house was fired, the flames spread, and longer continuance on the roof became impossible; suffocated with smoke, with feet scorched by the heat of the roof, the party was about to descend when for a short time, the whole body of murderers left to hunt for the Europeans in other places, and directed their attention to the stables and horses, and to the public Office on the estate.

* He came to the Dum Duma the next morning, notwithstanding his wound; and was at the battle of the Hindun.

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The servants seized the moment to put a ladder to the roof, at the back of the house, got the party down, took them to the garden, and there concealed and guarded them all the night.

195. Two sipahees of the 11th Native Infantry most carefully escorted two ladies with children to the Dragoon barracks.

196. A Mahomedan in the City sheltered two Christian families, when the act was not only a singular deviation from the general conduct of his sect, but one full of danger to himself.

197. A female servant and washerman succeeded in saving the young children of a lady, whom also they were attempting to save, veiled in native clothes, when a ruffian drew open the veil, and saw the pale face, and cut the poor mother to pieces.

198. The firm bearing of the Deputy Assistant Commissary General who stood by his Office, till his house was in flames, and a young Officer rushed in with his lower jaw shattered by a musket ball, and it was evident the mutinous guard would abstain no longer; the gallant resistance of the Executive Engineer, Grand Trunk Road; the courage with which at least one woman attacked and wounded her assailants,—these and many other instances of the fortitude with which our countrymen and women met the unexpected onslaught, deserve notice, but cannot be detailed in such a Narrative.

199. If the fact is realized that on many minds the fearful conclusion pressed, that if less than 2,500 Native troops dared such an outbreak in the face of an equal number of European soldiers, a fearful trial awaited every Christian in the length and breadth of Hindoostan, some idea will be formed of the horror of that night.

200. A telegram was sent to Agra on the outbreak of the mutiny, but the wire was cut before it could be finished. Expresses were sent off during the night to Mozuffernuggur, with instructions to forward the news, and at least one to Dehli, with orders to the police sowars to ride their horses to death, if necessary, but to get ahead of the mutineers and deliver the letter, high rewards being offered if the message were delivered.

201. At daybreak on the morning of the 11th, a strong force of all arms proceeded to reconnoitre.

202. It is a marvellous thing that, with the dreadful proofs of the night's work in every direction, though groups of savages were actually seen gloating over the awfully mangled and mutilated remains of the victims, that Column did not take immediate vengeance on the Sudder Bazar and its environs, crowded as the whole place was with wretches, hardly concealing their fiendish satisfaction, and when there were probably few houses, from which plundered property might not have been recovered. But the men were restrained, the bodies were collected and placed in the Theatre, in which a dramatic tragedy would have been that night enacted, but for the real and awful one which occurred the night before.

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203. The corpses were found grossly mutilated, and in a state which showed they had been exposed to the most wanton insults.

204. Such matters could not be made the subject of judicial enquiry and proved by depositions on oath, without reference to names, and putting on record individual instances which in mercy to the feelings of relatives should be buried in oblivion. But the fact that the most atrocious indignities had been inflicted after death is as fully proved as any thing in this would can be by credible European eye-witnesses, whose accounts have been elicited and confirmed by repeated enquiries through different channels.

205. Generally the ruffians seem to have been too intent upon the destruction of Christians, too eager to kill, to think of any other atrocities till life was extinct, but in one case there is no doubt of the infliction and repetition of the deepest dishonor, and acknowledgment was publicly made that this was attempted in another case on a Christian female, though these were exceptional cases.

206. The European guard having been removed, the line of pickets and sentries being confined to the portion of the station occupied by European Troops; on the 11th the whole of the community withdrew to within the line, and all whose houses were destroyed, or who lived out of the line of sentries and could not get accommodation elsewhere, went into the Dumduma, *i. e.* the Artillery School of Instruction.

207. In the course of the day, the treasure was removed from the Collector's Kucherry to the Dumduma, with the exception of some small silver coin and copper pieces, for which conveyance could not be obtained, and which were in the course of the night plundered.

208. The villagers and scoundrels were plundering in all directions openly all day. At night one of the Artillery stables, close to the Dumduma, was burnt down by some incendiaries.

209. In the District, the commission of some of the most heinous crimes began at once. In fact, the Goojurs and released convicts immediatley took to way-laying and robbing travellers, and the roads were closed, and the posts were all stopped.

210. Ramdyal, a prisoner confined in the Civil Jail under a decree for arrears of rent, hastened to his village, Bhojpoor, in the Mooradnuggur Tehseelee, during the night of the 10th, and the next day, at daybreak, collected a party and attacked a money-lender, who had a decree against him, and murdered him and six of his household.

211. On the 11th and 12th, the Tehseel at Sirdhaneh was attacked by Ranghurs and Rajpoots; they were beaten off from the Tehseelee, but plundered the Bazar. One Kulundur Khan, a Havildar, at once proclaimed himself Ruler, in a village called Nirpoora, in the northern part of Pergunah Bunawur.

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212. On the 12th, fugitives from Dehli came in, with news of the mutiny and massacre there. With the first party were Captain and Mrs. DeTeissier of the Artillery, Major Abbott, Captain Wallace with his family, Captain Hawkey, and Mr. Elton, all of the 74th, and Mr. Murphy, Collector of Customs.

213. Captain Osborn, of the 54th N. I., severely wounded, and who had on that account solicited his companions to leave him behind, and make the best of their way to Meerut, and thence, if possible, send assistance to him, was the only one of another party, which consisted of the gallant Lieut. Willoughby, by whose order the Dehli Magazine was blown up; Lieutenant Butler and Ensign Angelo, of the 54th N. I.; Lieutenant Hyslop, of the 74th N. I.; Mr. Stewart, of the Dehli College; and an officer in uniform, name unknown, that reached Meerut. All the others were murdered by the inhabitants of Komhera, a village near the Hindun river, in the Mooradnuggur Tehseeldaree. Vide Appendix.

214. The remaining gallant defenders of the Dehli Magazine subsequently reached Meerut.

215. With the exception of Lieutenant Willoughby's party, all these fugitives from Dehli were more or less kindly received by the villagers on the road, whose names deserve to be recorded in this Narrative, and are given below:—

216. *Daisraj* and *Dhunah*, residents of Sankrood, assisted Colonel Knyvett, Lieuts. Wilson, Gambier, Vibart, Salkeld, Procter, Mr. Marshall, merchant, Captain Forrest and family, and Mr. Fraser, in reaching Meerut, and protected them against the Goojurs.

217. *Desraj*, resident of Doula, assisted Mrs. Brew and Mrs. O'Brien, sheltered them in his village, and brought them in safety to Meerut.

218. *Gholam Mustuffa Khan, Ushruf Alee, Kasim Alee, Mahomed Beg, Haibut Alee, Nujjuf Alee*, and *Shuffaiut Alee*, Syud, residents of Mouzah Dhoulree, sheltered Lieutenant Osbourne and two other Dehli fugitives, and provided a guard to escort them to Meerut.

219. *Dewan Singh*, son of Toolsee, a resident of Dhoulree, sheltered and assisted Mr. Ryley, head Clerk of the Dehli Collectorate.

220. *Hurnam Bhartee*, resident of Dhunoura, saved the infant son of Mr. R. H. Roberts, of the Customs Department, Dehli Division, and brought him into Meerut.

*Bhoora Mukmool, Jungaram*, and *Hurchain*, residents of Rutowl, assisted Mr. F. Lumley, Toll Collector of the Dehli road.

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*Gunga Dass*, fakeer of Gunowlee, sheltered and protected for several days Mr. Buckley, D. A. C., and Lieutenant Raynor and family.

*Pursah* and *Sewah*, Sunths, residents of Khaikura, assisted and protected Dr. Batson, of the 74th N. I.

*Hurdyal Goojur*, and *Golab Brahmin*, of Duggurpoor, assisted Mr. Buckley and Lieutenant Raynor and family, refugees from Dehli.

*Francis Cohen*, Zemindar of Mouzah Hurchundpoor, and his grandsons, assisted and kept in their house, Colonel Knyvett, Lieutenant Procter, Adjutant Gambier, Lieutenant Holland, of the 38th N. I.; Lieutenant Vibart, 54th N. I.; Lieutenant Wilson, Artillery; Lieutenant Salkeld, Engineers; Mr. Marshall, Merchant of Dehli; Captain Forrest and family, and Dr. Batson, of the 74th N. I.

*Runjeet*, *Fyzbuksh*, and *Nubbeebuksh*, residents of Negpoor, assisted Captain Osborn and five other rufugees from Dehli.

*Sheo Singh* and *Gunga Suhae*, of Bulaquee, sheltered and actively assisted Captain Wallace, 74th N. I., his family, and a large party of European fugitives from Dehli.

*Sookhloll* and *Nanoo*, residents of Khekura, assisted Captain Forrest and Mrs. Fraser.

*Nawul Singh*, and others, of Doula, assisted the Dehli fugitives on their way to Meerut.

*Ruttun Singh*, of Rugonathpoor, assisted Mr. and Mrs. Voss, Dehli refugees.

221. The news of the mutiny and massacre at Dehli added to the consternation at Meerut. The fact that one of the largest Magazines in the upper country had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, and open rebellion had supervened, and that in so short a time such an addition was made to the number of victims was quite sufficient to cause dismay, without reference to the rumour of an immediate attack on Meerut by the reinforced mutineers, against which great precautions were taken.

222. On the 13th, the Officers and men of the Hauppur Stud establishment came into Meerut, but Major Thatcher and Captain D'Oyly continued to exert themselves to secure the preservation of the Stud property, the former going out repeatedly at much risk.

223. On the 14th, Martial Law was proclaimed by General Hewitt and Mr. Greathed, and the first judicial example was made. One of the murderers of the wife of Captain Chambers of the 11th N. I., caught by Lieutenant Moller of that Regiment, was hanged.

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224. On the 15th, a Telegram,* appointing the Judge, Mr. Fleetwood Williams, Commissioner of Dehli, and directing him to take a strong escort† and push on to Dehli, was received.

225. On that day six companies of the Sappers and Miners arrived at Meerut from Roorkee.

226. On the 16th, some of these men either took alarm at a most reasonable order about their ammunition, or were prepared to mutiny on any pretence, or what is most probable, were really in great alarm at having been brought into such propinquity to European soldiers. One of them shot the Commanding Officer, Major Fraser, in the back, and all that could rushed frantically away from their encampment. A party of the Carabineers and a troop of the Horse Artillery were soon after them, but only succeeded in getting up with about 40 or 50 of them on the sand hills and pits just outside Cantonments; although in a capital position for Infantry to resist Cavalry, they were cut up to a man. The Companies who were at work when this mutiny took place, were disarmed and put to work on the fortification of the Dumduma. Colonel Hogg was wounded by a musket ball through the thigh on this occasion.

227. On the 21st of May, the ladies came in from Boolundshuhur. The Sirmoor Battalion passed down the Canal, punishing some of the plunderers on their way to Boolundshuhur, and showing thus how much might have been done to maintain and restore order, had the troops been energetically employed.

228. On the 19th, Electric Telegraph received, directing Mr. Williams formerly appointed Commissioner of Dehli, to proceed to Bareilly with escort where orders would be found waiting. The Magistrate of Mooradabad was out that day, half way between that town and the Ganges, and was requested to make arrangements for the escort, none being procurable at Meerut. But he that day received intelligence of the Mooradabad Jail having been attacked by some sipahees of the 29th N. I., and the prisoners having been released. This put the whole country between Mooradabad and the Ganges into a state of anarchy; and no intelligence was received from that direction till the 22nd, when the most urgent remonstrances against my attempt to pass beyond the Ganges, except with a very strong escort prepared to move 50 or 60 miles in the 24 hours, were received. This was impossible. One answer was given to all requests for a Military escort—"not a man."

229. On the 24th of May, after a fortnight of inaction, a small party, the Carabineers, was sent out to punish the village of Ikteearpoor, which had become notorious for stopping dâks, and other acts of rebellion. This was the first time the people had an opportunity of learning, by the actual appearance of a few, that the stories widely spread of the utter destruction of the Europeans at Meerut, were false. The people of the village fled, and except the burning of the place, little was effected beyond the proof of the existence of English troops, which more frequently energetically displayed, would have checked much evil.

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* The Telegraph wire was repeatedly cut and mended.

† Of course this could be done; the escort was not granted.

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230. Mr. Johnston, the Officiating Magistrate, who accompanied the party, while galloping home to get to other work, was severely injured by his horse falling, and died on the 27th. This was the first occasion on which Mr. Johnston was aided with troops, without which it was impossible for the Magistrate to make any head against plunderers and incipient rebels, deserted as he was on the 10th of May, by nearly the whole of the Jail and trained guards, and left only with the ordinary police of the district, which was utterly unable to cope with the wide-spreading anarchy. This lamented Officer only trusted with the charge of the district just before the mutiny, had been able to do little more than restore confidence in the City.

231. Mr. Turnbull, formerly Magistrate of Boolundshuhur, and at the time Judge of Cawnpoor, but unable to join, took charge of this district on the 26th.

232. On the 27th, the force* under Brigadier now General Sir Archdale Wilson, K. C. B., marched from Meerut towards Dehli, consisting of the troops detailed in the margin, the Commissioner Mr. Greathed accompanying the force.

* Head Quarters and ½ of 2nd Troop 1st Brigade H. A.
No. 14 Light Field Battery.
100 Recruits of Artillery.
2 Squadrons Carabineers.
Head Grenadier Wing of 1st Battalion 60th Royal Rifles.
Detachment of Sappers and Miners.
Ditto 4th I. C., under Captain Hall.
Sirmoor Battalion, ordered from Dehra to Delhi.

The glorious actions on the Hindun were fought on the 30th and 31st May 1857.

233. Sah Mull, a Muwee Jat, of Bijroul, in Pergunah Burouth, a man of previous bad character, at this time commenced his career by seizing 500 head of laden cattle, travelling with merchandize through the country, and proceeded to collect escaped convicts, and the worst of his own brotherhood, to form a gang for more daring exploits. The Goojurs also were getting bolder daily.

234. The men of the 11th Native Infantry, about 125, most of whom had remained staunch, and a few of whom had not gone to Dehli, but had returned from the neighbourhood of Meerut, under the proclamation issued by the Military authorities, were kept in the Native Infantry lines, which are a considerable distance from the part of the station near the Dumduma, in which the European troops were concentrated. It is not to be wondered at that the European Officers of the Regiment, who were ordered to stay with their men, had ceased to have implicit confidence in the sipahees after what had occurred, and this led to the men being disarmed, and ordered to go to their homes, with six months' leave,—a measure to which they respectfully submitted.

235. Some of them, in a conversation with one of the Civil Officers, while acknowledging the justness of the order, represented that the state of the country, which swarmed with plundering Goojurs, prevented the possibility of unarmed men reaching their homes alive, and that if they escaped the dangers that threatened them, they should have nothing to live upon, as by the rules regarding leave, they could get no pay till they returned to their duty

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The option given of serving in the police on full pay was so gratefully accepted, that a request for the restoration of their arms, with a view to their being employed in the interior of the district, was made and acceded to by the General.

236. Without uniforms, without European Officers, with their muskets and a few rounds of ball cartridge, they were distributed in parties of 29 or 30 men under native Officers in the different Tehseelees and Thanahs. A portion of one party, 11 men, were taken out by a thanahdar with some police, and left to bear the brunt of a fight with an overwhelming body of Goojurs, in which 3 out of the 11 were killed, and the rest so hard pressed that they had to retreat precipitately. This discouraged about 30, who accepted the offer of leave with all its risks as preferable to the chance of repeated fights against such odds. The rest, 99 in number, it may be here mentioned, continued to do good service, collecting revenue, guarding it, escorting it into the station, having sometimes as many thousand rupees as there were men when they might have marched off with it all to Dehli, or where they liked, fighting or threatened constantly, openly scouted and abused, latterly as often as they came to Meerut with treasure, by the Seikh soldiers these men remained firm to the last, and earned the reward they deserved; honors to some, promotion to all, and the gratification of forming the nucleus of one of the very few old Native regiments of the line.

237. It is needless to say they were invaluable to the Civil power at a time when staunch policemen and revenue subordinates, very rare articles, were at an immense premium. Their presence enabled the out-stationed native officials to act, and checked in some degree the gangs of plunderers, who were at least deterred from attacking the places where they were posted.

238. Prevented hitherto by the impossibility of getting any escort, without which in the disturbed state of the country, he was assured there was no chance of passing safely. On the night of the 1st of June, Mr. Williams started for Bareilly, with Captain Craigie, who had with difficulty raised, horsed, and armed a body of about 40 sowars.*

239. About noon on the 3rd June, at the end of the second march, about half way between the Ganges and Mooradabad, and about 46 miles from Meerut, further progress was stopped by the intelligence that the mutiny at Bareilly had taken place, and that large bodies of escaped convicts from the Bareilly prison were then at Umroha, a most ill-disposed town, about 5 or 6 miles north of the halting place, making the best of their way to the west. As it was almost certain that the rise at Bareilly would be followed by a similar move at Mooradabad, and to proceed with 40 freshly raised and doubtful men to face one whole Brigade of mutineers would have been insanity, it was at once determined to return to Gurhmookteesur and break the bridge of boats there, and thus prevent any of the Rohilkund miscreants getting across to swell the ranks of the rebels about Meerut or at Dehli. Starting at 1 P. M., this was done by nightfall.

239½. At daybreak the next morning, while arrangements were being made to render the post taken up defensible, the picket at the bridge announced that a large body of Cavalry was approaching. This proved to be the escort of the Civil Officers of Mooradabad,—Mr. Wilson, Judge; Mr. Saunders, Collector and Magistrate; Mr. J. S. Campbell, Joint Magistrate, and Dr. Cannon, Civil Surgeon, with their wives; who having nobly held out at Mooradabad for three days after the news of the mutiny at Bareilly, and distinguished themselves by the most intrepid and energetic conduct, from the mutiny at Meerut, on the 10th of May till the 3rd of June, were obliged on the afternoon of that day to fly for their lives, after the muskets of the mutineers loaded and cocked had been presented at the heads of Messrs. Wilson and Saunders, (those holding them being with difficulty induced not to fire by an appeal

* Of whom about one-fourth were Irregular Cavalry men, who, though promoted and encouraged in every way to act loyally, eventually deserted and went to Dehli and the rest nondescripts of the neighbourhood of Meerut, who subsequently ran away from sheer cowardice from rebel villagers.

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made by a native Officer to a solemn oath they had taken not to kill the European Officers,) and after the Artillery guns had been laid against the house in which the whole party resided. Two of the ladies had ridden nearly the whole distance, 42 miles, and the other two a considerable portion of it.

240. During the day most of the troopers of the escort showed a strong disinclination to go on to Meerut, and were with difficulty persuaded to agree to do so; still as there seemed some doubt whether, when the time came, they would, it was resolved that the Meerut escort should accompany the ladies to Cantonments. In the afternoon, a considerable crowd of men, generally armed, collected. As greater numbers than would have been attracted even by the spectacle, unusual to villagers, of ladies riding, gathered; it became evident they came to prevent the destruction of the boats which belonged to people in the town, which was contemplated. The police Officer of the place was publicly told to take to pieces the remaining portion of the bridge, and have all the boats hauled up high and dry, under the village on the sand, and was promised a handsome reward if this was done.* The ladies mounted, and the party moved off; still for some time the Mooradabad escort did not make its appearance, but at last persuaded by Mr. Wilson, the troopers came out, and the march of 26 miles was commenced.

241. By papers found after the fall of Dehli, it is proved that one of the head native Officers of the party at the time meditated treachery, but at least 25 men and 2 native Officers subordinate to him, were firm in their loyalty to the Europeans, and the Meerut escort was separate; so loyalty appeared the best policy to all. The fact that the seven male Europeans of the party were fully armed, may have influenced the would-be traitors.

242. The conditions insisted on by the part of the escort that was averse to going to Meerut, deserve notice. The station was not to be approached till after daybreak, and all the Europeans, including the ladies, were to form the first ranks of the Column to guard the Native soldiers from the evidently dreaded contingency of the European troops at Meerut firing on them.

243. After such a journey of nearly 70 miles, in June, of which part by two and the greater part by the other two ladies, was performed in about 40 hours on horseback, they were glad to be among their countrymen at Meerut.

244. On the 3rd of June, a party of Carabineers, the second instance in three weeks of the employment of European troops to restore order, were sent out with the Magistrate to punish the villages of Gagoul, Sisaree and Moorunugur, south of Meerut, the inhabitants of which had been stopping the Agra road. The Kotwal of the city, Bishen Singh, (a relative of Toolsee Ram, of Rewaree, a town south-west of Dehli, notorious subsequently for rebellion,) was told to be ready at a certain hour to guide the party, Mr. Turnbull being quite unacquainted with the district. The Kotwal had professed more than he acted up to, but was not suspected before. But on this occasion he apparently purposely delayed joining the Column, and day broke before the villages were surrounded. The inhabitants all escaped, the villages were burnt, the Kotwal was verbally reprimanded for his delay by Mr. Turnbull; and that night, having posted a notice on the city gate to the effect, that after having served faithfully, he was now unjustly suspected, and was therefore flying to escape the punishment, which he and all faithful natives might expect at the hands of the perfidious Englishmen, and recommending all to take warning from his fate, disappeared. There is satisfactory reason to hope that he was subsequently killed at Narnoul, after having joined Toolsee Ram in open opposition to the forces of Government.

245. On the 12th of June, Mr. Dunlop, the Magistrate of Meerut, who had been obliged to proceed on leave, on sick certificate, a short time before the mutiny, and who received the intelligence when far in the interior of the hills near the snowy range, having made forced marches through the hill

* He was also ordered to secure all the boats he could get possession of up and down the river, and repeated orders to this effect were sent by the Magistrate.

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tract, and travelled with the utmost expedition, returned viâ the Head-quarters Camp at Dehli, and resumed charge of the district;—a notable example of the devoted zeal which actuated all ranks and classes in this emergency, and of the influence of that spirit on the body. Though then in bad health, he worked and fought the whole of the rest of the year.

246. On the 18th of June, a party* of Carabineers, Riflemen, with two Horse Artillery guns, and the Military and Civil Officers of Boolundshuhur, who had been obliged to fall back to Baboogurh, under the command of Major Thatcher of the Stud, proceeded to Gulowtee, and drove back, utterly discomfited, the rebels. Wulleedad Khan, of Malagurh, who had pushed forward to that place.

* 2 H. A. Guns.
50 Carabineers.
75 Riflemen.

247. Mr. Wilson, Judge of Mooradabad, with a party of Carabineers went out to Gurhmookteesur to destroy the boats, and thus prevent the crossing of the Bareilly mutineer Brigade, which was approaching. Mr. Wilson took money to pay for the boats,—a very proper precaution to overcome the objections of the owners. He found the boats all drawn up, according to the orders given previously to the police Officer. Mr. Wilson contented himself with having planks knocked out of the bottoms of the boats, so as to render them utterly useless, without repairs, which would take a considerable time.

248. The Bareilly Brigade, however, contrived to find some boats at other ghâts, which had been concealed, or could not be secured, owing to the disaffection of the Goojurs and similar villains on the banks of the river, and commenced slowly and with difficulty to effect a passage.

249. Opinions at Meerut as to the proper course of dealing with this Brigade were divided.

250. One party was for opposing the passage at Gurhmookteesur, which might unquestionably have been successfully done by a force which could have been well spared from this station. But this would only have caused a delay of a few days, for the Brigade could have moved down and crossed below, where no force from Meerut could have dared to go and meet them.

251. Another was for allowing the mutineers to cross and attacking them midway between the Ganges and Dehli.

252. For this the force at Meerut was not sufficient. The Brigade consisted of a Light Field Battery, the 8th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry, and the 18th, 28th, 29th and 68th Regiments of Native Infantry, besides a number of rebels of all sorts, en route to Dehli; while not more than 500 really effective European soldiers of all arms could be detached from Meerut. But this party trusted that the advantages of taking the mutineers in flank on their line of march, encumbered as they were with about 700 carts laden with women and plunder, instead of leaving them to devastate Rohilkund, to enter Dehli in triumph, and swell the formidable force of mutineers already collected there, would be recognized in the Head-quarters Camp, and timely and earnest requisitions for the loan of 500 European soldiers to reinforce the troops at Meerut were sent to Head-quarters. It was not proposed to withdraw them from the Camp at Dehli. There were 500 men actually at the time at Rai, opposite Baghput, who might have been at Meerut in two marches. The position before Dehli, which was never forced even when the number of rebels in Dehli had been trebled, had been seized. The mutineers, discouraged by defeat, had been driven into the city. The Head-quarters Camp was quite strong enough to hold its own for a few days, even without the reinforcement referred to, as the actions on the Hindun and at Badlee Serae had fully proved.

253. An intercepted letter from Dehli to the Bareilly mutineers, shewed how anxiously the arrival of the Rohilkund Brigade was looked for. The phrase used "if you eat your food there, wash your hands here," being one meant to suggest the greatest haste, and indicated that they thought much more of being attacked than of attacking.

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254. The effect of the news of the destruction of the Rohilkund Brigade by troops from Meerut,—a station said by the rebels to have been annihilated, would have been as favorable to the Government and ruinous to the rebel cause as the triumphant entry into Dehli of such a body of mutineers was to every open and hesitating rebel most encouraging; and to every European in the country, and every native who was looking for a display of the British power, depressing.

255. In the Head-quarters Camp, however, other councils prevailed; the requisition was negatived, and peremptory orders were sent to the Officer Commanding at Meerut, prohibiting any offensive measures, and directing time to confine himself entirely to the defensive.

256. The Bareilly mutineers passed and marched most leisurely across the Doab. They appeared to have entertained an idea of attacking Meerut; but if they had, they gave it up and proceeded by the direct road from Gurhmookteesur to Dehli, destroying in their way the Stud at Baboogurh, and every Government building they came across.

257. The arrival of the Rohilkund Brigade was the signal for open rebellion.

258. Wulleedad Khan, of Malagurh, became master of the Boolundshuhur district.

259. Kuddum Singh, of Purreechutgurh, proclaimed himself King of Purreechutgurh and Mowanah, dug up five guns which had been buried at the cession of the country in 1803; and his tribe, the Goojurs, commenced plundering throughout the tract east and north-east of Meerut.

260. The villagers in all directions up to within a few miles of the Cantonment had become so bold, that the necessity of more active measures for their coercion, and for the restoration of authority and order, became palpable to all.

261. Major Williams, the present Superintendent of Police Battalions, had arrived at Meerut on his way to Agra, but it was impossible for him to proceed. Between him and the Magistrate it was arranged to enrol a body of Volunteers.

262. Major Williams was elected to be Commandant; Captain D'Oyly, Deputy Superintendent of the Hauppur Stud, 2nd in Command; Captain Tyrwhitt, of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, Adjutant.

263. The Corps consisted of Civil and Military Officers, whose ordinary functions had ceased for the time, and other European residents of Meerut who were unemployed. These, with a few native Christians, some Seikhs and a few loyal Irregular Cavalry men, formed the mounted portion.

264. Two Sergeants and some Christian Drummers of Native Infantry Regiments, with a few Seikhs and about 20 of the Magistrate's trained Native guard, who had stood firm to their duty, formed the Infantry.

265. Two Mountain Train guns, *i. e.* one 3-lb. and one 12-lb. Howitzer worked by two Sergeants and some native Artillerymen, formed the Artillery. The strength is given in the margin;* a muster roll in the Appendix.

| * | Mounted. | Foot. | Artillerymen. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Europeans, ... | 45 | 2 | 2 | 49 |
| Natives, ... | 11 | 36 | 8 | 55 |
| Total,... | 56 | 38 | 10 | 104 |

266. The first expedition of this Volunteer Corps was in company with 100 men of H. M.'s 60th Rifles, 60 of the Carabineers, and 2 H. A. guns, against a number of Goojur villages, about 6 miles from Meerut, of which the

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chief were Panchlee Ghât and Nugla, the inhabitants of which having committed a great number of most heinous crimes were doomed by the General to destruction.

267. The principal villages were successfully surrounded, a little after daybreak, by different parties told off. A considerable number of the men were killed, 46 taken prisoners, 40 of whom were subsequently hung, a large quantity of cattle carried off, and the villages were burnt, women and children alone were left unmolested: this was on the 4th of July, for which day the following entry appears in the Magistrate's precis of events:—

"The Goojurs of Panchlee Ghât and Nugla punished by the Khakee* Ressalah and a Military detachment."

"Collection of Revenue recommences.† Mr. Williams, Judge of Meerut,‡ appointed Commissioner, vice Mr. Greathed on duty at Dehli."

268. From this time daily abstracts of the reports received by the Commissioner, were submitted to the General.

269. On the 6th of July, intelligence was received that the Jats of Burthona§ had beaten off Wulleedad Khan's rebels, who attacked their village, and taken 3 of his guns, killing a number of his men, and wounding 3 of his leading men; his General, Ishmael Khan, among the latter. These gallant Jats stood out for themselves and for Government throughout the rebellion, and thenceforth particular care was taken to support them and render them assistance when seriously threatened.

270. One result of the punishment of Panchlee Ghât and Nugla was immediatly reported, viz. that Kuddum Singh, mentioned above as having proclaimed himself Rajah of the Goojurs of Pureechutgurh, &c., retreated to Bhysombah, and his men dispersed. Petitions began to come in from different quarters, in which the petitioners tried to prove their loyalty or excuse themselves, showing the wholesome effect of the fear of punishment, at least within easy distance of Meerut.

271. But further off, the rebels, evidently alarmed, applied for assistance from Dehli.

272. Sah Mull attacked and plundered Baghput,‖ and destroyed the bridge of boats on the Jumna, the direct and only communication between Meerut and the Head-quarters Camp.

273. General Hewitt was superseded; Brigadier Jones of the Carabineers took Command of the station.

274. Reports having been received that the Goojurs of Seekree and other villages intended to attack a neighbouring village, Begumabad, about fourteen miles from Meerut on the Dehli road, it was determined, if possible, to prevent them, and the district Volunteers as per margin,* marched very early on the 9th with this object. Begumabad had been plundered before they reached it, but they proceeded at once to attack Seekree, where a considerable body of rebels were collected. The mounted Volunteers taking up positions under Captains D'Oyly and Tyrwhitt, to prevent the insurgents escaping, were fired on; but drove them into the village, killing about

* Europeans, Mounted, 33
Duffadar, ... ... ... 1
Mounted Seikhs, ... 7
41

*Infantry.*
Serjeants, ... ... ... 2
Drummers, ... ... 22
24

*Artillery.*
Serjeants, ... ... 2
Golundaz, ... ... ... 8
Grand Tolal, ... 75

* The district Volunteers were locally called the Khakee Ressalah, from the earth-colored dress.

† Up to this time not more than a few thousand rupees of Revenue had been collected, though lacs were overdue; there were only about 70,000 left in the Treasury, which would have been entirely expended in a few days, and except with a strong force, not a Government Officer could move 5 miles from Meerut.

‡ This was a mistake; Mr. Williams was Commissioner of Dehli ordered on special duty to Rohilkund.

§ A village in the Boolundshuhur district, just beyond the Meerut boundary, and about a mile from the Agra Grand Trunk Road.

‖ The Thanahdar of which place was carried off prisoner to Dehli.

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30 of them; the outskirts of the village were cleared by a few rounds from the Mountain Train howitzer, but the main body of the rebels barricaded themselves in a large native house with high walls, a sort of small fort, and offered a determined resistance.*

275. While one party sought access to the top of the walls along the roofs of adjoining houses, Captain D'Oyly headed an attack upon the gate under a heavy fire of matchlocks. Attempts were made to force it, but it resisted all efforts, even the Mountain Train guns failing to have the desired effect, and Captain D'Oyly was wounded in the neck by a ball, fortunately almost spent, from having been fired through the wood work of the gate. But the other party succeeded in their object, Mr. (subsequently Lieutenant) Furnell was handed up to the top of the wall, and was soon followed by Mr. Nuthall and Mr. Dunlop, and others; the roofs of the fort were carried by the party, and a smart fire opened on the rebels down below. The gate was burst open at last, and after allowing women and children to come out, and having them placed in safe position under a guard, the party entered by the gate and the rebels inside were disposed of, upwards of 70 were killed in the enclosure. In clearing the rest of the village, many more fell fighting desperately; altogether above 170 rebels were disposed of, among them some mutineer troopers and sipahees, one of the former particularly made a desperate resistance.

276. The village was fired, and the gallant little band returned to Cantonments, 7 P. M., having marched 16 miles, fought for four hours, killed more than double their own number, and countermarched 16 miles in soaking rain between 2 A. M. and 7 P. M. The district Volunteers received the cordial thanks of Government for this service.

277. The inhabitants of Dhoulanah, aided by some rebels from Dehli, turned out the police Officers, and destroyed the records and buildings. The Thanahdar was received and sheltered by the landholders of a neighbouring village, Solaneh, who protected him and his people, prepared to resist the rebels stoutly till order was restored.

278. Many of the people of the north and south-west parts of the district begun openly to transfer their allegiance to the King of Dehli.

279. Repeated accounts of the spread of rebellion in the Burouth Pergunah, and of the collection and transmission of supplies from thence to the rebels at Dehli, were received about this time: but it was not thought prudent to send the district Volunteers out, without more trustworthy Infantry than the Corps could boast of. Earnest recommendations were sent to Head-quarters Camp, that some Jheend or other troops should be employed to keep open the direct communications by Bhagput, and prevent the rebels drawing their supplies from that quarter; and a memorandum shewing the state of the district, was also sent, begging that no more Europeans might be removed from Meerut, and that the prohibition, supposed to be in force, since the passage of Rohilkund mutineers against detaching troops from the station,† might be removed. A favorable reply was received to the two last requests; Brigadier Jones consented to send 40 of H. M.'s 60th Rifles with the district Volunteers, and it was determined to attack Sah Mull and the Burouth rebels.

280. On the 16th of July, the force as per margin,* started at 2 A. M. On arriving at the Hindun river, 13 miles west of Meerut, heavy firing ahead was heard. Those sent out for information reported that Sah Mull with 3000 men was close to, and intending to attack Deolah, a loyal village 8 miles further on, which had assisted European travellers and remained firm to their allegiance

* *Infantry.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H. M.'s 60th Rifles, ... ... ... | | 40 |
| Serjeants, ... | District Volunteers. | 2 |
| Drummers, ... | | 22 |
| Sikhs, ... | | 15 |
| Nujeebs, ... | | 12 |
| | | 89 |

* Neither the Begumabad Jats who had joined in numbers to pay off their enemies, nor the Infantry part of the Volunteers, had to face this opposition and the mounted branch of the Corps had to dismount, and set to work on foot.

† The orders were interpreted to prohibit the employment of the troops on any duty which would keep them out more than a few hours.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Cavalry.* | | | |
| Mounsted volunteers, | ... | ... | 40 |
| Seikh, | ... | ... | 8 |
| Ordrlies, (Irregular Cavalry,) | | ... | 2 |
| | | | 50 |
| *Artillery.* | | | |
| 2 Mountain Train Guns. | | | |
| Serjeants, | ... | ... | 2 |
| Golundauz, | ... | ... | 8 |
| | | | 10 |
| | | Total, ... | 149 |

to Government. The ford in the Hindun was barely practicable, and it was necessary to have it carefully marked off. This was done, and the little force crossed, between 1 and 2 A. M., on the 17th, and marched to Deola; and the mounted Volunteers were pushed on to Busodh, about 2 miles north of Deola, where Sah Mull was said to be, but on arrival they found he and his men had fled during the night, leaving large cooking pots, and all the signs of a large body of men having been there, and having left in a hurry.

281. The inhabitants of Busodh had leagued with and given assistance to Sah Mull, and they resisted the force. Immense stores of grain collected for the Dehli rebels were found in the village. Every male that could be found in the village was killed, among them two Ghazees, *i. e.* Mahomedan fanatics from Dehli. Ater fighting desperately in a mosque, the village was fired, and as all the Commissariat carriage procurable would have sufficed to remove only a very small portion of the grain, attempts were made to burn it: but this was a difficult and dangerous work, the rains had soaked all the thatches by which the grain was protected, and in some of the stocks there was a quantity of gunpowder concealed, and repeated explosions rendered caution necessary.

282. After the main body of the Rifles and Volunteers had been drawn out of the village a short distance, a number of rebels rose from some fields near, and came on to attack Dr. Cannon, and the men left with him, about ten of Craigie's horse. The Doctor supported by only one man, as he ought to have been, faced about and went at the rebels to check them, and the main body of the force coming up, took a sweep through the fields, and killed about 120 more men, all that could be found, and then returned to Deolah, having been marching and at work ten hours.

283. On the 18th, at daybreak, the force marched along the left bank of the eastern Jumna canal, for the town of Burouth, a distance of about fourteen miles. The Magistrate and Collector, Mr. Dunlop, with rather rash zeal, diverged from the line to visit villages, with the view of collecting revenue; but soon found a host coming against him, and had to fight for his life like a man, and rejoin the force. The whole country was rising; native drums, the signal to the villagers to assemble, were being beaten in all directions, and crowds were seen moving up to the gathering place ahead.

284. On reaching Burouth the advanced guard was attacked, the mounted Volunteers drove back the insurgents, killing upwards of 30 of them in the skirmish. An advance was then made on the force by a large body, commanded by Sah Mull himself, who took up a position in an extensive orchard of large trees, with a tank in front. The Rifles advancing beautifully, drove them out of that, killing many, into the fields of Indian-corn behind, and the mounted Volunteers on each flank swept round the orchard, and on the enemy breaking into the fields, charged them. Those on one flank coming on a party of mounted men, went at them, and after a hand-to-hand fight, in which many of the rebels were killed, it was found that Sah Mull himself was one of the slain, having been killed by Mr. A. Tonnochy, aided by two of the native troopers.

285. The little force had hardly collected together again, when a third attack from a fresh quarter was made by the rebels, but feebly sustained. The news of the death of Sah Mull having spread, a few rounds from the Mountain Train guns, and another advance of the Rifles and mounted Volunteers, sufficed to disperse this body, and this gallant little band remained masters of the field, having beaten off at least 3,500 men with considerable slaughter of the rebels,*

* In both affairs, *i. e.* at Basodh and Burouth, about 410 of the rebels were killed.

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the loss on our side being only 1 killed and a few wounded; among the latter was Mr. Tonnochy, who had a narrow escape, having a spear thrust at him while engaged with Sah Mull. One of the volunteers, Mr. Lyall, C. S., had a valuable horse killed under him, in a personal combat with one of the insurgents

285 A. Though Serjeants Anderson and Readie did all good soldiers could do, the Mountain Train guns, save in the third attack, were of no use.* Dr. Cannon had actually to seize and press some of the enemy to carry the ammunition. The success, indeed the safety of the whole party must be ascribed to the men of that noble Corps, H. M.'s 60th Rifles, under Lieutenant Mortimer particularly, and to the mounted Volunteers. Some of the Nujeebs, *i. e.* the Magistrate's trained guard, behaved very well; the rest of the Infantry were hardly equal to guarding the baggage. But the simple fact that 149 men entirely defeated at least 3,500, after fighting for more than three hours, speaks for itself; all must have behaved nobly.

286. The force encamped that night on the right bank of the Canal at Burouth; the head of Sah Mull was exhibited, that none might doubt his death.

287. Major Williams, the Officer Commanding the party, had authentic information, before night, that a still more extensive gathering of the Jats would be made with a view of a still more desperate attack on his party next day. The country between him and Meerut was flooded, and the rivers were rising, and when reporting this day's success he requested that reinforcements might be sent to cover the passage of the Hindun, beyond which he determined to encamp the next day.

288. The little force moved a little before midnight, and after a most trying march through a country covered with water, and crossing two rivers, the Kursunnee and the Hindun, halted at Harrah.

289. The reinforcement sent from Meerut, consisting of 2 H. A. guns, 50 Carabineers, and 20 more Riflemen, were guided to a ghât on the Hindun, a little below where Major Williams crossed and encamped, and as there appeared to be no chance of the rebels attacking, for though there had been considerable beating of drums during the night, and other symptoms of gathering, none were visible, and it was thought better to trust to the lesson already inflicted than to harass the Europeans by further exposure, the two parties by agreement marched from their respective camps next morning, the 20th, to Sirdhaneh, and there joined forces and halted.

289½. On the 21st, the headmen of Gurhee, the inhabitants of which had early in the outbreak attacked the Tehseelee and plundered the Gunj at Sirdhaneh, having sent a most rebellious answer to a summons from the Magistrate, the force marched on the 22nd to inflict punishment. All males found in the village were killed, among them the leader of the attack on Sirdhaneh on the 11th of May.

On the 23rd the force returned to Meerut.

290. The effects of this activity and necessary severity were speedily visible over the greater part of the district,—the revenue came in freely. In this, Mr. J. Cracroft Wilson, the Judge of Mooradabad, gave most valuable assistance with about 25 of the men of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, who had come over with the Civil Officers from Mooradabad, and remained staunch. This most energetic Officer, without another European, with only natives, whom few would have trusted, went out day after day, having two sets of horses that the animals might get rest, in every direction collecting revenue, suppressing anarchy, and (having been made a Special Commissioner with powers for the purpose) punishing rebels and plunderers. Over a flooded country, under a burning sun or through rain, Mr. Wilson would make his nearly daily march of about 30 miles, including going and returning, besides occasional chevies after conscience-struck scoundrels, who fled on seeing him.

* They were carried on elephants, and much time was required to get them down and up.

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291. On one occasion, between early morning and dark, he with his men made a march of 26 miles out and back, in all 52 miles, having sent on a change of horses, with merely the grooms, to a notorious village,—two of the head men and two inhabitants of which he had been obliged to hang for a most atrocious case of highway robbery and murder, among other heinous crimes, a place where in June it would have been rash to have sent the horses with their riders.

292. But in the neighbourhood of Dehli and towards Malagurh, rebellion was spreading, being encouraged by constant detachments of mutineers from those places.

293. On the 30th of July a party of 300 Cavalry and 300 Infantry with 2 guns suddenly advanced from Ghazeeoodeennuggur, where, since General Wilson marched to the Dehli Camp, there had always been a rebel force, and seized the Tehseelee of Mooradnuggur. The Tehseeldar, happily for him, was out collecting revenue, or anticipating the attack; but 28 men of the Tehseelee were taken prisoners to Dehli. There was no Government property left in the Tehseelee. It was destroyed by the mutineers on the night of the 10th of May. The property of the Tehseeldar, and Ata Hossein Khan, police sowar, in whose house it was concealed, was carried off.

294. The Tehseelee and that part of the country remained in the hands of the rebels. The Tehseeldaree was established in Mahudoodeenpoor, a village on the Dehli road within 8 miles of Meerut. Officials appointed by the rebel King, spread over the Mooradnuggur, Dasnah and Dhoulana country. But still the Tehseeldar contrived to get in some revenue.

295. In the Hauppur Tehseelee, the neighbourhood of Wulleedad Khan's men kept up a good deal of disaffection; but by moving about in his Pergunah with all his men, and taking circles of villages, one after another in hand, this Tehseeldar also collected a good deal of revenue.

296. When at Dhutteeanah, about 5 miles south of Kethor, on the Gurhmookteesur road, thus employed, he received intelligence that a party of Wulleedad Khan's men were coming to attack him, and plunder the money he had realized, about Rs. 14,000. Immediately on receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Wilson, who was out at Pureetchutgurh with his 8th Irregular men, was requested to push over to save the treasure, and a troop of Carabineers was sent off from Meerut with the Joint Magistrate to join Mr. Wilson's party at Kethor. Both parties joined and proceeded to Dhutteeanah, and found the treasure all right: the Malagurh men had come, but owing apparently to some misunderstanding between the Goojurs and Wulleedad Khan, the Goojurs for once took the side of Government and assisted the Tehseeldar's men to resist the attack, and defended the Government money, which was brought safely in by Mr. Wilson the next day.

297. A party of rebels from Mooradnuggur pushed up to Dhoulree, and attacked and took away the police jemadar, two burkundazes, and a sowar stationed there.

298. On the 23rd of August, troopers and Government servants sent to bring in revenue from the Burouth villages were attacked, and some killed and wounded. In one case the villagers had the impertinence to send in to say their money was all ready, and they only wanted Government servants to come and fetch it. The boldness of the villagers was caused by the return of Lujja Ram, grandson of Sah Mull, from Dehli, who had commenced making intrenchments at Burouth.

299. Wulleedad Khan, about this time, began to advance in the direction of Hauppur, emboldened by the hope of at last getting some mutineers from Dehli. He had pushed his pickets up to Gulowtee, and the Jat village Burthona was threatened. It was determined to drive these rebels back. Accordingly, on the 27th of July, a detachment of the strength noted in the margin,* started for Hauppur.

* 2 H. A. Guns.
2 M. T. Guns.
50 Carabineers.
30 Mounted Volunteers.
50 H. M.'s. 60th Rifles.
20 Musicians.
15 Seikh Foot.

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300. On the 28th it was ascertained that Wulleedad Khan had posted 400 sowars and 600 of his Infantry, with about 1000 insurgent Goojurs and Rajpoots at Gulowtee, about nine miles from Hauppur on the Agra road; an immediate attack on their position was decided on. An Officer, 2 Serjeants and 20 Musicians being left to guard the baggage, the rest of the force marched at 2 A. M. on the 29th for Gulowtee. On the way information was received from the Jats, that a picket of the rebels was posted at a bridge about four miles on the Hauppur side of Gulowtee; a surprise was arranged and admirably carried out by Captain Wardlaw of the Carabineers, Commanding the advance. The Jats being placed in front enabled the Dragoons to get close in to the rebels, just as day was breaking. The rebel picket, consisting of 60 sowars, some of them mutineers of Irregular Cavalry regiments, on the Jats opening out and the Dragoons charging them, fled; but they were so hard pressed by the Carabineers, gallantly led by Captain Wardlaw and Lieutenant Bird, that they suffered the heavy loss of upwards of 40 men: few or none would have escaped but for orders not to approach Gulowtee till the day had fully dawned. Captain Anderson of the 54th Native Infantry, doing duty with the Carabineers, aided in the destruction of the rebels, killing many himself.

301. The whole force then advanced on Gulowtee, the Rifles clearing the rebels out of the high crops on each side of the road in which they had taken up their position, the guns and Cavalry advancing along the road. About one mile from the village a body of the enemy's horse appeared on the road; a couple of rounds from the Horse Artillery guns, under Lieutenant T. P. Smith, sent them flying. The force again advanced, and found Gulowtee had been evacuated. The Carabineers and Volunteer horse were sent in pursuit of the flying rebels, but with instructions not to approach Malagurh, which were issued in obedience to orders received from the supreme Military Authority up the country, at that time at Lahore.

302. The restrictions that were perpetually imposed on the local Authorities are much to be regretted. The appearance of the two rebel leaders, Ismail Khan and Mooneer Khan, with severe sword cuts on the face, and a number of wounded, caused a panic in the fort of Malagurh, during which many of Wulleedad's men deserted him; and Mohun Lall, (of Cabool notoriety,) who stated he had been kept a prisoner in the fort, managed to escape.

303. According to the native reports of the action, the rebels even fled from Boolundshuhur, and Major Williams, who commanded the British troops, and all under him bitterly grieved that they could not go at the fort, which was said to be nearly empty;—Wulleedad, a fat drunkard, being left nearly alone.

304. In this gallant little fight 72 of the rebels were disposed of on the spot, the bodies having been counted, and many were wounded. The rebels acknowledged afterwards to a much more serious loss. Our loss was only 4 or 5 wounded.

305. The rebels had intended evidently to hold Gulowtee. Trees had been cut down to form barricades across the Grand Trunk Road, and there were breastworks in the Thanah: these last, and the gates were destroyed.

306. Two singular guns made of the iron screw sockets of the Electric Telegraph posts, mounted on rude carriages, were seized with a box of cartridges for them, composed of Telegraph wire, cut into pieces, put into bags with the powder, portfires, a barrel of powder marked "Dehli," and a quantity of Telegraph wire. Furniture belonging to the Dâk Bungalow and Road Sergeant's house were found in the Thanah and brought into Meerut, with the two guns, which last afforded considerable amusement to the soldiers in the Dum Duma.

307. The principal work in this fight was done by the Carabineers, who pursued the rebel picket for three miles, and left very few of them alive,—

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and by the Rifles under Captain Austen and Lieutenants Young and Blackburne. The force returned to Meerut on the night of the 30th of July.

308. The thanks of Government were awarded to all engaged on this occasion.

309. Notwithstanding the punishment which had been administered to the rebels in Pergunah Burouth, encouraged by the continued rebellion of Sujja and Bhugta, grandson and nephew of Sah Mull, and their combination with rebels in the Mozuffernuggur district, the people of Pergunah Bunawur began to shew fresh signs of disaffection, and the inhabitants of Nugla opposed and drove out the Government servants posted to collect the revenue; and in Panchlee Buzoorg, on the borders of the Pergunah, the police were resisted, and a prisoner rescued. Due warning was given, that nothing but an immediate return to allegiance could save them from a visitation by the Khakee Ressalah, by which name the district Volunteers were now well known among the people, but without effect; and on the 13th of August, a party proceeded to punish them and restore order. The rebellious portion of Panchlee was destroyed, as were also the villages of Nugla and Bhopra, a few of the rebels were killed, but sufficient to strike terror into the inhabitants of the whole Pergunah, who immediately recommenced paying their revenue, which just before they openly declared they would pay only to the King of Dehli.

310. It was intended that the force should cross the Kirsunnee river and punish the people of Binnowlee, Bijroul, and other villages, still excited to rebellion by Sujja and Bhugta; but the conviction that they would fly on the appearance of the force, and that the Europeans would be therefore only unnecessarily harassed, and the difficulty of crossing the guns experienced at the Hindun, on entering Bimawus, where one of Lieutenant T. P. Smith's guns nearly sunk in a quicksand, and was with the horses extricated only by the energy of that Officer and his men, led to the return of the force to Cantonments, the main object of the expedition was effected;—a wholesome dread was restored, and much revenue was collected.

311. With the exception of the Burouth Pergunah on the west, for the occupation of which a larger force was required than could be spared, and Mooradnuggur on the south-west within the reach of Dehli, and the Hauppur boundary on the south constantly threatened by Wulleedad, the whole of the District was again for a short time well under control; but Wulleedad having been strengthened by the Jhansie Brigade of mutineers* from Dehli, hoping with their aid and a levy en masse of rebels in those parts, to succeed again, became bold and declared his intention of plundering Hauppur, and even attacking Meerut.

312. The state of affairs required a good deal of consideration. Unopposed, Wulleedad certainly might have collected a large body and pushed up to Meerut. The Mohurrum was going on, and during the excitement of it, a rising of all the evil-disposed, in and about the place might have been concerted; such a movement would probably have been helped by further reinforcements from the mutineers at Dehli, and all the rebels between that City and Meerut; while the Burouth people would certainly have joined from the west, and the Goojurs from the east would, under such circumstances, have certainly swelled the mass.

313. Just at this juncture, when a storm appeared to be gathering, orders were received to despatch 200 more of H. M.'s 60th Rifles, all the available Artillery Recruits, and a number of Officers to the Dehli Camp; reducing the Europeans at Meerut to about one-sixth of the force which in May, when there really were no enemies who might not have been suppressed by a little energy, was considered barely sufficient to defend the Station. No objection could, of course, have been made to increasing at any sacrifice the

* 5 Companies 12th Native Infantry, 14th Irregular Cavalry, 3 Guns 9-pounders, 500 Irregular Infantry.

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Army at Dehli for the assault; but it was known that that would not take place for a fortnight at least; the detachment from Meerut which could reach Dehli in 3 days viâ Baghput, was ordered first to march viâ Saharunpoor and Kurnaul. Notwithstanding earnest remonstrances and solicitations that instead of these valuable soldiers being exposed to a long tedious march up the country and down again where they were not wanted, they might be kept to drive back the enemies that were threatening Meerut, and notwithstanding the fullest assurances that they should be sent by the direct road and be at Dehli before they could possibly reach by the long route selected, they were taken away.

314. Under these circumstances, after due consideration, it was happily decided that the only way to meet the crisis was to face it manfully by taking the offensive instead of waiting to be surrounded. It was assumed, and as events proved perfectly justly, that nothing was so likely to deter the seditious from any attempt as the movement of a compact little Column, and that the appearance of one at Hauppur would check Wulleedad's advance and thereby all the probable consequnces of it.

315. Accordingly the force noted in the margin,* marched on the 27th August, the last and great day of the Mohurrum, the first halting place being in the orders selected, so that while the news of the actual movement of Troops should reach and frighten Wulleedad† the Column might be within hearing of the firing, should anything occur at Meerut. The force left in Meerut was as per margin.‡

* 100 Rank and File of Artillery.
200 Do. of H. M.'s 60th Rifles.

‡ *Artillery.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Detachment 2nd Troop, 1st Brigade H. A., consisting Officers and men, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 51 |
| Recruit Depôt.... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 200 |
| Regtl. Band, Asstt. Adjt. Genl.'s Office and Depôt of Instruction, | 80 |
| *Cavalry.* | |
| H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards, Mounted, ... ... ... ... ... ... | 254 |
| Ditto, Dismounted, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 191 |
| Detachment 3rd Light Cavalry, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 16 |
| *Infantry.* | |
| Depôt 60th Royal Rifles, ..... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 184 |
| 7th Regiment Punjab Infantry,... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | 673 |
| | 1,649 |

316. In accordance with the restriction still in force, the Column had orders not to go near Malagurh, indeed not to advance beyond Hauppur, unless attacked or pursuing. It therefore took up a position at Hauppur. Mr. Wilson, who accompanied it, took advantage of the presence of troops to get in Revenue from villages, which had hitherto withheld it, and was very successful;—one bit of treachery calling for severe punishment led to a part of the Column moving to Pilkooah on the 8th of September. The Zemindar of this village sent in to say their revenue was all ready, and they would bring it in, but they begged for two chuprassees to be sent to accompany them. Two chuprassees were sent accordingly, but they were, after being received in the village, murdered.

317. The portion of the Column sent to punish the villagers for this crime, was fired at on the line of march, and about 50 of the rebels were killed; but when the village was reached, it was found empty; only a few chumars were left, and they were not touched. The houses of the rebellious Rajpoots were destroyed.

318. In the afternoon of the 10th of September, intelligence was received at Hauppur, that the Malagurh rebels were advancing. Major Sawyer, (Commanding the Column at Hauppur) of the 6th Dragoons, took the Carabineers, mounted district Volunteers, and 2 Horse Artillery guns to reconnoitre. An outlying picket was driven down the road towards Gulowtee. The rebels had the impertinence to make a stand once, but on the guns opening on them again retired, and the Cavalry and guns followed them up at the

† It did so effectually, it was reported to him, that 400 Europeans, 400 Seikhs, 400 Wullaitees, one Khakee Ressalah, and 12 guns had marched from Meerut.

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gallop to within about 250 yards of the main body, and just as the guns were being again unlimbered, the rebel guns opened, and a smart fire was kept up for about 20 minutes. Fortunately, the dashing approach of the reconnoitring party disturbed the range of the enemy, and their four guns were in that short time silenced by the 2 Horse Artillery pieces, under Lieutenat T. P. Smith, though the latter were only 6-pounders, while the former were 9-pounders.

319. Though the Carabineers were drawn up on one side of the road with the district Volunteers on the other, and the guns on the metal in the centre, and shot and shell fell thickly around the small party, the only damage received by them was a spoke of the wheel of one of the limbers smashed.

320. The last few rounds were fired after dusk, and as the main body of the enemy was above 1000 strong, it was not considered prudent to advance upon them with only 100 Cavalry and 2 guns, and the reconnoitring party returned to Camp.

321. It was subsequently ascertained, that the rebels really had fled bodily, leaving all their guns, one with the carriage smashed to pieces on the road the whole night; and that had the Cavalry pushed on, or had the whole Column advanced from Hauppur so as to reach Gulowtee before daybreak, the next day the 4 guns would have been taken. But not even previous successes would have warranted the advance of the reconnoitring party in the dark, into what looked so very like a trap, and it was considered too much for the men and horses to take them out again 9 miles in the middle of the night, after they had just returned from their reconnoitre of nearly 18 miles. The news of the flight of the rebels was not received till too late, and so the gallant little party had not the satisfaction of bringing away the guns they so boldly silenced;—a feat for which great praise is due to Lieutenant T. P. Smith and his men. This was the first time the district Volunteers had been exposed to a smart cannonade; their coolness and steadiness was the admiration of their brave comrades, and again the thanks of Government were awarded to all concerned in this dashing little affair.

322. Burthona, the village of our Jat allies, was attacked by the Malagurh rebels, the Jhansie Brigade and the guns of which they resumed possession when they recovered from their panic; notwithstanding that the Jats could not use their guns, being attacked at points, on which the guns by some arrangement immoveable, did not bear, they beat off their assailants most gallantly, with a loss to themselves of only 25 killed and wounded.

323. The news of the attack did not reach the Hauppur force in time for them to assist the Jats.

324. The Hauppur Column had no further opportunity of distinguishing itself. It remained out, fully accomplishing the object for which it was detached, till hastily summoned to Thanah Bhowun.

325. On the 17th of September, an attempt was made to surprise the rebel Tehseeldar at Mooradnuggur.

326. The small force noted in the margin,* under the command of Major Stokes, 59th Native Infantry, marched on that night and got to the ground about 6 A. M. The rebels' position was a good one. Mooradnuggur has a brick wall on three sides, and is surrounded with mango orchards, and at the time was almost concealed by high crops. The Column was fired at on approaching the wall, and a body of about 200 Cavalry came out on one side. A part of the Cavalry was sent after them. The enemy attempted a charge, but their hearts failed them, and they turned and fled, pursued by the Mooltan Cavalry led by Lieutenant Armstrong of the 59th N. I., so closely that they had not time to shut the gate, and Lieutenant Armstrong and his men drove them before them, cutting up

* 220 Mooltanee and Puthan Cavalry.
23 Captain Craigie's Auxiliary Horse.
80 Foot Police.

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a number, through the village into the high cultivation on the other side, in which after many had been killed the rest got off.

326½. Subsequently, while Lieutenant Armstrong was engaged in clearing the village, he was suddenly attacked by a rebel trooper of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, who rushed at him, and having him at a disadvantage cut him down. An Afghan with Lieutenant Armstrong dismounted and killed the rebel, and thus saved his Officer's life. In the meantime Captain Craigie tried with his party to intercept another body of rebels. His men, newly raised since the mutiny, wanted confidence, and he himself with his native Adjutant and one or two men outstripping the not-over zealous main body got engaged with the enemy. The native Adjutant, formerly a Havildar in the 11th N. I., who had remained firm to his duty, not being a good horseman was mortally wounded before Captain Craigie could save him, but the rebels found this well-trained Cavalry Officer and the few men near him more than they liked, and when the rest of the troops approached, fled.

327. Though the rebel Tehseeldar escaped, the result of this expedition was most satisfactory; the rebels were driven completely out of the Pergunah, and across the Hindun river, and from a large tract, collection of Revenue commenced. The road from Meerut to Dehli was opened; 57 of the enemy, among them many of the 9th Irregular Cavalry men, were killed, and 17 prisoners were taken. The loss on our side was one of Captain Craigie's men killed and one severely wounded; one Ressaldar, and two Duffadars, and three sowars of the Mooltan Horse slightly wounded.

328. The whole affair reflects great credit on Major Stokes and all the Officers engaged, among whom was Lieutenant (now Captain) Melville Clarke of the 3rd Cavalry.

329. Major Stokes, in his report, mentions Lieutenant Armstrong most deservedly with great praise. It will be seen in the Boolundshuhur Narrative how untiringly and successfully Major Stokes with his men subsequently for many months watched the rebels of Rohilkund on the Ganges.

330. This little affair at Mooradnuggur was the last there is to relate.

331. With the fall of Dehli which occurred immediately afterwards, all hopes of the rebels and the rebels themselves disappeared, and all fighting ceased. The Magistrate, with a party of mounted and foot Police, made a tour of the District, seizing and summarily disposing of rebels. On the evacuation of Malagurh after the fight at Boolundshuhur, mail carts and dâk carriages began to run, traffic recommenced, and soon the only signs of the deadly strife were the blackened ruins of public and private buildings, the sad row of tombstones, recording the dreadful deaths of those who were massacred, and the little intrenchment where, with numbers decreasing as the danger increased, a little band of Europeans amidst thousands and thousands of rebels and within reach of Dehli, maintained the name of their country and the authority of Government.

332. The Rohilkund rebels kept a large force with Artillery on the east of the Ganges, opposite the north-east part of the District; but the presence of a small party of mounted and foot Police, and when they threatened invasion, two Horse Artillery guns, and a small body of troops sent on requisition by the Military Authorities, checked them effectually, and though mustering above 6,000 with 8 guns, they were never able to enter the District.

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## BOOLUNDSHUHUR.

333. The subjoined report from Mr. Sapte, Magistrate of Boolundshuhur, is so full and interesting, that I have nothing to add to it; but an earnest hope that Government will acknowledge the gallant and valuable services of all the Officers mentioned in it.

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334. On first hearing of the mutiny of the troops at Meerut, I called on all the Talookdars of the District to shew their attachment to the Government, by furnishing me with men and horses, and by preventing the villagers on their estates from rising.

335. Rao Golab Singh, of Rochesur, immediately responded to my call by sending a small body of horse and foot, armed and equipped. Mahomed Alee Khan of Chitaree, Moorad Alee Khan of Puhasoo, Abdool Luteef Khan of Khanpoor, Luchmun Singh of Shikarpoor, also sent me such men as they could spare; and I strengthened my police posts to the best of my power.

336. To Inayut-oollah Khan and Abdool Ruhman Khan, of Chundeeroo, on the road between Boolundshuhur and Secundrabad, to Ruttun Singh, Shadee Ram, Nowbut Singh, Jats of Sehree and Syudpoor, I offered permanent employ under Government, on condition of their furnishing me in a given time, each, a troop of mounted men. By the 20th May I had nearly 200 men, many of whom I distributed over the District, in those places where the population seemed more inclined to mischief.

337. Mr. Turnbull who had not left the District, but whom I had only relieved three weeks prior to the outbreak, gave me the aid of his services, which from his intimate local knowledge were invaluable. He in company with Messrs. Melville and Lyall, my Joint and Assistant Magistrates, made several excursions in the Dadree and Secundrabad Pergunahs, the most turbulent part of the District, inhabited principally by Goojurs, who on hearing of the events at Meerut and at Dehli, at once commenced plundering in all directions, burning Dâk Bungalows and destroying the Telegraph.

338. On one occasion, the above gentlemen with a detachment of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry captured 46 Goojurs, belonging to some of the worst villages, and brought them in and lodged them in Jail. I should mention that I had applied to the Officer Commanding at Allygurh, for an European Officer and men sufficient to make up the strength of my Treasury guard to a full company, which Major Eld very kindly did; and deputed Lieutenant Ross, who rendered himself most useful. This force was, however, insufficient to be of use in keeping anything like order at any distance from the station.

339. I was disappointed in not receiving aid from Bareilly, from which station a detachment of the 8th Irregular Cavalry had been ordered to our assistance; but Colonel Troup, Commanding there, could not spare them;—a fortunate circumstance for us, as their villanous acts of treachery have subsequently proved. The Rampoor Nawab also failed to send a body of horse, which he had been requested to do by the Lieutenant Governor. I had also been led to expect that two companies of the Sirmoor Battalion would join us, but was again disappointed in this our last hope of aid, though we did not hear the cause of their non-arrival, notwithstanding we had been informed of their having started to our relief.

340. I made frequent applications to General Hewitt for a few Europeans to enable me to send my treasure into Meerut, but that Officer refused to comply with my request, though I still think it would have been worth while to have incurred a little risk to save upwards of two lacs of Rupees, besides other valuable Government property.

341. About 16th May, a man arrived with a slip of paper, signed by Mr. Drummond, the Magistrate of Agra, and Major McLeod of the Engineers, directing all Officers to fall back at once upon Agra, as the rebels were reported to be in full march on that station, and the fort was considered the only safe place. I arrested the man as a spy; but on referring the case I found out he had been sent as he stated; the object of his mission was not apparent: all I can say is, we all scouted the idea of giving up Boolundshuhur on vague rumour of attack reaching us. From the very first we fully expected an

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attack from Dehli, but providentially none was attempted, though we must have been a tempting bait to the rebels, and were within such an easy distance.

342. Matters went on getting worse and worse till the 20th, on the night of which I received positive information that we should be attacked in the morning; but as the sepoys of the 9th had not shown any signs of disaffection, but on the contrary had behaved very well, we felt tolerably secure against any attack the Goojurs might make on us, provided they were unassisted from Dehli.

It is worthy of remark, that up to this time, no man of any consequence in the District had joined the rebels. In fact all the Talookdars were apparently sincere in their professions of loyalty to the Government.

343. On the morning of the 21st, I received an express from the late Mr. Watson, the Magistrate of Allygurh, that the 9th Regiment had mutinied, and that the Europeans had been obliged to fall back on Agra. As there of course could be no doubt but that our detachment would also go, the moment they heard of the Head-quarters having done so. I at once decided on sending off the ladies and children to Meerut, and they left escorted by several Officers who had been detained at Boolundshuhur on their way up the country, by some Irregular Cavalry sowars, and a few men from the new levies.

344. The strength of our garrison was now reduced to seven Englishmen, viz. Lieutenant Ross, 9th Native Infantry, Messrs. Turnbull, Melville, Lyall and myself, with my Head Clerk Mr. Knight and his son. About 2 P. M., a man came in from Dadree with the information that we were to be attacked by the Goojurs in force at 5 in the evening. At 4-30 P. M. I heard of the arrival at Khoorja (12 miles off) of the Head-quarters of the 9th Native Infantry from Allygurh; we then thought it time to make an attempt to move the treasure towards Meerut.

345. I accordingly went over to the Treasury to Lieutenant Ross, and asked him to pack the treasure in the carts, which I had ready for the purpose. The keys not being at hand we broke open the boxes, and with the aid of the sepoys commenced packing the treasure, and I then returned to my own house for Messrs. Turnbull, Melville and Lyall, and called on the men of the Irregular Cavalry, and my own Collectorate sowars to join us on our march to Meerut. About 25 complied, and we started with the Treasury.

346. In my compound were 90 Remount Arab horses, which had arrived a few days previously en route to Meerut, escorted by a small guard, composed of men from 9th and 44th Regiments N. I., and I feel convinced that the guard would at that time have taken them safely into Meerut; but General Hewitt, to whom I reported their arrival, positively forbade my sending them on, and they consequently were lost; and horses were very much wanted.

347. But to return. On reaching the Treasury, Lieutenant Ross informed me that his men (who I should mention were acquainted with the fact of their Head-quarters having mutinied) had already begun to help themselves to the money: he however ordered them to fall in, and start for Meerut. Just as his order was issued, and before the men had time to refuse or comply, we saw a dense cloud of Goojurs pouring down the road towards the city; so leaving the treasure in the hands of the guard, we charged right at them, dispersing them in all directions.

348. Messrs. Turnbull, Ross, and Lyall took the road to the City, which had already been reached by a large party of the mob, and aided by some troopers succeeded in killing and wounding a good number. The Jail guard, on the first approach of the mob, opened the Jail gate, and allowed the prisoners to pass out, firing on them as they got outside, without however doing them much damage.

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349. Mr. Melville and myself took an opposite direction, and went across the fields, accompanied by seven Collectorate sowars, and a Ressaldar and trooper of the 4th Irregular Cavalry and a private servant of my own, whose horse was severely wounded with a sabre cut; we succeeded in dispersing the body, and killed and wounded a few;—the main body spread over the country and concealed themselves in the neighbouring villages. We then tried to fall back on the Treasury, not knowing what had become of the other Europeans, but were fired at by the guard, as a warning to keep off. This reluctantly compelled us to retreat, and we made off for Meerut about 6-30 P. M. and reached Hauppur about 10 P. M., being fired at only once as we passed a village close to the station. We reached Meerut about 9 A. M. of 22nd May, reporting ourselves to the General Commanding.

350. About 12 o'clock of the same day I was gladdened with the sight of Messrs. Turnbull and Lyall, who reached Meerut with Lieutenant Ross about 11 A. M.; they could give me no information of Mr. Knight or his son, from whom they had got separated. Mr. Turnbull informed me, that he with Messrs. Ross and Lyall had gone through the City, and returned fighting every inch in the way, and after having cut down and shot several of the rioters, reached the Treasury in safety. Lieutenant Ross having received a contusion, which for the time rendered his sword arm useless.

351. They had ordered the guard to start for Meerut and to bring the Treasure with them; they started, but on reaching the cross road leading to the Grand Trunk Road, told the Officers to go and join their friends as they intended to do. So the three left for Meerut, experiencing considerable difficulty in avoiding the villagers, who were on the look-out for them in every direction.

352. As the Goojurs had entered the station they fired each house, commencing with the Dâk Bungalow; and during the four days we were absent, the Station was completely destroyed;* and all property, private and public, was carried off or burnt. The City people and those of the neighbouring villages taking a very active part in the work of demolition.

353. Our departure from Boolundshuhur, and the Authorities having been compelled to leave Allygurh, left the road from Meerut to Agra completely at the mercy of the ill-disposed, and a great number of travellers were murdered, and all communication with Agra was closed, except by cossids. It was therefore a matter of the greatest consequence to re-occupy both these places.

354. The Sirmoor Battalion under Major Reid, which had left Deyrah some days previously for Boolundshuhur by the Canal, was unable to get beyond Dasneh, owing to the destruction of the locks by the villagers, and they had sent into Meerut for carriage; but the General and the Brigadier both refused to send an escort, so that the Regiment was still further delayed, and was left to its own resources. But by unwearied exertions they managed to get on, and reached Boolundshuhur on the 24th May, though we did not become aware of this till on our way down to re occupy Boolundshuhur on the 25th, on the morning of which day I started from Meerut with Mr. Lyall, Lieutenant Ross, and Captain Tyrwhitt, of the late 14th Irregular Cavalry, who had been ordered down to command at Boolundshuhur.

355. I should mention here, that the escort furnished us by the General consisted of some men enlisted by Captain Craigie subsequent to the outbreak; they were of course completely raw, badly mounted and worse armed, having as little confidence themselves in their horses, as we had in the riders: their subsequent conduct showed what they were worth, and besides them we had the few men who accompanied us on our retreat from Boolundshuhur.

356. On our arrival at Hauppur, we heard the Sirmoor Battalion had reached Boolundshuhur, and we arrived early on the morning of the 26th. We

* The Kutcherries were gutted and all the records destroyed.

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found the posts and wire of the Telegraph had been entirely removed between Hauppur and Boolundshuhur, a distance of 20 miles.

357. A body of about 200 horsemen, furnished by the Nawab of Rampoor, had arrived the same day as the Goorkhas; so we had now quite a strong garrison, but felt much the want of Artillery. Parties of these horsemen were employed in patrolling the Grand Trunk Road, as far as Khoorja.

358. On the 27th we searched a village, Chundpoor, close to the Station, and found a large quantity of public and private property concealed therein; so we burnt the village and seized the head man, who after having been tried by a Drum-head Court-martial, was hung with two other men of the City, in whose houses plundered property was found. During the night Captain Tyrwhitt and Mr. Lyall left for Belaspoor, the residence of the Skinner's, where a number of Christians were reported to be beleaguered. Mr. Melville also rejoined us from Meerut, where he had been left behind sick.

359. The next morning, the Rampoor Horse showed mutinous symptoms, and declined to obey orders; 30 marched straight off for Dehli, so Major Reid ordered the rest to quit the Station, and they re-crossed the Ganges into Rohilkund. On the 30th Captain Tyrwhitt and Mr. Lyall returned from Belaspoor; the party there preferred remaining, as the fort was strong and well provisioned.

360. On the evening of the same day, Major Reid marched with the whole of his Regiment to join General Wilson's Column, which had gone out from Meerut to Ghazeeooddeennuggur. I expressed my fears to Major Reid, that his departure would give confidence to the ill-affected, and that the consequences would be very serious; but that Officer considered the body of Cavalry at our disposal sufficient to guard the Station, which I admitted: but I knew it would be insufficient to check any rise on the part of the villagers, and stated my opinion to that effect. The result proved I was correct, for the very next day Secundrabad, a rich and populous City, about eight miles from Boolundshuhur on the Dehli road, was attacked and plundered; vast numbers of the inhabitants of both sexes, and of all ages were brutally ill-treated and murdered. The assailants consisted of men from almost every village of the Dadree and Secundrabad Pergunahs, who had collected and joined in a simultaneous attack, tempted by the hope of much plunder. The Town fell into the hands of the mob; the police, who behaved well, escaping with much difficulty. We were unable to send out a man to assist the unfortunate inhabitants, who left the City in thousands, and came flocking into Boolundshuhur and neighbouring villages.

361. It was very distressing not to be able to respond to the repeated calls for assistance, but our hands were completely tied by the presence of Nawab Wulleedad Khan, who had a strong mud Fort, Malagurh, about 4 miles from the station. This man was a near relation of the ex-King of Dehli, with whom he was staying when the outbreak occurred; but he had returned to Malagurh, about 26th May, deputed by the ex-King as Soobah of the Provinces of Boolundshuhur and Allygurh, which fact he himself admitted to me, but excused himself by saying, unless he had come out under some such pretence he would not have been able to escape from Dehli, where he had been detained an unwilling guest of the King.

362. Notwithstanding his profession of loyalty, I suspected him from the very first, as he had brought with him a considerable number of mutinous sepoys and Nujeebs, and had, I knew, several guns; and I heard on all sides he was meditating treachery. His presence at Malagurh completely paralyzed us; the moment we moved out any way from the Station, we felt convinced he would at once have come down, and with his guns would easily have prevented our return, and thus cut off communication with Allygurh and Agra,—the sole object of our holding Boolundshuhur.

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363. We managed to increase our guard of Irregular Cavalry men to 75, belonging to various Regiments; much tact was required in their management at such a critical period, when we heard daily of fresh Regiments going to most of which some of our men belonged; but we were most fortunate in having such an Officer as Captain Tyrwhitt who, by his sound judgment and firm bearing, kept them together, in a manner highly creditable to himself. We were but seven Englishmen, and we took our turn of duty the whole time we remained at Boolundshuhur; every sentry was visited at least once every hour during the night, so that had treachery been meditated, a surprise would have been next to impossible.

364. We heard about this time of the movements of the rebel troops in Rohilkund, who were reported to be in full march on Dehli viâ Anoopshuhur; I accordingly ordered the bridge of boats to be broken up, and the boats secured on this side.

365. We were joined on 1st June by the late Mr. W. Clifford and Mr. Young of the Revenue Survey. These two gentlemen had been with Messrs. Harvey and Money of the Civil Service with the Bhurtpoor troops, and were on their way to Dehli up the right bank of the Jumna; but the mutiny of the troops compelled them to fly. Messrs. Clifford and Young were at Hodul, a few miles from the main body, when they received intimation from Mr. Ford, the Magistrate of Goorgaon, who told them to make the best of the way to Boolundshuhur; so they crossed the Jumna at once, and arrived at Boolundshuhur late in the evening.

366. Reports from the interior of the District showed that order was passing away. Former proprietors now took the opportunity of ousting the present possessors of their estates; in some instances, this was effected by force and large bodies of armed men. The principal Talookdars all this time had remained quiet. In fact, with the exception of the Malagurh man, no person of consequence then gave us any uneasiness, while they all continued professing extreme loyalty.

367. The continuous stream of mutinous troops up the Grand Trunk Road had of course a very bad effect upon the minds of all, disheartening the well-affected, and giving confidence to those who were ill-disposed; while the sacking of the town of Secundrabad being permitted still to go on with impunity, led the people to suppose our power had really ceased.

368. Allygurh was held by a few British one day, and by a large band of rebels the next; the former being so few in number that they had to fall back on the approach of the latter; still we held our own as far as Khoorja.

369. There were about Rs. 1,500 in the Tehseel at Khoorja; these Mr. Melville brought off safely. He went down on a Mail Cart, and returned in a very short time: his object in going to Khoorja was kept a secret, and he deserves great credit for the manner he performed this duty, which was accompanied with very considerable risk. The greater part of this money was, however, eventually carried off by the sowars that deserted a few days after.

370. On the evening of the 8th, I got reliable information, that the Station was to be again attacked by the villagers, backed up by the followers of Wulleedad of Malagurh, towards which place I moved out with Captain Tyrwhitt, and patrolled for some hours in the neighbourhood. If an attack had been intended, our move had the effect of stopping it, for the night passed off quietly.

371. On the morning of the 10th, however, we heard of the arrival at Khoorja of a large body of mutinous Cavalry from Oude, who had murdered their Officers on the road. Their arrival so worked on the feelings of our men, that the greater part of them instantly deserted, and we were left with little more than 20 men, most of whom were Non-Commissioned Officers, besides Captain Craigie's new levies. Finding our force so very much reduced, we deemed

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it expedient to fall back on Gulowtee, a town about 12 miles to the north of Boolundshuhur towards Meerut, on the Grand Trund Road, where we remained that night. Early the next morning we heard the rebel Cavalry had left Khoorja and gone on to Dehli, which decided us on returning to Boolundshuhur; when about half way we heard that Wulleedad had taken possession of the Station in the name of the British Government, and that everything was quiet.

372. At Captain Tyrwhitt's request I went ahead with Messrs. Lyall and Clifford, and Lieutenant Anderson of the 3rd Europeans, to let the people know we had returned. On entering the Station I met Ismael Khan, Wulleedad's head man, who at once came up to me and reported all well. I told him I was going into the City, that our return should at once be known. He accompanied us, and when near the City said he had better go ahead as there were a number of desperate characters in the City, who might oppose us. I saw a large body of men collected at the further end of the street, close to the Kotwalee. While Ismael Khan went to parley with them, we rode a little way down the street, and then pulled up, awaiting his return: finding he did not come back, I sent Mr. Clifford to Captain Tyrwhitt, to let him know how matters stood, and requesting him to come on as quickly as he could, while Mr. Lyall, Lieutenant Anderson, and I retraced our steps leisurely.

373. Within a quarter of an hour Captain Tyrwhitt arrived; and on my telling him how the City was occupied, he expressed his determination to drive them out, and giving the word charge, we went at a gallop towards the City. On our reaching the last turn near the Jail, which enabled me to see into the City, we found the rebels had moved up to the entrance, and the moment we came in sight they opened on us from three guns and a heavy musketry fire. Captain Tyrwhitt most gallantly led us within 30 yards of the guns, the first discharge from which disabled and killed three men and horses: only about 15 men had followed; Craigie's levies fled on the first shot being fired, and were never seen again. Being entirely unsupported, we were reluctantly compelled to retreat towards the open, where we could have acted better than in the narrow road in which we were, but we were not followed.

374. I should mention here that we had previously set up a small gun, but as it was drawn by bullocks it could not be brought up in time for the action. We brought it off however with us; Mr. Young, under whose charge it was displaying much coolness on the occasion.

375. Finding ourselves unmolested we retraced our steps to Gulowtee. As we passed Malagurh we found Wulleedad had sent out a small body of Cavalry to oppose our retreat; but these fled on our approach, and as we pursued them, took shelter in a village close under the walls of Malagurh, from which they opened a fire upon us, but without effect. Thus were we step by step driven out of the Boolundshuhur district. We reached Hauppur late that night, having halted the day at Gulowtee, where we fully expected an attack; but our orderly retreat, so well conducted by Captain Tyrwhitt, had evidently had a wholesome effect on our cowardly enemy.

376. The next day Wulleedad Khan threw a strong picket into Gulowtee, our Police of course having to fly. Our little party went to Baboogurh, the Stud station, about 4 miles from Hauppur towards the Ganges, and from which we could watch the Ghât at Gurhmookteesur, for which we now had ascertained for a certainty the rebel troops from the Rohilkund station were making.

377. On the 18th June, a force under Major Thatcher came out from Meerut, with which we proceeded to Gulowtee, and drove out the rebel pickets and dispersed the followers of Wulleedad, who however again re-occupied the post as soon as we had retired.

378. On 23rd June, the advance guard of the Bareilly Brigade crossed at Gurhmookteesur, only 12 miles from Baboogurh, which compelled us to retire on Meerut: this they were allowed to do entirely unmolested. Owing to

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the immense number of hackeries laden with Treasure and plunder; the crossing took them several days, and nothing could have been easier than to have attacked and cut them up, encumbered as they were with so much baggage; but they were allowed to cross at their leisure and reach Dehli without the slightest attempt being made to stop them.

379. The Authorities at Allygurh having been compelled to give up their post, the road between Meerut and Agra was now completely in possession of the rebels; Malagurh became the resort of all the disaffected far and near; Allygurh and Khoorja were occupied by the followers of the rebel Nawab, to whose standard many of the fanatic Mussulmen of the Barrah Bustee* hastened to flock. The fort of Malagurh is about 900 yards, removed from the road, which is consequently commanded by its guns of which Wulleedad possessed six at the commencement of the outbreak. Communication with Agra, even by Cossid was effected with extreme difficulty, for so well was the whole line of road and its vicinity watched that scarcely a man could pass without being intercepted. Various expeditions were planned against this impudent Rebel, but from various causes were never undertaken until he had got such reinforcements and his followers had increased to such numbers, that he had really become a formidable foe.

380. I remained with my Assistants at Meerut, doing duty as troopers in the Meerut Volunteer Cavalry until the end of August, when we were ordered down to form part of a force under Major Sawyers to keep this very Wulleedad in check. The whole of the Jhansie Brigade, consisting of 12th Native Infantry, the 14th Irregular Cavalry, and a 9-pounder Battery had been sent from Dehli to his assistance, and he was now threatening Hauppur, which but for the timely arrival of our force would in all probability have shared the fate of Secundrabad. We remained encamped at Hauppur till 20th September, the date of the fall of Dehli. While at Hauppur we were one day surprised by hearing firing in the neighbourhood of our Camp. This proved to be the Jhansie Brigade attacking the Jat village of Bhurthona, the inhabitants of which village had some weeks previously captured three of Wulleedad Khan's guns in a fight with his followers. We went down the next morning early, and found the Jats had succeeded in beating off their assailants, who had retired on Malagurh.

381. On another occasion, we had a sharp Artillery fight at Gulowtee, with the guns of the Jhansie Brigade, which we succeeded in silencing; but night coming on they were enabled to carry them off, not without however having suffered considerably both in men and horses.

382. On the 20th September we returned to Meerut, and on 25th I joined Colonel Greathed's Column at Gazeeooddeennuggur, which had been sent out from Dehli to pursue the flying enemy.

383. We reached Boolundshuhur on the morning of the 28th. It would be useless for me to describe the action, which was fought on that day, and which ended in the complete route of the Jhansie Brigade, posted in a strong position to oppose our entrance to the Station.

384. After the fight, which lasted about three hours, we were in possession of the Station and Town, and the enemy fled, leaving behind them two guns and a large quantity of Magazine stores.

385. Mr. Lyall distinguished himself during the fight, having attached himself to Watson's Horse, and joined in a charge against a large body of the rebel Cavalry, and I am most happy to say his name was honorably mentioned in the despatch of Major Ouvry, Commanding the Cavalry portion of the force.

386. In the course of the day we discovered that the Nawab of Malagurh had evacuated his Fort during the fight, and fled across the Ganges, with the greater part of his followers; leaving a number of guns, stores, and

* A tract in the north-east part of the Boolundshuhur district, the home of many Irregular Cavalrymen.

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much plunder in the Fort, which was occupied that night by a body of Cavalry under Lieutenant Baker. Our men encamped on the east side of the City, where we remained till 3rd October, when we marched to Khoorja. A party of Sappers were employed for some days in blowing up the Fort of Malagurh, and on 1st October the mines were exploded by Lieutenant Home, of the Engineers, in person, when that most gallant Officer lost his life,—a spark from the port-fire accidentally ignited the train, and he was killed by the explosin.

387. On the day the Column marched to Khoorja, I went with a party of Cavalry under Lieutenant Watson, to the village of Jhajhur, about 15 miles from Khoorja; as I had received information of a Christian girl being concealed in the house of a rebel trooper of the 15th Irregular Cavalry. Though we arrived at the village before daybreak, they were ready for us. A large body of sowars arrived, and many of them in full uniform came out to oppose us; several were killed in actual fight and some few were taken prisoners with arms in their hands, were tried by drum-head Court Martial, and shot on the spot. After a long search we discovered the girl; she turned out to be the daughter of an Eurasian, a Clerk in some Deputy Commissioner's Office in Oudh, whose life, as also that of the father, had been saved by the trooper, Khooda Buksh, in gratitude to whom she turned Mussulmanee and married him; as she expreesed a strong desire to be allowed to remain, I did not force her away, but left her with the assurance that her husband would be hung whenever he was caught.

388. The next day the Column marched towards Agra, and I returned to Boolundshuhur, which had been occupied by a force under Lieutenant Colonel Farquhar, consisting of the right wing of 1st Belooch Battalion, two Horse Artillery guns, and a body of Puthan Horse under Major Stokes.

389. I lost no time in re-establishing the police posts, strengthening those I thought necessary. The greater part of the burkundazes had deserted and joined the rebels, and I filled up their places mostly from the Jats; only one thanahdar, Sahibdad Khan, of Shikarpoor had deserted; but I did not think it advisable to re-appoint Peer Mahomed Khan of Anoopshuhur; nor Khoorshed Alee, the Kotwal of Boolundshuhur. With the above exceptions all the Thanahdars were confirmed in their posts. The turbulent Pergunahs of Dadree and Secundrabad required a strong body of police, which I kept up till the close of the year.

390. The Revenue began to come in the very day we returned. Abdool Luteef Khan, Talookdar of about 150 villages, and who had refused to pay a farthing before, though repeatedly called upon by me to do so, sent in his kist about two days after my return.

391. This man, the head of the Barrah Bustee, was subsequently convicted by a Military Commission of having aided the rebels, in every way in his power, and sentenced to transportation for life.

392. His uncle, by name Azeem Khan, had taken a prominent part against us, having joined the rebel Wulleedad. Khooshee Ram, Thanahdar of Anoopshuhur, caught him trying to escape to the Ganges, and he was brought in, tried, and executed. The conduct of the Thanahdar and his men on this occasion, was deserving of all praise, as Azeem Khan I knew offered him any sum to let him off; but the honest Jat of Bhurthona was deaf to all persuasion and brought him in, in triumph.

393. Having set every thing going in the Station, on 17th December we moved into Camp towards the Ganges, to arrange for the safety of the boats at the various Ghâts; but we had no sooner reached Ahar, 25 miles from the Station, than I heard the Goojurs were meditating an attack upon the Jail to rescue their captured brethren.

394. With the recollection strong upon me of what these men had been capable of in May last, I begged of Colonel Farquhar to make a forced march

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back to Boolundshuhur, which we reached the next morning, and I am confident from my subsequent information, that had we not returned, the attack would have taken place.

395. We remained in the Station for a week, during which time Lieutenant Smith of the Horse Artillery put the Jail into a state of defence, capable of holding out against any body of Goojurs; I provisioned it for ten days, strengthened the guard with Goolab Singh's men and a few Beloochees, and again on 27th marched to the Ganges.

396. We went viâ Syanah to Pooth, and thence down the right bank of the Ganges, visiting each Ghât. I collected the whole of the boats at Anoopshuhur, where I posted a body of 200 Jats, and the sequel will show how well these men behaved.

397. The Ghâts of Pooth, Bussee, Ahar, between Gurhmookteesur and Anoopshuhur, I put under charge of Rao Goolab Singh of Koochesur. From Anoopshuhur we followed the course of the river by Kurumbas to Ram Ghât; having secured every boat of which we could find any trace. The rebels not showing on the opposite side we marched to Debaee, intending to return to Boolundshuhur, preparatory to beating up the quarters of the Goojurs who still set the police at defiance, and refused to pay any revenue. But on reaching Shikarpoor we heard the rebels had appeared in force opposite Ram Ghât, we hurried back to that place. As we neared it, we heard heavy firing; the rebels having attacked Gunnour, a friendly village a few miles inland in the Budaon district; they looted Gunour and then commenced plundering in all directions. The Aherias, a numerous tribe, at first showed some opposition, but finding themselves unsupported, compromised matters, and finally joined the rebel ranks, and as they inhabit all the villages on the left bank, we had to keep a very sharp look-out on all the ferries and fords, the latter becoming daily more shallow; but though on several occasions the rebels have attempted to cross, and once in force, they never succeeded.

398. We remained at Ram Ghât six days and then returned to Anoopshuhur, where we remained a week, and returned to Boolundshuhur on 30th November, but were again obliged to march on 5th December.

399. There were constant rumours prevalent, that Wulleedad with all the disaffected fugitives from Boolundshahur and its neighbourhood intended to make an attempt to re-occupy Malagurh, though he would not have found his old residence very comfortable as the work of demolition had considerably progressed. The people were, however, becoming very excited, and the disaffected took care to spread the alarm.

400. We marched to Debaee, when I found that the rebels reinforced by Bukht Khan, and the Bareilly Brigade, with several guns, had taken up a strong position at Kasgunge, on which town invited by the Mussulmen of the place, they had made a sudden attack, killing Chobey Ghunsam Dass, a blind man, but a faithful adherent to the British Government, who had been placed at Kasgunge by the Allygurh Authorities. The rebels gave out their intention of looting Soron, a large and populous Hindoo town, a few miles from Kasgunge; but were bought off by the inhabitants, paying a fine of Rs. 20,000.

401. On consulting with Colonel Farquhar, that Officer deemed it advisable to make a move in the direction of Kasgunge, with a view to holding the rebels in check, if possible, until the arrival of the Column, which was being formed at Dehli and Meerut, under Colonel Seaton, C. B., to convey a quantity of stores and ammunition for the use of the troops at Cawnpoor, and we decided on going the next day to Atrowli; but hearing that Hoormut Khan of Pundrawul, a fort belonging to Fuheemoolnissa, a near relation of the rebel Ruheem Alee Khan, son of Nazhur Alee Khan of Khyleea, was laying in stores for the use of the rebel troops, we changed our line, and sending my tent to Atrowli as a blind, marched to Pindrawul, much to the surprise of Hoormut Khan, and we there found an immense quantity of supplies, evidently collected

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for the above purpose. He was also busily engaged in putting his Fort into a complete state of repair. I had previously deprived this man of two guns, and I now lost no time in disarming adherents, and dismantling his Fort, and Hoormut Khan is now under trial before the Special Commissioner, for carrying on a correspondence with the Malagurh rebel.

402. From Pindrawul we marched to Atrowli, a large disaffected town in the Allygurh district, and from thence to Churra, a small village close to the residence of Daood Khan, Talookdar of Bheekumpoor.

403. This man's conduct towards us was throughout most suspicious He refused to furnish us with any kind of supplies, and for two days we were put to great inconvenience, and his personal bearing towards us was disrespectful in the extreme. Of the movements and intention of rebels at Khasgunge he feigned complete ignorance, though his house was but a few miles from Kasgunge; and if be had been as he professed, a well-wisher of the British, he must have felt anxiety for himself if the rebels had advanced; but his conduct plainly showed he was under no apprehension from them.

404. While we were at Churra, we heard from Colonel Seaton that he intended to march on Kasgunge, viâ Akberabad and Secundra Rao, so as to take Kasgunge in flank, and he requested us to keep the attention of the rebels towards our little force, so as to divert their suspicion of any approach of a large army. This of course left us rather exposed, but Colonel Farquhar, to carry out his instructions, the next day marched to Gungeeree, 10 miles from Kasgunge. We sent Colonel Seaton word of our move, and informed him the rebels meant to advance to meet us, so Colonel Seaton changed his route and came down straight on Gungeree by Jullalee.

405. The conduct of the head men of Gungeeree attracted our special notice; on our reaching their village, they came out to meet us, and then after waiting but a few minutes wished to leave, and kept asking us to allow them to go. We thought it better to keep them in Camp, but I have every reason to believe, it was from this village that news was sent to the rebels of the smallness of our force, the villagers being then in ignorance of the proximity of Colonel Seaton's Column.

406. Early the next morning Colonel Seaton arrived, and encamped on the east side of the Neem Nuddee, two miles in advance of our Camp. About noon of that day we were surprized by the sudden appearance of a cloud of Cavalry close to the Camp. The men turned out and after a splendid charge from the Carabineers, in which three gallant Officers of the Carabineers lost their lives, succeeded in driving the rebels before them at all points, capturing three of their guns and killing some three hundred. The cowards thought to have been opposed to Colonel Farquhar's small detachment, and great was their astonishment at finding a large army ready to receive them; they soon found out their mistake, and thought to save thir worthless lives by an ignominious flight. We went with Colonel Seaton's Column the next day to Kasgunge, which we found evacuated. Colonel Seaton followed the enemy up on 15th, and directed us to march up the bank of the river from Kuchla Ghât, and destroy every boat we could find; Major Stokes and Lieutenant T. P. Smith, Horse Artillery, succeeded in burning four boats at Kuchla, notwithtsanding the presence of a large rebel force on the opposite side.

407. We continued marching up the river bank, visiting each Ghât and destroying the boats at Deenapoor, about 4 coss below Ram Ghât, and which is in Daood Khan's Ilaka. We discovered four boats on the opposite side, guarded by a strong party of matchlockmen, who opened fire on us as soon as we showed ourselves; but our guns were quickly brought up, and under cover of them, some men swam across and brought over one boat, when a party of Beloochees, under Lieutenant Nicholetts and Knight, crossed and burnt the village which sheltered the rebels. It then being dark the party returned. Early the next morning Colonel Farquhar crassed himself and destroyed all the boats. The guard and the villagers were found to have decamped during

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the night. Having performed all that Colonel Seaton had required of us, we retraced our steps to Boolundshuhur, revisiting Pindrawul on our way. We had been out of the District for a fortnight, but during our absence all had been quiet, and we reached Boolundshuhur on 29th December.

408. On 2nd January, Khooshee Ram reported that a large body of rebels had arrived at Chaoopoor, opposite Anoopshuhur which they were threatening, Mr. Lyall started off with a body of mounted Police, and arrived just in time to see the conclusion of a very smart affair between the rebels and the Jats under Khooshee Ram.

409. I had collected 187 boats at this Ghât, a short way above which was an easy ford; the rebels brought down two guns below the Ghât so as to rake the boats and the men who guarded them. The Jats, no way daunted, returned their fire from two small iron pieces I had recovered from the District. A body of Horse and Foot now came down and commenced crossing the ford. Khooshee Ram wheeled his men round, and gave them two vollies in quick succession, which at once decided the day, for the rebels turned and fled, and not one man succeeded in crossing. Several of our boats were considerably damaged by the enemy's fire, none of our men were hit, the enemy's range being too high. Colonel Farquhar on hearing what had happened, marched to Anoopshuhur, as it was very necessary to hold these rebels in check.

410. On 17th January they again came down, but in much greater force than before; they brought with them six guns, two of which they planted opposite the centre of our position, and the others on each flank. Lieutenant T. P. Smith with his two six-pounders returned their fire, which he succeeded in silencing after three hours. The manner in which this gallant and active Officer manœuvred his guns on this occasion was the admiration of all present,—his practice too was perfect. Our loss was—two men wounded, and one killed, while the enemy lost at least 50 killed, and had Colonel Farquhar, not received the strictest injunctions not to cross, our Detachment might have gone over and destroyed the enemy. Since that date the rebels have made but one attempt to cross, and that only in very small number. A few horsemen came over and carried off some cattle feeding on this bank, but fled on approach of our patrols.

411. The rebel, Ruheem Alee, came about this time from Bareilly, having got the farm of that part of the District, but he did not hold it long, and I heard that he was only watching his opportunity to escape; I knew he would not be able to cross into the Boolundshuhur district, but imagined through the friendly influence of Daood Khan he would find no difficulty in making his escape through the Allygurh district, as he has indeed lately done.

412. Owing to Colonel Farquhar being compelled to remain watching the Ghâts, no measures have yet been taken against the Goojurs, who have hitherto, comparatively speaking, escaped scatheless for the atrocities they committed against the town of Secundrabad. Though tardy, these men should be taught that the punishment for such an offence is sure. It would be however useless to attempt any thing against them without a large force of Cavalry and the co-operation of the Authorities on the opposite side of the Jumna. They have mostly deserted their villages and taken to the Khadir of the Jumna. They have, however, paid up their Revenue, which they have sent in by Brahmins and others not concerned in their mis-deeds.

413. I was very successful in recovering Cannon, having got nearly 60 pieces, some of them of very large calibre, before I left the District. There are undoubtedly still many concealed, but in process of time, it is hoped, they may be brought to light, three with a large number of Juzails having been dug up in the course of the last few days.

414. I am under great obligation to Colonel Farquhar, and the Officers of his Detachment for their kind support on all occasions. We had upwards of

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50 miles of river to watch, and so effectually has this been done, that no body of men has been able to cross. The work has however been most trying to the Officers and soldiers; they have had to sit quietly down, while others more fortunate have been called into active warfare; and so have obtained their share of honors from which their less fortunate brethren have been debarred; though the duties they have performed have been of the first importance, and I venture to hope you will bring this to the notice of Government. Mr. Lyall, my Officiating Joint Magistrate, though but a young Officer, has been of great use, evincing a sound judgment and discretion seldom to be met with in men even of far greater experience.

415. I left the District on my transfer to Meerut on 21st April, and by that time it had resumed its wonted quiet. The Revenue had been all paid in, serious crime was unknown, and even offences of slight and trivial nature were of unfrequent occurrence; several mutineers both Cavalry and Infantry had been brought to justice, while many who had not been in Government employ, but who had taken a very active part in the rebellion, had been caught and received the reward for their crimes, while those who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty have been recommended for special rewards.

416. I will now conclude, with the hope that the manner in which I have performed the duties of the difficult charge entrusted to me, will have met with the approbation of Government.

417. Mr. Sapte, naturally, has hardly put in a sufficiently strong light, the conduct of himself and the Officers who enabled him to hold the District, when, receiving no support from Meerut, they were hard pressed. The zeal and energy of Mr. Turnbull, who immediately set to work to assist Mr. Sapte, in attempting to maintain order in the District; the gallant efforts of Mr. Sapte to retain his position, zealously seconded by Messrs. Melville and Lyall, and the noble gallantry with which all whose names are mentioned in the report, with the Military aid of that excellent Officer, Captain Tyrwhitt, faced their enemies, not hesitating even to charge guns, firing grape upon them in a narow road, deserve high praise.

418. Indeed the Narrative of this Division abounds with instances of firm devotion and unflinching bravery. In the history of each District, Seharunpoor, Mozuffernuggur, Meerut, and Boolundshuhur, many such are to be found.

419. The zeal with which Officers stuck to their posts, which induced one in bad health even to return to the plains, and the cheerful courage with which Officers and men of every rank and grade, of every service, encountered hosts of rebels;—the extraordinary success which, with the blessing of Providence, crowned daring attacks upon overwhelming numbers, should win not only the approbation of Government, but the admiration of their countrymen at home, and secure the belief that men who behaved so nobly in fight could not behave otherwise than nobly in all their conduct.

420. But besides the active courage which appears in this record of gallant deeds, there was much to admire which cannot be so apparent. The patient endurance and cheerful spirit of the Englishwomen, the never-failing confidence and faithful conviction of ultimate success of all, the admirable discipline and excellent behaviour of the soldiers, all deserve to be brought to notice, and to be acknowledged by Government,—and I trust this Narrative will shew, that from the time the Officers Commanding, Brigadier Jones, H. M.'s 6th Dragoons, and the much-lamented General Penny, had power to act, so far from there being any cause of complaint of inactivity at Meerut, throughout the Division there was a succession of stirring exploits, and through the length of the Doab from Hurdwar, where Lieutenant Boisragon defeated twenty times his number, to Allygurh, where some 9 or 10 Englishmen charged and dispersed about 1,000 rebels; the name of Anglo-Saxons was nobly maintained.

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421. In the Districts in which the Authority of Government was throughout maintained, even before the fall of Dehli, so much Revenue was collected as to suffice to meet all demands, with only the exception of the salary of the higher-paid servants of Government, that is, all drawing above Rupees 10 a month; these cheerfully agreed to put up with only a portion of their pay, which was given according to a graduated scale; by which those receiving Rs. 100 got $\frac{3}{4}$ths; the amount granted gradually descending till those entitled to Rs. 2,000 and upwards, got 1-5th;—a suspension of allowances readily submitted to for about a year.

422. After the fall of Dehli, the administration equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the most peaceful and creditable periods in the history of the Division.

At the end of the year, that is, at the end of April 1858, there was even in Boolundshuhur, which was not re-occupied till October, if not less, at least as small, arrears as are usually reported.

From the restoration of order, crime was almost entirely suppressed, shewing the beneficial effects of a simple but stringent penal code, to an extent which should recommend the continuance of that temporarily adopted, of course, divested of severity.

423. The District of Allygurh was separated from the Meerut Division and placed under a Special Commissioner, and not restored till order had been re-introduced by Mr. Cocks, who took charge of this District, and nobly held it, and who has, I believe, submitted a report to Government.

424. With the following general remarks this Narrative of Events in the Division may be concluded.

425. That the rebellion had been planned by the Mahomedans, I have no doubt. It is not the province of a Local Officer to trace this, but one or two indications may be mentioned.

426. Though there was no apparent sympathy, the idea of the restoration of the Moslem religion to power has been repeatedly kept alive. Invitations to join in a war against Infidels, emanating from the Swat country have circulated through the upper part of Hindoostan.

427. The anxiety of the Rohilkund Puthans, particularly the members of the family of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, that Government should not suffer anarchy and oppression to continue in Oudh, but should interfere and introduce the just administration with which they were blessed, seemed at the time to be the loyal desires of enlightened men. Late events show they anticipated the long-hoped-for opportunity, which the cry of annexation and the decreased importance of the native soldiers in Oude, under British rule, afforded.

428. The march of the mutineers from Meerut to the Arsenal at Dehli might be the policy of soldiers, but the re-exaltation of the Mogul King, and the immediate submission of the Hindoo sepahees to the head of the Mahomedans, had a deeper source.

429. The recorded conversation in March 1857 of the Bijnour Nawab and his friends,—"Is there any security now for Islam?" and "that Islam was formerly the dominant religion," is a specimen of the movement among the Mahomedans. An earlier conversation than this could be traced, I believe, between one of the family of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, and a Rajpoot in Rohilkund, in or about December 1856, when the Puthan recommended the Thakoor to look to his weapons as he would be wanting them soon.

430. The tone of the Mahomedan portion of the native press, and the readiness with which, not the impoverished and discontented only, but the well-to-do Mahomedans in every rank and station, staked their all upon

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the issue and with few exceptions joined in rebellion, their extraordinary association with "idolaters" to exterminate "the Children of the Book," in opposition to the laws of their Prophet, and the Futwehs of the few Moolvees, who dared to speak out, even the exceptional loyalty of that portion of the Mahomedans whose views on the matter of proselytism differ from those of the majority; the, happily, unavailing endeavours of the Mahomedan leaders to make the mass of the population join them, and the bitter complaints of the Hindoo mutineers that they have been deeply deceived:—all these indicate that, though a spirit of mutiny may have prepared the Native Army, the real movers were Mahomedans.

431. Even at Meerut, the first move was made by Mahomedans. A Hindoo said he had fired off the new cartridges, and that all would have to do it. But two Mahomedans spread the story about cow's and pig's fat being used in greasing the cartridges, saying that all would be polluted, that it did not so much matter for the Mahomedans since they could remove the pollution, but the Hindoos would irrecoverably lose caste, and at the instigation of these Mahomedans, the troopers of both sects bound themselves by an oath not to use them.

432. There is no doubt that all the native soldiers retired from the parade, where their comrades were disgraced, muttering "Mutiny."

433. The rumour that the Europeans were coming to seize the Magazines, which issued from the Sudder Bazar, and on which the sepahees rushed to arms, may have been an accident or mistake.

434. But that there were secret Agents, and those Mahomedans, watching, if not guiding events; it seems impossible in this part of the country to doubt.

435. The mutiny was apparently unpremeditated, yet the Sudder Bazar people were ready before a shot was fired in Cantonments.

436. The outbreak immediately assumed a Mahomedan character. A holy war against the Infidels (the Europeans and Christians) was proclaimed, and eventually in the upper Doab and in Rohilkund, the mass of the Mahomedan population rose against Government. I believe that in Rohilkund the Nawab of Rampoor, and a few of his own trusted friends, (among them the chief being Hukeem Saadut Alee) and the Nawab's own trusted personal attendants;—In Bijnour, the Deputy Collector and Sudder Ameen; Wullaiut Hossein Khan in Mooradabad; the family of Hukeem Khan, and Busheer Khan in Pillibheet; Mahomed Noor Khan, in Shajehanpoor; and a few Government Officials, were the only Mahomedans, who from the first stood out for Government.

437. In Seharunpoor it was remarked that the extensive risings were attributed entirely to the influential Mahomedans.

438. In Mozuffernuggur is a class of Syuds, who do not go the lengths the followers of the false Prophet generally do in matters of proselytism by the sword.

439. These Syuds even wavered, but their loyalty was happily fixed by remonstrances conveyed to them by some of their headmen, though in this District the Mahomedans were late in rising against Government; eventually a vast multitude gathered under the "Green Flag," and displayed the bitterest animosity, massacring in the Musjid men of their own religion, after the most solemn promises of safety, because they were faithful to their Rulers.

440. In Meerut, though there were some good exceptions, Mahomedans were generally ill-disposed, and most joined in the Rebellion.

441. In the whole District of Boolundshuhur, I can only bring to mind one exception, that of the family of Moorad Alee Khan of Chitaree, and

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Puhasoo, who took the side they had taken in Lord Lake's time, that of the British Government.

442. Everywhere in this part of the North Western Provinces, as a general rule, the antagonism of the Moslems showed itself in every place, from the open rebellion of multitudes to the scowling impertinence of individuals, from the public proclamations of Rebel Leaders to the muttered imprecations of bigots in the mosques; the very fact that the few who shone out as loyal subjects, or merciful men, were stigmatized as Christians, Infidels, Apostates from the true faith, should show what the belief and feeling of the Hindoo Mussulman is.

443. There was a marked difference between the conduct of Mahomedans and other rebels in this part of India.

444. The first warred against Government and Europeans, the others plundered.

445. The first from the beginning and throughout abstained from injuring the inhabitants of the country, assured them to win them to Mahomedan rule, and urged them to join against Government.

446. The plundering tribes, almost the only Hindoos, who in these parts decidedly and thoroughly misbehaved, turned their hands against every one that had property, their enemies and creditors first. The Muwai Jâts of the Burouth Pergunah, were almost the only Hindoos who shewed unmitigated disloyalty, and they were urged to it by a notorious bad character, Sah Mull. The Goojurs even were in some instances against us, and sometimes took the side of Government.

447. Vast numbers even of these plundering tribes, who bear Hindoo names, Goojurs, Rajpoots, Thuggahs, &c., are Mahomedans, forced proselytes, when the Moslem power was paramount in Dehli, and like all such proselytes intensely bigotted.

448. It was not a national movement against Government.

449. With the exception of the immediate neighbourhood of Meerut, it was generally some time before Goverment Offices and Government property were attacked.

450. In Deyrah, the people remained orderly and showed loyalty.

451. In Seharunpoor, the towns of Deobund and Nukoor were attacked and plundered, and of course the Government offices in them were not exempted. A mob collected to attack the Treasury at Seharunpoor, but was easily dispersed.

452. These were the only instances in which most extensive plundering assumed the type of rebellion.

453. Mozuffernuggur must be treated as an exception, the best disposed populace in the world would have been tempted to let loose the innate wickedness of human nature by the disappearance of all authority.

454. In Meerut the widely spread report that all the Europeans had been destroyed, (which was not contradicted as it should have been by their appearance in every direction;) the uninterrupted passage of the Bareilly mutineer Brigade; the total surrender of the Boolundshuhur district to Wulleedad Khan, who should have been seized by a small force, and hung within three days of his breaking out into open rebellion; the propinquity of Dehli and the constant hope of assistance from the mutineer force there;—by which concatenation of circumstances every bad character in the District was encouraged to evil, induced a tendency to rebellion, which was favored by the retention in the lines of the troops who ought to have been enforcing

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order and checking insurrection. But even in this and in the Boolundshuhur district, till, in the latter, the refusal of aid from Meerut, the approach of mutineers from below and the hope of rescuing the prisoners the District Officers had made, incited the people to it; the outbreak was characterized by aggressions of the lawless part of the population on the better conditioned;—the prevalence of crime, in consequence of a conviction that authority had ceased, rather than by rebellion against the State.

455. The last offence, as a general rule, spread among the people slowly, as delay at Dehli brought conviction that the British power was passing away, and even then only broke out here and there, when notorious bad characters flushed by success in plundering, led their followers to greater enterpizes.

456. The normal state of the ordinary mass of the people, *i. e.*, those not either Mahomedans or thieves, was waiting events; and their conduct depended on the amount of their good sense or of their credulity. There were some who from the first felt that, though the few Englishmen in India might be crushed for the time, an overwhelming British force would come out to reconquer the country and take vengeance on the traitors. These were the few.

457. There were some who believed the false or exaggerated rumours circulated by the rebels and hastened to separate from the foreigners, and secure favor from the native rulers; these were more in numbers than the first class considerably, but still the many wavered between the two extremes.

458. But *all* feared—all were employed in an anxious endeavour to ascertain what would be their own individual interest. The unfailing consideration of the natives of Hindoostan;—this their sole consideration, and *cowardice*, both moral and physical, made mutineers of half the native army, and a percentage of the population, (the said percentage fluctuating according to circumstances, but never very large) rebels.

459. Had there been European soldiers and Non-Commissioned and Commissioned Officers to the extent of 10 per cent. in each native Regiment, a nucleus for good men to fall back upon, with a firm front to face the fire of mutineers. Half the men of the mutinous Regiments would not have gone, and half the Regiments in the service would have stood staunch to their duty, but bodily fear and mental weakness, the absence of all principles of the all controlling sense of duty, and a dastardly dread of being killed, made well intentioned men follow the majority of their comrades, and peaceable subjects seek safety in disaffection.

460. Those who have lived in the midst of it, and who should be the best judges, cannot but feel that the theory that it was a purely Military revolt, and the other that it was a national effort to shake off tyrants, are equally far from the truth.

461. Had not the mass of the people awaited the issue, had any large proportion of them joined, what would have become of the small but gallant bands that in different parts of the country stood out against the active enemies, may be concluded from the marginal* table, shewing in round numbers the population of the Districts of this Division, and the strength of the troops which maintained Government authority.

| | Population. | Troops. |
|---|---|---|
| Saharunpoor, | 8,01,325, | 800. |
| Mozuffernuggur, | 6,72,661, | 500. |
| Meerut, | 11,35,072, | 1,500. |

* Boolundshuhur was abandoned, but when the Malagurh rebel was ousted, was held by less than 500, the population being 7,78,342.

462. Neither can people on the spot be persuaded to believe that efforts to christianize the natives, led to rebellion.

463. Had this been the case, how is it that Benares, the largest City in India, to Hindoos the holiest, and where Mahomedan bigotry is sharpened by its peculiar position, the place where Missionaries have worked more extensively than in any part of India, where the Bible is openly studied and read

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by hundreds of students in many schools did not send some of its 1,80,000 to save the mutineer Brigade from the 200 British soldiers.

464. Beyond all doubt the secret movers of the revolt disseminated widely the wildest and most false reports that Government was going forcibly to convert the people, and during the outbreak these rumours were spread abroad to such an extent, that many ignorant men believed them, and when peace was restored, some have stated their readiness to become Christians, and were astonished when told, no man could make another a Christian. But here, round Meerut, where the mutiny commenced, Missionaries have been more successful in one year than they had ever been, and I have been told by a native deserving of all confidence, that in Bareilly Mahomedans and Hindoos agreed that to be all of one, and that the Christian religion would be better than to be exposed to the tyranny of Khan Bahadoor Khan, and his Moslem miscreants.

465. It is difficult to believe that the efforts of Government to give education to the people can have caused the mutiny and rebellion; when in some Districts the only public Institutions maintained during the anarchy,—when Doctors were driven out, and Dispensaries were destroyed,—were village schools; the only public buildings saved,—were village school rooms, and the people when asked to account for this, stated their intentions to have maintained their schools, even if the rule of India had changed hands.

466. During the outbreak, as far my experience goes, the most loyal, the most trustworthy, were young men who had received an advanced English education in the Government Institutions;—I have known such, of the writer class, not a fighting race, generally become brave soldierly men, I have seen English letters from such men, the matter and composition of which would have done credit to any Englishman writer from the midst of fanatic rebels conveying full and useful information, openly and boldly given, though the writer stated, he knew he was suspected and watched, and immediate death would be the certain result of discovery.

467 The only approach to the sense of duty which has animated Anglo-Saxons through this struggle, was to be found among such educated men.

468. Having given my ideas of what were, and what were not, the causes of the mutiny, I may, I trust, give my opinion of what should be the result of it. I would put first the spread of a sound English education, the use of the English language, the employment, only in time of course, of those who were masters of the English language, and of Englishmen and Christians in the Offices now almost entirely filled by natives, till the proportions of English or East Indians, of Hindoos and Mussulmen were equal instead of having, as before, a great majority of Mahomedans. The substitution of a simple system of administration, superintended by English Officers even in the smallest sub-divisions of Districts, for the Anglo-Indian combination of the quibbles and technicalities of the laws of England and the Mahomedan code, administered through the corrupt Native amlah. The introduction of Englishmen and English capital; the energetic prosecution of public works, especially the improvement of our means of communication; the construction of Rail roads, and application of Locomotives to our existing roads, the introduction of suitable Steamers on our rivers; the extension of Electric Telegraphs in this Division and along its whole length, more perfect Navigation of the Ganges Canal, the head work and locks of which should be fortified;—for all which, if necessary, the portion of the population who have hitherto contributed nothing to the support of Government should be made to supply the funds; and, lastly, the amalgamation of European Soldiers and Non-Commissioned Officers with Natives in the Army, and of Englishmen, East Indians, and Christians in the Police, to the extent of at least 10 per cent.

469. I would conclude with recommending most strongly to the notice of Government, the conduct of all the Officers of Districts, of all the gallant

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Officers of the Army whose deeds have been recorded in this Narrative;—it is difficult, and would be invidious to select any, where all have behaved so well.

470. With one exception, and that was owing to physical unfitness, the Officers of the Districts have distinguished themselves by their firm bearing and all of every service by their gallant deeds against overwhelming numbers; after the first few days of inactivity, they proved the invincibility of Englishmen and prevailed so completely that immediately on the fall of Dehli, and expulsion of the rebels from Boolundshuhur, the whole Division returned to a state of peace and order, surpassing that of any time previous to the mutiny;—so complete has been the re-establishment of order, that the Division has been able to spare soldiers for the tranquillization of the rest of India.

471. The force of the regular army now in it is much less than it was when the mutiny broke out.

472. By the exertion of the Military Police Officers in the Division, large numbers of men have been raised for service in other quarters.

473. A large body of mounted and foot Police,* the first excellently horsed, and all so armed and trained under the superintendence of the energetic Commandant of Divisional Police and the zealous Officers under him, that they have not only been able to take the duties of other Districts, but to vie in appearance with and beat in fight the old Irregular Cavalry, and to distinguish themselves on service within a marvellously short time after being raised, have been sent down the country, while with the exception of the troops at Meerut, and a few soldiers at Allygurh, the whole Division is now guarded only by the new Military Police.

474. Two strong troops of European Cavalry, also raised and equipped here, after checking the rebels of Rohilkund, have since the re-occupation of that Province been employed there.

475. I believe that the Meerut Division, where the mutiny first broke out, was also the first Division in the North Western Provinces restored to order, and the one where the authority of Government was maintained throughout over a larger tract than in any other Division on this side of Benares, and that under circumstances which reflect great credit on all the Officers concerned, and I trust that the exertions of all will be rewarded by the approbation of Government.

476. The services of the Military Officers in the Division, during the mutiny, have been separately brought to notice; as also those of the District Volunteers. A detailed list of all the persons that have aided Government or Europeans, or done good service, follows this report.

F. WILLIAMS,

*Commissioner.*

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* MEMO:—Shewing the number of Mounted and Foot Police enlisted in the Meerut Division, and despatched to other Divisions.

*Strength of Troop.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Ressaldar. | 4 Duffadars. |
| 1 Naib Ditto. | 4 Naib Ditto. |
| 1 Jemadar. | 100 Sowars. |
| Total 111 per Troop. | |

*Strength of Company.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Subadar. | 6 Naicks. |
| 1 Jemadar. | 100 Privates. |
| 4 Havildars. | Total 112 per Company. |

21 Troops of Mounted Police and 7 Companies Foot Police, as marginally stated, have been at various times despatched to other Divisions from this.

MEMO.—675 Seikhs enlisted in the Punjab were likewise passed on from this Division to others at different times.

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# MEMORANDUM

ON THE

# MUTINY AND OUTBREAK AT MEERUT,

# IN MAY 1857,

BY MAJOR WILLIAMS,

COMMISSIONER OF THE MILITARY POLICE, N. W. PROVINCES.

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At the close of 1857, I was directed by the Chief Commissioner of the North Western Provinces to enquire into the conduct of the Native Officials and Police of the Agra District; when I also, in my capacity of "Superintendent of Cantonment Police, North Western Provinces," investigated the proceedings of the Police in that Department at Meerut, on the night of the outbreak.

Although six months had elapsed, sufficient evidence even then was obtained, to prove their culpable negligence, and wilful disregard to their first duty as policemen, *i. e.* to afford every assistance in quelling the disturbance, and saving life and property.

The investigations moreover proved, that Europeans were murdered in the Sudder Bazar, in many instances, in close proximity to Police Stations; and also by depositions Nos. 29 and 31 with those of all the European soldiers, that others were assaulted by men in the police uniform; and all concur in stating, that no assistance whatever was afforded by the Cantonment police. These facts, even though the individuals attacked were unable to recognize their assailants, (which is not surprising, from the suddenness of the outbreak, the numbers simultaneously assaulting them, and their being personally unacquainted with individual members of that Force) strongly prove, to say the least, the culpable negligence of the establishment as a whole. Yet all were not equally guilty: there were some attempts made at the commencement, even by the Police, to quell the outbreak; and plundered property was recovered from the rioters. More might possibly have been accomplished, had not their endeavours been checked in the bud, by the then Officiating Kotwal, who being himself a Goojur, and moreover fearing the vengeance of the mob, would allow no further seizures to be made, either of persons or property. (Vide deposition No. 68.)

The whole of the Cantonment Police have been tried and punished, according to their respective demerits; and every endeavour has been made to apprehend those who deserted from fear of consequences, either because they had been actively engaged in riot and plunder, or had failed in the discharge of their duty.

Whilst engaged in these investigations, much information was obtained regarding the outbreak at Meerut; which, though foreign to the chief purport of my enquiries, was recorded, as being likely to afford some clue to the causes of the mutiny at that station.

I am aware of the necessity for great caution in receiving evidence from men, who possibly may have themselves been implicated in the mutiny, or in a guilty knowledge of it. But the statements of the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and 11th

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and 20th Native Infantry, were freely made, not drawn from them: moreover, I seldom rely on mere formal depositions, or cross-examination in Court; for having had to deal with informers of the Dacoitee Department, a class of men whose evidence I was always obliged most carefully to sift, I adopted the same plan with these men, conversing with them apart and in their unguarded moments. But every endeavour to break down their evidence, only served the more firmly to fix in my mind the conviction of its truth; and this in the face of a strong preconceived opinion, that a deep seated conspiracy had existed.

Whatever the worth of the evidence may be, a careful scrutiny of the depositions proves, I think, as follows:—

*Digest of the Evidence regarding the Mutiny at Meerut.*

First as regards facts, in favor of the supposition, that a preconcerted mutiny existed among the Native Troops at Meerut:—

Deposition No. 1, shows the prior existence of an ill-feeling, on the part of Mahomedans, against their Christian Rulers; of an impression that their religion was being powerfully shaken, and that steps should be taken for the remedy of the evil; and also that the cartridge question, as connected with religion, was frequently discussed by them.

Depositions Nos. 4 and 5, state that rumours were afloat on the committal of the 85 Sowars to prison, that the sepoys were in a dissatisfied state, and would probably mutiny.

Depositions 6 to 11, regarding the Fakeer, prove nothing of a seditious nature against him; yet the circumstances stated of his appearance at the Umballa Depôt, and subsequent intimacy with the men of the 20th Native Infantry, so shortly before the mutiny, may be considered somewhat suspicious.

Depositions 33 to 36, show that a Cashmerian Girl, named Sophie, received warning from a sepoy, that a mutiny was about to take place; but the intimation thus given, (the only glimpse obtained of an intended revolt being made known to others) refers only to that day, and does not imply the existence of any combination prior to the confinement of the 85 Sowars.

Depositions 40, 67 and 68, prove that the Kotwallee Guard, about half an hour previous to the outbreak, were apparently warned; but this doubtless was only in a similar manner to that of the Cashmerian Girl, Sophie.

Deposition 68 states a strange fact; that the Goojurs exclaimed to the then Officiating Kotwal "Thou hast summoned us," &c. This however being mentioned by one individual only, may be deemed somewhat doubtful.

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Secondly, as regards evidence against the supposition of a pre-existing conspiracy:—

Depositions Nos. 2 and 3, of Officials high in Government employ, if they may be considered reliable, prove that to even men of their class no signs of the impending revolt were visible; but that both in City and District, affairs bore the usual peaceable and orderly aspect they had ever done; that the circulation of the chuppaties had to them no ill insignificance;* and that their conviction was, that evil reports in the first instance caused, and the uncontroverted boast of the extermination of all Europeans, rapidly spread, the revolt.

* The chuppatties were not circulated among the alleged conspirators, the sepoys, but among the rural population. A Harkara's stick was passed on in the same manner, through the Dehlie Territory, at a time of profound tranquillity; none being able to tell from whence it came, nor where it went; but being merely passed on from village to village, each being directed to make it over to the next.

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From depositions 10 to 19, of the sepoys and troopers, it would appear that no general warning was given to the whole body, nor any unanimous plan of action conserted amongst them. Although some days before the outbreak, two Mahomedan Naiks of the 3rd Light Cavalry, swore in the men of their Regiment to refuse the cartridges, said by Magazine Classie, to be, greased with cow's and pig's fat, until their use was sanctioned by the whole Native Army; and though the evidence of others, shows that some few were prepared to act for the liberation of their comrades, yet that they must have consisted of a portion of the men only, since many of the sepoys undressed and unarmed were, according to their usual wont, lounging about the bazars, totally unprepared to the last moment; and only when the cry was raised "the Rifles and the Artillery are coming" fled precipitately to their respective lines. More it would seem from some undefinable dread of something about to happen, than to carry out any preconcerted plan of action, for amongst them were some who sided with and defended their Officers to the last; that alarming reports, in the first instance, of polluted food to be forced upon all, and subsequently of sets of irons sufficient to confine the whole force, being in course of preparation; and finally, on the evening in question, of the start of the Rifles and Artillery for the purpose of disarming all the Native Regiments, circulated by a cook boy of the Rifles, and the bazar people, and confirmed by a Sowar coming from the direction of the Brigade Major's house, were the immediate cause of the mutiny; that a recruit of the 20th Native Infantry, who fired the first shot, (and is said to have been killed by his comrades for thus involving them in ruin and disgrace), implicating them in their estimation beyond recall: and the death of Colonel Finnis sealing their doom, nothing but flight and desertion could save their lives; that the detached Guards did not break out simultaneously with the Regiments, but that some even remained at their post a day or two after, and that the others hearing rumours of the cause of the firing hastened to stand by, or fall with their brethren in arms; that moreover such was their unpreparedness, that their wives and families were left behind unheeded and uncared for, who roved about the town for some days, seeking food and shelter, and from thence disposed of themselves as best they could.

Depositions 21, 22, 56 and 57, prove that the Sowars contented themselves with releasing their comrades only; that the rest of the prisoners in that Jail, were subsequently let loose by a mob of villagers; and those of the old Jail, by sepoys of the 11th and 20th Native Infantry.

Depositions 39, 40, 41, and 43, bear witnesses to the friendly conduct of some Cavalry troopers, who, in one instance, dispersed the mob that attacked Mrs. Courtney's carriage, and that in others, warned soldiers walking in the bazar to fly.

Depositions 23 to 27, show that the mutineers fled as a disorganized mob, in bands varying in numbers, and in different directions, many towards Dehlie, but others in totally opposite quarter; as also that the Jail Guard on being met and questioned, stated they had fled in dismay, from fear of being involved in the consequences of the revolt. The depositions of all the Europeans, prove the total inaction of the Police, as regards the murdering and plundering by the mobs; and in many instances the actual murder, and attempts at murder of Europeans by mobs and policemen, the former being often headed and incited by the latter; and in some few instances, of the bad characters being accompanied and assisted by sepoys and sowars.

The depositions of the City and Bazar residents, as also those of all the Europeans, testify to the total want of preparation on the part of the inhabitants of both, as evidenced by the shops being open, trade carried on as usual, travellers journeying unarmed to and fro, realizing money, &c.; some of whom were plun-

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dered and maltreated by the mobs, to whom all concur in chiefly ascribing the plundering, burning, and murdering that occurred.

The depositions of the Native residents also show, that they ascribed the mutiny to the evil rumours that were afloat, and the fears cherished in consequence by the sepoys for the safety of their caste and religion; also their conviction, that the excesses committed by the mobs, resulted from the prevailing belief, that the Europeans had been exterminated by the Native troops; and the withdrawal, in consequence, of all fear of retribution, as the reaction that took place the next morning clearly proves; for when they found the Europeans were still alive and in force, they rapidly disgorged their ill-gotten plunder, and many fled.

Depositions 29, 30, and 31, prove how much loss of life and property might have been avoided! And how much good effected by a little energy and decision, by the presence of even a handful of Europeans patrolling the streets, during that ever memorable night.

Depositions 32, 50 and 52, prove the mutilation of European corpses, but only of those away from the sepoy lines, and which must have been perpetrated by the mobs; while those apparently killed by the troops, were left as they fell.

Depositions 56, 59 and 60, prove that at first, attempts were made by some of the Police to check the excesses of the mobs; that Officiating Kotwal on one occasion headed a party, and succeeded in dispersing a band of plunderers; but that subsequently he prevented any seizures being made, either of persons or property, fearing the personal revenge of the mob; and protected his own fraternity, the Goojurs.

Depositions 37 to 39, 52 to 54, 67 and 71 to 73, furnish proofs of fidelity, not only on the part of servants and dependants, but other natives likewise, and even of two policemen; all willing to risk life and limb on behalf of their masters, acquaintances, or even of strangers, as in the instance of the policemen.

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Having thus given a brief digest of the evidence, I will now proceed to furnish an outline of the events that occurred at Meerut, as detailed therein:—

Whatever may have been the state of the Bengal Army in the beginning of 1857, an ill-feeling was evidenced at Meerut against the Government, by the incendiary fires that commenced there in April of that year.

The introduction of the new cartridges appears to have been frequently canvassed among the native population, and in some instances, (*vide* deposition No. 1) in a spirit of bitter hostility against Europeans and their religion. Rumours of polluted food to be forced upon all were also very prevalent; and the reputed prophecy, that the British rule was to last 100 years (of which 1857 was the close), was called to mind. These idle rumours, acknowledged by native officials to have been prevalent in the Meerut Districts, were, we can, imagine, circulated by evil-disposed men, ready to take advantage of any change that might arise. The circulation of chuppatties so shortly before the outbreak, though appearing to us most mysterious and suspicious, yet, if we may credit the statements of those I have questioned on the subject, both high and low, was not regarded by them as an ill omen, but supposed to have originated in some vow. Many of those thus interrogated, I have no reason to doubt, being individuals who from the first, cast in their let with ours, and perilled their lives for our cause, nor have I in consequence any just grounds for believing they concealed aught they knew. This mystery, notwithstanding every effort made to solve it, remains unravelled still.

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In the beginning of this ever memorable year, being on special duty, as Joint Magistrate in four Divisions, I passed through most of the Districts, shortly afterwards, in open revolt. I had to deal with the worst of characters, being engaged in breaking up gangs of highway robbers ; and though only attended by a small Guard of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, yet I found all as submissive and respectful as in former years, and witnessed not one sign nor sympton of the coming storm. I am aware that, however intimate Europeans may be with Natives, however qualified by experience and long residence amongst them, to form some estimate of their character, but few thoroughly understand them: we float as it were on the surface, and if in official power, know even less than the Missionary and Planter, who mix more unreservedly amongst them. Yet surely if there had been a wide-seated conspiracy, of which the chuppatties were a sign or symbol, some change in demeanour would have been apparent amongst the population of the many Districts I passed through. Or if the secret had been so carefully concealed from Europeans (save a few favored ones said to have received hints and warnings), that not a shade of suspicion crossed their minds, yet would it not have been detected by natives, even though clothed with official power? whereas their evidence (if credible) proves that they, with ourselves, were alike ignorant of what was so shortly to be.

The fakeer's appearance at the Umballa Depot, his residence at the Soorujkoond Tank, and in the lines of the 20th Native Infantry, so shortly before the outbreak, and his great intimacy with sepoys, are certainly suspicious facts; but every endeavour to trace out his history, the object of his journeyings, and his ultimate fate, have failed; and nothing of a seditious nature has been elicited against him.

Taking for granted that the statements of the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry are correct, it would appear that the first act of open and decided mutiny in their Corps took place on the 22nd of April 1857, when the men were sworn in, on the Ganges and the Koran, to refuse the cartridges, until the whole Bengal Army had consented to accept them. This was done by two Mahomedan Naiks, who incited the men by stating, they were now, sworn to defend their religion, and promising to set them the example; adding that a Magazine Classie had averred the obnoxious cartridges were prepared with hog's and cow's fat. Those however served out to the troopers could not of course have been of the new sort that were objected to; and though we can fairly allow for suspicion having entered the minds of some, yet this fact is significant of a hostile feeling against Government, and a determination to make the worst of matter, by extending the prejudice originally incited by and hitherto confined to, the Enfield Rifle cartridges, to those of the same kind as had been used by them for generation past.

Then followed the trial of the 85 Sowars, and their imprisonment on Saturday 9th of May, in the new Jail near the Soorujkoond Tank, the Guard of which was strengthened by the addition of a Native Officer and 24 sepoys from the 20th Native Infantry. All was thus supposed to have been quietly and peaceably settled, but alas! not so.

Since the evidence was printed, Resaldar J. Hawes has deposed, that whilst with the 3rd Light Cavalry at Meerut, some two or three men of that Corps came to him on the afternoon of the 10th May 1857, and said that the men of the Regiment intended next morning to give in a petition to the Colonel, soliciting the release of the 85 prisoners; that if Government again employed these men, or permitted them to return to their homes, the men of the Regiment would obey any orders whatever.

From a statement made to me by Vuzeer Ali Khan, Deputy Magistrate of Meerut, (but not recorded, as I failed to discover the Vakeels in question) it would

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appear, the troopers first thought of obtaining legal redress for their comrades, and with that view applied to the Vakeels of the Court to learn what steps should be taken for an appeal against the sentence of the Court Martial. If this be true, it proves that the last alternative of rescuing their companions by force of arms, had not then been resolved on, at least by all the Regiment. I have also been informed that the men were taunted by the disreputable inhabitants of the Sudder Bazar for allowing their brethren to suffer on account of their religion, and the cry of "Deen, deen," was even thus early raised.

However, whether the foregoing be true or not, the decision of an appeal to arms, most probably was arrived at on Saturday or Sunday; as the depositions prove that the Cashmerian Girl, Sophie, received an intimation of the coming outbreak from a sepoy, at about 2 P. M. on the day of revolt, which passed on to the mother of Mussumat Golob Jaun; it, through the latter, reached the ears of the late Dr. Smith; but he, as many others would have done, treated it merely as an idle bazar report, such as prevailed even before sentence was passed on the Sowars; as, for instance, the Head Clerk of the Sessions Judge received a letter from his brother, stating the sepoys were determined to mutiny. This was also discredited. The warning given to the Girl Sophie, is the first glimpse we have of an intention to mutiny; and one other is furnished by the evidence, though in a very different quarter. Deposition No. 65, proving, that a sepoy came to the Sudder Bazar Guard at about half past 5 P. M. and apparently bid them hold themselves in readiness, adding aloud that they must permit no one to detain them; that upon his departure they immediately loaded their muskets, and at the first shot vacating their post, joined their comrades, shooting two Christian by the way.

The general belief that all the detached Guards broke out into revolt, as in this instance, simultaneously, was proved incorrect; it having been advanced as a striking proof of a preconcerted mutiny, questions to elicit the truth were put to all the sepoys; and not only from them, but from other and private sources also, ample testimony was borne to the contrary. Many on hearing the firing (being acquainted with the rumours afloat regarding the disarming of the Native troops), naturally hastened to the support of their regiments, and evidently prepared to resist any such measure by force. The above is the only known instance of a Guard being warned, and it occurred but half an hour before the outbreak.

The deposition of Syed Meer Khan, Sirdar Bahadoor, was taken to disprove a very prevalent notion, that he also had warned the Civil and Military Authorities of that which, according to his own showing, he was himself entirely ignorant.

Another strong proof of there being no prearranged plan of action, is the fact of their wives and children being left totally unprovided for, who wandered about the City for some days, houseless and homeless, and at last scattered in various directions in search of food and shelter; whereas it is well known that on any expected emergency, a native's first care is to place his family in a place of security.

Again the evidence shows the mutineers fled precipitately, as a disorganized rabble, without a head to guide or control them. All these facts militate, I think, against the supposition of an organized conspiracy, at least as respects the Meerut troops. And with regard to the City and Bazar residents; their ignorance of, and unpreparedness for, coming events, is palpably evident from the following facts: their shops were all open and goods unprotected; men were passing to and fro, paying, realizing, and carrying about with them money; vendors of goods hawking about their wares as usual, and travellers journeying unarmed both to and from the City and District; in fact, the usual routine of business and of pleasure flowing on in apparent peace and security.

It is evident that the minds of the Native soldiery were kept in an agitated and inflamed state, by false and malicious reports busily circulated; of bones

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being ground down with atta, which they would be forced to eat; of their being shortly disarmed, and of sets of iron sufficient to confine the whole force, being in course of preparation. But that all were not aware of any thing being about to transpire, is plain from many of the sepoys being in the bazars lounging about as usual, undressed and unarmed, when suddenly the cry is raised, "the Rifles and Artillery are coming to disarm all the Native Regiments;" and instantly they hurried to their respective lines, accompanied by a large mob, who evidently expected something would happen. As far as could be ascertained, the report was raised by a cook boy attached to the Rifles, and confirmed by a Sowar coming from the direction of the Brigade Major's house. As regards the former, it must be borne in mind, that the Rifles were present at the scene on Saturday morning, and would doubtless amongst themselves discuss the probability of having eventually to disarm all the Native troops; that cook boys have a smattering of English, and may have caught up some expressions used by the soldiers, and hence originated the report; that when the Regiment was drawn up to proceed to Church, they may have concluded that their destination was the Native lines, and in consequence gave the alarm. Thus a wretched cook boy lit the first spark, that so speedily set the Station in a blaze.

The evidence of the men of the 3rd Light Cavalry and 11th and 20th Native Infantry show what followed; how well the Officers of those regiments behaved, seeking by every means in their power to reassure the minds of their misguided men, whom they trusted to the last, as every Officer who knew and loved his men, would have done; how nobly Colonel Finis acted, leaving his own men who were devoted to him, and whom up to the moment that he fell, he had succeeded in restraining to pacify the sepoys of the 20th, by whose hands he lost his life. Then come the scenes of mutiny and murder, that took place on parade: the men having lost confidence in their Officers, were no longer to be guided or controlled by them. The first shot is said to have been fired by a recruit of the 20th Native Infantry, who, incredible as it may appear, is stated to have paid with his life for his termerity, having been shot by his comrades for thus involving them in ruin and disgrace.

The bad characters of the City and Bazar already assembled, (and like the brotherhood in every part of the world ready to reap the fruits of any disturbance that might arise) were at once up and doing; (the Sudder Bazars of Meerut and Cawnpoor have long been noted for their swarms of vagabonds) arms being ready at hand, the shops of native armourers affording an ample supply. Butchers, whose trade is blood, seem to have promptly taken the lead; the first man who attacked Major Taylor was one, and he was allowed to escape through that Officer's intervention. Bungalows were rapidly plundered and set on fire, those nearest the Sepoy lines doubtless by the mutineers; but the evidence of Mrs. Macdonald's servants and others, show that the bad characters of the Sudder Bazar took a prominent part in these acts of riot.

The scene, as described by eye-witnesses, must have been appalling. In an instant all order subverted: raging mobs of marauders roving about in search of plunder; loud yells and cries of "Ali Ali," (for the Mahomedans soon took the lead, raising above all other sounds this the watchword of their religion;) bungalows blazing in all directions; Europeans, the objects of popular fury, flying in haste and confusion; and the bodies here and there of our poor countrymen, and helpless women and children, weltering in their blood; must indeed have formed sights once seen, never to be forgotten!

Meanwhile at the very commencement of the outbreak, a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry hurried off to the new Jail and released their comrades, no opposition being offered by the men of the 20 N. I., that had been sent to strengthen the

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Jail Guard. Having effected this, they returned in company with their brethren, leaving the rest of the prisoners in confinement. According to Mr. Dorrit's (the Jailor) statement, these amounting in number to 839 (desperate characters), were let out by a mob of villagers, who emboldened by impunity, attacked, broke open, and set fire to the Jail, about midnight. The inmates of the old Jail, according to the Daregah's deposition No. 22 were released about an hour after the outbreak by a small band of sepoys, who were thus permitted, unmolested, to let loose upon the Station a number of the worst and vilest characters to commit havoc and destruction; and who, in all probability, were the chief perpetrators of the atrocities committed on helpless women and innocent children, for the bodies found in this neighbourhood were the most mutilated, and by sword cuts; whereas those by the Parade grounds were evidently shot, and lay as they fell.

In tracing the route taken by one unfortunate Lady, who, with her children, fled in disguise towards the City, I felt convinced that, as she emerged from the narrow lanes of the Hoossainee Bazar on to the high road, she must have fallen in with a band of these wretches, and by them have been so cruelly murdered.

The statement of Lieutenants Eckford and Furnell, show how the dastardly mob quailed before European energy and decision. And how much one undaunted Englishman could effect in saving life, single handed, and almost unarmed. Who can tell what might not have been accomplished, had the gallant Furnell's offers of service been accepted, instead of coldly rejected! Surely the noble gallantry of these two individuals, merits no less distinguished a reward than the Victoria Cross.

It would seem the mutineers made no stay in the Station, but fled on the first opposition, and in various directions; some, after holding a short and hurried consultation, towards Dehlie, thus proving they at least had no settled plan of action; the rest, in different and opposite directions; but all as disorganized mobs, with no acknowledged leader. Some of them, (*vide* deposition No. 26) threw away their arms and property as they fled, fearing doubtless a pursuit, which alas was never attempted, and others (Sowars) abandoned their horses, which were caught in the direction of Galoutie on the Boolundshahur Road and brought in.

Depositions Nos. 23 and 24 show, that a small party of 8 Sowars, dressed in uniform, were met on the Dehlie Road, some four miles in advance of the main body, who from the time and place at which they were seen, must have started from the above named Council. This is the only intimation we have of any arrangement being made to prepare the Native troops at Dehlie. These depositions also show how rapidly the troops became disorganized, even thus early taking to plundering all they came across, whether high or low, leaving their countrymen their lives only. We find likewise the crusade against Christians already commenced; had the occupants of the Gharrie been Europeans, instead of Natives, they would undoubtedly have perished.

The statement here mentioned as being made by Jail Guard to Moonshee Hursurun Dass, is one instance out of many, where a fear of being implicated in the punishment of the mutineers, led numbers to fly or join their cause.

The astonishingly rapid rise of the Goojur population, (a race of thieves by birth and profession) in consequence of the news of the revolt spread far and wide by the released convicts, and the prompt advantage they took of the outbreak to plunder and ill-treat all they came across, is startling.

It is not quite clear when these people entered the Station to share the carnage and spoil; but it would seem not before 8 P. M., and according to the statement of the Chowkeedars about 10 P. M., by which time almost all the troops must have fled.

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The readiness also with which the villagers fell in with the existing state of anarchy and disorder, plundering each other, and avenging wrongs real or imaginary, shows how completely they associated our power and stability with the Native Army; so that seeing they had turned against us, deemed overthrow already accomplished. Thus, all continued acting, according as their evil passions swayed them, until demonstrations of English power, on the morning of the 11th in the City and Bazars, and some time latter in District, showed them the falsity of their notions, and sufficed to restore order.

The above evidence does indeed bring out strange facts and inconsistencies; more especially so, if we are to consider the revolt, as the outbreak of an united people against its Rulers and oppressors.

For instance, European soldiers (*vide* deposition Nos. 39, 40 and 41) are warned by a 3rd Light Cavalry trooper to fly and save their lives; others of the same Corps interpose between Mrs. Courtney and a mob, from whom they succeed in saving her, though alas but for a time, as very shortly after she and her children are brutally murdered at the gates of the house of the Deputy Magistrate of Meerut, cruelly closed against her when seeking shelter within them, and this but a few yards from a Police Station.

In opposition to the friendly conduct of these troopers, we find the Cantonment Police at best looking indifferently on, and often themselves assisting in the destruction of that, for the preservation of which they drew their subsistence.

But let us again turn to the bright side of the picture. Buktawur chowkeedar (*vide* deposition No 36) perils his own life in the attempt to save that of his mistress. I earnestly sought for this man to reward him, but failed to obtain any traces of him; and the Ayah never leaves the children entrusted to her, but secures them a place of refuge. Matadeen, another servant, with a sword touching his throat, refused to say aught that could betray his master. Sadhee, a gardener, conceals his master, mistress, and two other ladies. Juggernath a chuppraasie, with other fellow servants, boldly defends his master's property, and forcibly recovers some from the hands of a plunderer. And last, but not least, Asgur Ali, a descendant of the "Prophet," conceals his Christian tenants, at the risk of his own life, and notwithstanding the loss of all his property in consequence, nobly continues firm to his self-imposed trust, and for days provides them with food and shelter in his own house. Others, on the contrary, displayed acts of base cruelty and treachery. Such instances were however of rare occurrence, and though with regard to some of the former, a far-sighted prudence may have furnished interested motives for fidelity, yet such could not have been the case with all, as a careful perusal of the facts will show.

The mutiny at other places, and at subsequent periods, affords similar instances of strange incongruity; and though not connected with the outbreak at Meerut, from the incidents of which the foregoing observations are drawn, I may perhaps be justified in inserting here, as collateral proofs of the same thing, and links in the great chain of events that have rendered the year 1857 one of the most memorable in the annals of our history.

A few days after the outbreak at Meerut, a small Guard of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, with a party of Dacoitee Police, of their own accord and for greater safety, escorted the Office Records and Treasure Chest in their charge, from Meerut to Agra, fighting their way down, and when attacked by insurgent villagers, beating them off with heavy loss. They were well rewarded for their fidelity; yet in less than two months after, deserted almost to a man.

Two Sowars of the same Regiment accompanied an Officer in every expedition he undertook throughout the revolt; being at times for days alone with him, when

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his life (humanly speaking) lay entirely at their mercy. They were promoted for their uniform good conduct; yet deserted shortly previous to the fall of Dehlie, when even Natives acknowledged the Mahomedan cause a hopeless one.

A small body of Dacoitee Police, all Mahomedans, displayed rare fidelity, the only Guard by day and night: they remained true to their trust during the revolt. When communication by post was closed, they carried letters and despatches, running the greatest risk, for it is well known what treatment our messengers met with if discovered by the rebels, who then covered the country; and this not for reward such as was given to special Kossids, but in their proper tour of duty, and for their ordinary pay, and with one exception (an important despatch to Lucknow, the fate of the messenger of which has never transpired) all reached their destination safely. Moreover, the fidelity of these men was put strongly to the test, when one of their comrades found plundering, received 80 lashes and his dismissal. This severe punishment inflicted in the height of the revolt in no way affected their behaviour; but some two months afterwards, when Dehlie had fallen, most of them deserted.

The mutiny even amongst the Native soldiery, affords similar contradictions in the conduct of various individuals; some evincing unconquerable and unfounded distrust, others clinging to our cause under most discouraging circumstances, and in spite of our evident mistrust; for example, Soobadar Bhowanie Singh, 2nd Light Cavalry, defends most gallantly the Colors and Treasure Chest of his Regiment, until wounded and left senseless by his own men, and subsequently sacrifices his life for the State, fighting to the last against his rebel brethern in the intrenchments at Cawnpoor.

How striking also the fidelity of those sepoys of the 56th N. I. admitted within those same intrenchments, as proved by the statement of Lieut. Moubray Thomson, 53rd N. I., one of the few survivors, according to whom, more would have joined had they been permitted; and still more surprising was the conduct of some of his own Corps and others, who though being mistrusted and hence denied admittance within the enclosure, would not join the enemy, but, as suggested occupied the Hospital outside, which they defended against their mutinous comrades, while it remained tenable. If we may trust those sepoys who freely shared the pains and hardships of their Officers, fear and distrust caused many to fail us; as for instance, the firm impression the troops entertained, that the ditch around the intrenchments, where they were desired to assemble for the purpose of receiving their pay the day before the outbreak, was mined, with a view to blow them all up; and that in consequence, they refused to attend as requested.

Again, as the reverse of this, we have witnessed the wonderful fidelity, through taunts and hardships, and loss of life and limb, of the Lucknow Garrison. At Meerut likewise the men of the 11th N. I., who remained true to their Officers when permission was given them to visit their homes, because the Military Authorities mistrusted them, declined availing themselves of it, and preferred engaging in the Police, in which they did the State good service.

The Meerut Police also, bad and worthless though they proved as a whole, furnished some individuals who behaved remarkably well, fought in the ranks of the District Volunteers, and having proved themselves excellent servants of the State, were eventually taken into and formed the nucleus of the present N. W. Police raised at Meerut on the 27th of June 1857. Many other instances might doubtless be adduced, of which I am unaware.

The distrust of Europeans, extended even to their Officers with whom they had passed years in friendly intimacy, was a powerful engine of mischief in the hands

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of the evil-disposed, by whom it was assiduously implanted and nurtured. This was the main cause of the mutiny of the 29th N. I, as is plainly evidenced from a narrative of occurrences by one of its Officers, confirmed by the statements of the Native Doctor and Moolvie, who, true to our cause, were carried prisoners to Dehlie, and from thence made their escape. From them it would seem the Corps would have accompanied their Officers to Meerut, but that their firm conviction was, by doing so they would gain nothing but a certain and speedy death.

I was forcibly convinced of the real existence of this feeling, from the difficulty I experienced in getting two Sowars (my escort) to follow me into Meerut, which at length they only did on my pledging my life for theirs. Again the Sikhs who left the 2nd Oude Irregular Cavalry when they mutinied, entered Meerut with fear and tropidation, but subsequently joined the Meerut District Volunteers, and did excellent service.

A letter from a trooper in concealment, lately brought under my observation, reveals a strange state of things, and is very probably in some respects a sample of many similar cases. He writes to one from whom in brighter days he received much kindness, to a son of whom he is indebted for the knowledge of writing, by means of which he makes known his circumstances, and from whom he evidently conceals nothing, even confessing to his having taken rebel service from dire necessity. In his letter he states that, " after hearing of the Meerut mutiny" his Corps the 2nd Cavalry began plotting, and that he related all he learnt from them to the Adjutant. Although his letter cannot, strictly speaking, be considered evidence, yet being written under the circumstances, and in the manner already mentioned, may be taken as another proof, that the mutiny spread through the Bengal Army, (already in a highly excited and dissatisfied state) like any infectious disease in a vitiated atmosphere. The contagion being allowed to spread from Meerut unchecked, and without the prompt and stern retribution the exigencies of the case required, even the cutting off root and branch of the diseased member, Corps after Corps caught the infection, excited and encouraged by the uncontradicted boast of the extermination of all Europeans, and the overthrow of the British Rule by the Native troops at Meerut; and when this was at length controverted, still lured on by the glowing accounts of unbounded wealth obtained from the plunder of Europeans and Government Treasuries, and the honors and promotions expected from the rebel King.

Caste also, that great bond of union and engine of evil, attached thousands to the ranks of its (so deemed) martyrs and defenders; for unfounded though the report was, yet numbers did believe that Christianity was to be forced upon all ranks and classes of Natives; and to many a Hindoo, the preservation of his caste (his only security for eternal happiness hereafter) is dearer to him than life. Fruitless were all endeavours to shake the general belief in this opinion, for natives like children are swayed by every idle report, and these were assiduously kept afloat by evil and designing men, interested in and anxious for a change. Suspicion and distrust thus once sown, attachment speedily waned; and though some of the older soldiers still loved and reversed their Officers, they were powerless for good. And although this does not justify their failure in their duty, as doubtless they should even have given up life for their " salt," yet allowances must be made for their very trying position. In fact we can hardly appreciate as it deserves, the sacrifices and sufferings of those who through all have remained true to us.

The cry of "religion" that was so early raised in support of their cause, is maintained still, and the taunt of having become " Christian," yet hurled at our allies. But the other day a detachment of newly-raised Police, attacking a party of rebel sepoys, were jeeringly received with a shout of " come on Christians!" The

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reply was a bullet that laid the utterer low, ere yet the words had died away upon his lips. Whatever a man's creed may be, due credit should be accorded him for sincerity, until at least he prove the reverse. Again every allowance should be made, considering the sudden and complete gloom that overshadowed the country, through the dark folds of which but a few far-sighted individuals could penetrate. Let us picture it to ourselves awhile.

A few Native troops suddenly mutiny; burn, plunder and murder; release prisoners, and completely subvert all order and authority, and this with scarce any opposition, in the face of a large European Force. Thence passing on unchecked to a large and important City, with the uncontradicted boast that they had exterminated the British and overthrown their rule; gain possession of it; winning over their fellow soldiers cantoned there; enact over again the same scene of anarchy, bloodshed and riot; proclaim a rebel King, issue proclamations and exact revenue in his name; cut off all communication and overrun the surrounding country. Their example is rapidly followed: whole Regiments tread eagerly in their steps; entire Districts pass away from our hold; petty Chiefs and Princes exercise, undisputed, the rights of sovereignty; while their late lordly Rulers are no where seen, or beheld only as way-worn, travellers, solid, famishing, and often sore-wounded fugitives; pleading for food, shelter and concealment, and at that times repulsed as the off scouring of earth, by those who lately would have kissed the dust under their feet! The few Provinces still held by us, kept only by the self-devotion of their Civil and Military Officers, and gallant bands of Volunteers, here and there assisted by a handful of Troops. Seeing us powerless to help or protect our friends, or to chastise our foes, can we wonder that the timid, wavering, and weak fell in with those who, for the time being at least, best made the weight of their vengeance known; or can we wonder that the masses of people, losing sight of all signs of our power and authority, and witnessing only the evidences (temporary though they were) of the rule of our enemies, should readily credit their reports of our subversion and utter annihilation; and all this occurring at the end of the foretold 100 years, during which our rule was to last, should fancy they saw the finger of God in the exact fulfilment of the prophecy?

I must here observe, that the foregoing remarks (regarding the nature of the mutiny as to whether it were preconcerted or not) and conclusions, only refer to and are deduced from the evidence taken regarding the Meerut outbreak, and refer only to the declared fact of a wide-spread mutiny throughout the Bengal Army, as evidenced by the occurrences at that Station where first the storm broke.

I am aware that many statements exist of signs and warnings previously, and information of a conspiracy subsequently, to the outbreak having been given to various individuals. Such reports were current at Meerut; but on taking them, and individually sifting and attesting them, they vanished ghostlike into thin air, and not one of all the parties said to have furnished them, would acknowledge any acquaintance with the alleged facts. Those therefore who have received any information regarding such a conspiracy should undoubtedly come forward and have the same attested, both for the punishment of the guilty, and for the security of the public hereafter.

If any such plot throughout the Native Army existed, the Meerut troops were indeed rash and insane to mar the whole, simply that they might hasten the release of their companions, which a short time subsequently could have been effected with far greater chances of success, less risk to themselves, and with infinitely grander results to the cause they had at heart. Granting the existence of such a conspiracy, how can we account for such mad rashness on the part of these conspirators? Nor that after thus hastily releasing their comrades, doing all the injury

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they could by the way, they should flee without an acknowledged head or guide, or any plan of operations; and then only (finding themselves unmolested) hold a hurried council to decide upon their future operations. (*Vide* deposition No. 4.)

Being deeply interested in the fate of many who fell at Cawnpoor, and having collected all the evidence procurable up to the present time, of atrocities committed, or said to have been committed by the rebels there, (and which from the number of the victims and the cruelty of their fate rank pre-eminent among all the tragedies of this ever memorable revolt) I have anxiously and carefully sifted the whole.

The statement of Lieutenant Moubray Thomson, Commandant of Military Police, the depositions of Mrs. Bradshaw and Letts of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry, of Elizabeth and Isabella Speirs, 53rd Regiment Native Infantry, and of Peer Bux, Camel Sowar, give perhaps a correct account of the fearful massacre at the Choura Suttee Ghât on the 27th June 1857. They afford some insight into the horrors of that terrible day, which require no false coloring to make them almost surpass conception. Mrs. Murray, on cross examination, denies the ladies and women having been stripped, and receiving but a piece of scant blue cloth instead.

The evidence of Drummer John Fitchett, 6th Regiment Native Infantry, and of the sepoys 56th Regiment Native Infantry, who were confined with the poor sufferers in the Savada House, prove that they retained their own clothing; and moreover that on the removal of the prisoners to the Beebegurh, or Slaughter-house, clothes belonging to the ladies and left with the washermen when they went into the intrenchments, were recovered and returned to them. Fearful assuredly have been the scenes enacted during this revolt, but they exceed only in a small degree those of other revolutions in far more civilized, and, be it remembered, professedly Christian nations; and are consequences such as ever must occur, when the evil unbridled passions of men are allowed full sway. When the history of the Bengal Army shall be written in a just and candid spirit, it will be cleared of many of the sweeping charges at present hurled against it. It will be seen that while many base acts of cruelty and treachery have attended it, not a few noble acts of devotion and fidelity redeem the hideous darkness of the picture.

G. W. WILLIAMS, Major,

*Commissioner of Military Police, N. W. P.*

Allahabad:
15*th November*, 1858.

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# Supplement

TO THE

# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS, &c.

IN THE

# MEERUT DIVISION.

FROM

F. WILLIAMS, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner 1st Division,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces.*

DATED MEERUT, THE 3RD JANUARY 1859.

SIR,

I trust I may be in time to supply an omission which I regret to find I have made in the Narrative of the Meerut Division. I have omitted to mention the services of Mr. J. Scarlett Campbell. This Officer, Joint Magistrate of Mooradabad, when the mutiny at Meerut occurred, most zealously and bravely assisted Messrs. Wilson and Saunders, on many occcasions, particularly in clearing the Meeerut Road of plunderers, and in keeping the bad characters of that District in order, under circumstances which deserve the highest praise.

When the mutiny occurred at Mooradabad, and the District Officers were obliged to fly, Mr. Campbell came with the other fugitives to Meerut.

He shortly afterwards volunteered his services, and was deputed by the late Mr. Greathed to Baghput, to keep open the communication with the Dehli Camp, maintain the bridge of boats, and, as far as possible, keep order in that neighbourhood. If individual zeal and gallantry could have prevailed, Mr. Campbell would have fulfilled the object of his mission. But the only Force there was, being withdrawn on the approach of a large body of rebels, he was obliged to go to the Dehli Camp.

He subsequently was requested to take charge of the Rohtuck district; and, though most anxious to return to Rohilkund, has remained in the Dehli territory as a Deputy Commissioner, while his contemporaries and juniors have got Districts in the North Western Provinces.

The Commissioner of Rohilkund has doubtless reported Mr. Campbell's good services in Mooradabad. Had this Officer done nothing else, the readiness with which he went into parts of the country swarming with rebels, should earn for him high praise and reward; but I trust that this Supplementary notice of him is not too late to elicit for him some substantial mark of the approbation of Government.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
F. WILLIAMS,
*Commissioner.*

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# DEPOSITIONS

# TAKEN AT MEERUT,

BY

MAJOR G. W. WILLIAMS,

*SUPERINTENDENT OF CANTONMENT POLICE,*
*N. W. P.*

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# DEPOSITIONS TAKEN AT MEERUT,

BY

# MAJOR G. W. WILLIAMS,

## *SUPERINTENDENT OF CANTONMENT POLICE, N. W. P.*

No. 1.—*Statement of Francis Shester, Native Christian of Sirdhana.*—On the 29th of March 1857, I was at Bijnour, and went to pay my respects to the Collector and Magistrate of the district; whilst waiting in the verandah, a native, whom the chupprassie called Nawab, also came, I heard he had a brother, who was a tehseeldar in the district; a jemadar in the Canal Department was present; we were all seated. The Nawab commenced the conversation by observing that two regiments to the eastward had taken their discharge, because the kafirs had mixed pigs' and cows' fat with the new cartridges, that the kafirs had determined to take away the castes of all Mahomedans and Hindoos, and that these infidels should not be allowed to remain in India, or there would be no difference between Mahomedans and Hindoos, and whatever they said, we should have to do. I replied, that Europeans had nothing to do with other people's caste, and that in every way the inhabitants of India were living at ease. The Nawab answered, what ease have we, they are always inventing new laws to trouble us, and to overturn religion, teach out of their religious books, which are also distributed; is there now any security for Islam, as it used to be? The jemadar of the Canal Department remarked, that Islam was formerly the dominant religion, but there was great injustice.

The nawab was about thirty-five years age, slightly built, but the jemadar was a powerful man.

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No. 2.—*Statement of Mohur Singh, Deputy Collector.*—In the months of January and February 1857, it was reported, that cakes had been distributed through the chokeedars, the reason of which was not known, but it was stated that they had come from the east, and that if not distributed, severe punishment would be inflicted.

On coming to Meerut, a week previous to the outbreak, I heard that the Government wished to make the sepoys use the new cartridges, but that they declined doing so, on account of their being greased with fat; but though this was commonly talked of, no mutiny was apprehended. Up to the 8th of May, when some sowars were imprisoned for disobedience of orders, no danger was anticipated.

On the 10th of May, after six P. M, while sitting in my house, Shamboonauth, ameen, came accidentally by, from the Sudder Bazar, stating that a fight had taken place between the English and native troops, on hearing which, the inhabitants began* shutting up their houses. I however did not believe what he stated, but came out and saw the people flying to their houses for protection.

It was now dark, and fires could be seen raging on all sides. I observed three sowars with drawn swords in their hands coming out of the compound of the Custom House, after setting fire to it, and followed by a crowd of low people shouting "Yah! Ali! Ali! ek nara Haidari;" amongst them, I heard the clanking of iron chains. I heard the sowars saying they had burnt the Cantonments, murdered the Europeans, broken the Electric Telegraph, and overturned the Britrish Rule, and boasting that they had committed these atrocities for the cause of religion.

These sounds were heard till 10 P. M.

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* The fact here stated, and subsequently reiterated by various parties, regarding the shops being open, and business carried on as usual, proves that the respectable inhabitants at least, were neither anticipating, nor prepared for, a mutiny on that day.

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During the night nothing was known about the mutineers, but the next morning it was learned that the native troops had really mutinied, and had fled confusedly towards Delhie.

The butchers, pulladars, &c., joined the rebels in murdering and plundering.

According to the directions of the Magistrate and Commissioner, on the 11th Kooar, Wuzeer Ali Khan, deputy collector, Gunga Pershad, tehseeldar, and myself, collected the respectable people of the city, and gave them good advice; none of them seemed unfriendly to the British; we encouraged the tradesmen, who re-opened their shops on the 12th, and carried on their business as usual, but for the space of three days, no supplies were brought into the city, on account of the disturbance, though flour was sold at fourteen seers for the rupee, yet the bunneahs continued to keep the Dumdumma regularly supplied with grain. The villagers roved about the city for many days, the disturbance in its vicinity continued for about a week, but was quelled by the judicious plans adopted by the British.

Previous to the outbreak, rumours to the following effect very generally prevailed:—

1st.—That 2,000 sets of irons were being made for the sepoys.

2nd.—That by order of government, attah mixed with bones was to be sold.

3rd.—That the sepoys were to be deprived of the charge of their arms and ammunition.

These reports caused the disturbance.

---

*No.* 3.—*Statement of Wuzeer Ali Khan, Deputy Collector.*—I have long resided in cantonments. On the evening of the 10th of May, at dusk, I shut up my compound gate, and spent the night in fear and trembling; but the next day, went to the house of Mahomed Ali Khan, where I stayed till the fall of Delhie.

When the mutiny broke out, the sowars and bad characters went roving about, but as it was dark, and they were a good way off, I could not recognize any of them, I was however told that syces, poorbeeas, and bad characters of the city and cantonments, joined the rebel troops; my own men remained with me: during the night nothing but shouts of Yah! Ali! Ali! was heard. I learnt nothing more when going to the city (being much terrified from fear of the bad characters,) but that with the sowars, there were butchers and pulladars, all active in murdering and plundering; and also the released prisoners.

I do not know any engaged in the rebellion, as I had no opportunity of ascertaining anything.

Property was, without doubt, being plundered all night by the convicts and bad characters; the sepoys did not touch any; they only set fire to the Bungalows, and murdered Europeans, at least, it was so rumoured in the city and sudder.

That night the sowars set it about that no Europeans remained; hearing which, the evil disposed having no fear committed great havoc and destruction. I am inclined to think no respectable people joined them in this. As I could not distinguish any individuals, I cannot say who the mobs were; I only heard the shouts of Yah! Ali! Ali! but do not know whether the Mahomedans only uttered the cry, or whether the Hindoos also joined in it.

When on the 11th, I walked about the city, I found the respectable inhabitants in great sorrow and alarm; I heard that the butchers, pulladars, and released prisoners, committed great atrocities. I held no intercourse with the low classes, but only with respectable men; though the bad characters, from their conduct and joining with the rebels at Dehlie, shewed they did not behave uprightly, yet even they were not all alike bad.

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I heard that on the 10th of May, the police were unable to maintain order, but on the 11th the civil administration resumed its usual course: many of them fled, and thus escaped; but the rest, who remained, again began carrying out the orders of Government.

Nothing was preconcerted; though the new cartridge question was generally discussed in the districts, yet the mutiny was not plotted beforehand, and no one conceived such a thing would ever come to pass.

As it is probable that the Goojurs, being robbers by profession, aided by others, took an active part in murdering and plundering, every one of them, being aware of the heavy retribution that they deserved, tried earnestly to promote the success of the rebel king's cause.

I also heard, that in the evening the neighbouring villagers, rushed into cantonments to share the spoil; and for many days made attempts to plunder the city and houses of the rich merchants, but the civil administration having regained full power, they succeeded only in carrying away a quantity of small coins from the collectorate.

*Q.*—How long did the disturbance continue after the 11th of May?

*A.*—After the 11th of May, there was no disturbance; the zemindars of the neighbouring villages lurked about the city for four or five days, but the patrolling of policemen, the vigilance of the inhabitants, and the vigorous administration of the British authorities deterred them from doing any mischief within the city. Whether the plundered property was deposited in any one spot has not been ascertained. The villagers carried off what they took to their villages; the butchers, pulladars* of Khoorja, and bad characters, threw their booty opposite the doors of respectable men's houses, and in bye-lanes and streets, whence it was conveyed into the Dumdumma.

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No. 4.—*Statement of Mahomed Moweezoodeen, Shristadar.*—Before final orders were passed on the insubordinate sowars of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and while they were still under trial by Court Martial, it was rumoured in the office that afternoon, that the head clerk of the session's office had received a letter from his brother, stating the sepoys had determined to mutiny. I believed this, until finding that nothig occurred, I concluded the report was groundless.

After the Court Martial was over, and the 85 sowars were committed to prison, we had no reason to apprehend a rise on the part of the sepoys.

On Sunday, the 10th of May last, at about 4 P. M., I met Ahmud Buksh, naib nazir of the magistrate's office, who told me he had been to the jail by the magistrate's order to write down the names of the sowars and their places of residence, as they were about being sent to other district jails, and had found all right and quiet, with no indications of sedition.

At about 6 P. M., on the same day, it was noised abroad in the city, that the sepoys of the 20th N. I., had risen to oppose the Rifles, who had come to deprive them of the charge of the bells of arms, as they feared they would now be dealt with in the same manner that the sowars had been, and had murdered Europeans, burnt bungalows, and destroyed property. The cavalry, and 11th regiment followed their example, committing great atrocities, and were joined in this by most of the detached guards. About sunset, the sowars of the 3rd Light Cavalry, attacked the jail; some passing through the city by the Cumbah gate, with drawn swords, galloping towards the Jail, much alarmed the inhabitants, the respectable portion of whom, fearing loss of life or wealth, and honor, closed the doors of their houses. When dark, fires were seen, the tumult rose to its height, the bad characters of the city and cantonments with villagers from the neighbourhood, and about 1,500 convicts

* Most of the Puliadars (or porters) in the Meerut Sudder Bazar, were residents (or natives rather) of Khoorja. A report was made to the Magistrate of Boolundsher regarding them.

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from the jail, joined the mutineers. Till 10 o'clock, my doors were shut, after that, I saw from the roof of my house numbers of bullocks straying about, which on enquiry I found were Government ones; I also learnt, that the Engineer's office, camel and elephant sheds, had been plundered; on hearing which, I sent for Ahmed Buxsh, naib nazir, living in my neighbourhood, and urged him to collect the bullocks in one place, with the help of his chaprassies, and tried to encourage him, by saying that there were numbers of European soldiers in the station, and that in the course of an hour or two, they with the artillery, would attack and annihilate the mutineers; and he would shortly see their names effaced from off the face of the earth; that if he now evinced his gratitude and attachment to the Government, he would procure a great name; but he replied, he had no chaprassies with him, and could not help in the matter.

Whilst we were thus talking, other men of the neighbourhood came round us in surprise. Just then a man of bad character brought two horses, but the mohulla men, would not allow him to tie them up there, so they were roving about loose. It was now rumoured that the bad characters of the city had determined to create as much disturbance and confusion as they could, so that they might revenge themselves on their enemies, and plunder the rich. The tuzmabazies, convicted by Major Williams, were looking out for Moonshie Tuffuzul Hossein, shristadar of the Dacoitee Department; meanwhile, a man came to Ahmut Buxsh, naib nazir, stating that agreeably to the directions of the tuhseeldar, he went to the deputy collector's, to inform him of the plunder of the treasury, on seeing that gentleman's bungalow in flames, and a dragoon standing there, he asked him where the gentleman was, and was told not there; he also heard that a company of the Rifles and two guns had been ordered to the collectorate; other men also came saying, guns had likewise been placed on the Begum's bridge, the bad characters were carrying off the plundered property, the prisoners were looking out for native officials, and the mutinous sepoys were holding a consultation by a branch of the canal adjoining the village Rethanee, the subject of which was not known; all those at the time near my house said to Ahmud Buxsh, no arrangements could be made for putting down the city rioters, as no trace could be found of the cotwal, and it was supposed he had hid himself. But that without doubt, the Europeans with guns, would shortly be sent to take account of the bad characters, and that on the morrow, the insurgents would be seized, and be made to restore all the plundered property carried away by them, recommending us to take care of our houses, and keep watch; we accordingly closed our doors at about 11 P. M., and watched all night.

The next day, I learned that the jail guard had assailed the house of Buhadur Singh, treasurer of the Dewany Adawlut, but on receipt of 25 rupees, refrained, from plundering him; they acted in the same manner with the collectorate treasurer all that occurred subsequently is known to the authorities. I did what in me lay in favor of the Government, and tried to find out, whether the city people joined the sepoys in the mutiny or not, and whether the respectable portion of them were aware of any conspiracy or not, but failed in discovering this; thus much only was ascertained, that the sowars, and sepoys had concocted the mutiny among themselves. Had respectable men been aware of this, the loyal sepoys would never have kept it secret, it would in all probability have been divulged before the outbreak. One thing is certain, the bad characters of the city and cantonments, were active in plundering and destroying, and many of them, in consequence, fled with the mutineers; those who remained received condign punishment.

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No. 5.—*Statement of Gunga Pershad, Tehseeldar of Meerut.*—About the end of 1856, or beginning of 1857, chapatees found their way into this district, and were dis-

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tributed over the country. They first came from the southeast boundary. Village chowkeedars circulated them, telling those of the neighbouring villages to make and pass on the same number, from village to village. The people of the city and sudder, now began talking of the greased cartridges, said to be prepared with cow's and pig's fat, ordered for all the native corps. Just then, the news of the Barrackpoor mutiny reached this, and confirmed the belief of the sepoys in the rumour; as also in that of attah, mixed with bones, having arrived at Cawnpore, and being sent on to Meerut, upon which the sepoys took only rice for their food. In the end of April, a fukeer appeared at Soorujkoond, the sepoys constantly took him to dine with them in their lines. He was ordered to leave by the late Mr. Johnstone, then Magistrate. About the end of April, some of the 3rd cavalry barracks were set on fire. On the 9th of May, when the sowars of 3rd cavalry were confined in jail, it was rumoured that the sepoys would mutiny. On Sunday 10th, at about 5 P. M. while in tuhseel, my guard told me the sudder bunneahs were coming in great haste, and talked of all the native regiments having mutinied. I came out, and saw multitudes coming from the sudder into the city, and heard firing. I immediately closed office, and taking up my sword and rifle, stood with a few tuhseel peons at the gate. Soon after, a 3rd cavalry sowar, with naked sword passed in full gallop towards the Jail, crying out, " Brothers, Hindoos and Mussalmans, haste and join us, we are going to a religious war. Be assured, we will not harm those who join us, but fight only against the Government." In a short time, some 50 others followed him towards the jail, and a great number of sepoys. After sunset, I heard of the mutineers having broken open the jail, and released the prisoners. Soon after, I saw hundreds of them coming from the sudder, shouting Ali! Ali! They set fire to the civil court, and the house occupied by Major Williams, plundering them and burning the records, &c., and being joined by a party composed of prisoners, jail nujjeebs, and others, made a rush on the tuhseel, firing and shouting; as they were coming, I killed two of the 3rd cavalry sowars, but was soon pointed out and on the point of being killed, when I jumped over the wall and got on to the roof of another house. On their coming to this also, I succeeded in escaping through the peshkar's house, and concealing myself in the one, to which I had conveyed the females. The cries of Ali! Ali! lasted till midnight, when hearing all the mutineers had left for Delhie, I visited the tuhseel, and found the whole a mass of fire. I was informed that the butchers, puladars, khaticks weavers, dureewallas, khansamas, khidmutgars, syces, and grass-cutters, were active in plundering, aided by people from the surrounding villages, as also, that the khaticks and pulladars murdered European men and women, but no names were mentioned. In the commencement of the attack, I only recognized a few of the dureewalas, two of whom have since been hung, and the rest have fled, also a few others, residents of that part of the city where the Kambohs live, with two dyers, none of these latter have I seen since. They were all Mussalmans. Reports were current that night, of all the magazine, guns, &c., having been taken by the mutineers to Delhie, and of the British authority being at an end. From the 11th, both city and sudder remained quiet, though for four or five nights the latter was surrounded by village budmashes seeking to plunder it. On the 11th, I began enquiring into the doings of the past night, and searched houses for plundered property, every night stolen European goods were thrown out, in most of the mohullas, and empty compounds of houses in the Civil Lines. The few caught doing this, were sent to the authorities and punished, but most fled to Delhie and thus escaped. I have also seen at nights, when going round the city, heaps of goods and woollen clothes burning in the ditch of the city and other spots. When, after the outbreak, I and Mungulsein went to ticket the empty houses, we generally found those of Mussalmans, especially weavers, and dureewallas, empty. I also heard, that on the 11th, Hafiz Ruheem Moulvie went with some jehadees to Delhie.

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No. 6.—*Statement of Narain Dass, Gomashtah.*—With reference to the queries of Major Williams, Superintendent of Police, I beg to state that the fakeer alluded to, arrived here perhaps about a month (I cannot exactly recollect) previous to the 10th of May 1857, and put up, he said, at Soorujkund tank; in the course of his stay at Meerut, he came to me twice, first he asked me to supply him with one day's provisions for his whole followers, who numbered, he said, about 60 men, one elephant and bullocks belonging to his ruth, I paid very little attention to his request, and he sat before me for about half an hour, praising my ancestors, and when he found it was in vain, he went away: after an interval of about four days he came to me again, for the last time and requested me the same as on the previous day, to which I replied, that I could not afford to meet his demands in full more than one rupee, which I presented him with; he accepted it, though unwillingly, and going away, I saw him no more.

As much as I knew of him, I can confidently say that he was an inhabitant of somewhere near Benares, or in the vicinity of Oude. I had seen him also in Kalka, at the foot of the Kussoulee Hills.

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No. 7.—*Mungul Sain, Moonshee, states*—that the fakeer came with an elephant, a ruth and horses, he pitched his camp near the Soorujkund, about the 10th or 11th April, sepoys flocked to him, and he visited them in their lines. He was turned out by the order of the Magistrate.

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No. 8.—*Mirchgee and Juggunnauth Doss, Residents of Soorujkund, depose*—that the fakeer came about a month before the outbreak, and pitched his camp near the tank, he had a melancholy appearance, and was a resident of Ajuddeah. The sepoys of the 20th Native Infantry often visited him, and he them in their own lines; where he took up his abode, when turned out from the Soorujkund.

The cotwal of the sudder bazar reports, that the fakeer was at Meerut, on the 24th of April 1857, and told him, he was a resident of Ajuddeah.

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No. 9.—*Sagur Brahmin, who lived in the Regimental Bazar of the 20th Native Infantry, deposes*—that about 25 days before the mutiny, this fakeer, a Hindoo, who had an elephant, a ruth and horses, and about 20 or 25 followers, came and took up his abode in the 20th Native Infantry lines, in the huts of the 4th company.

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No. 10.—*Moulah Bux, Havildar, 20th Native Infantry, doposes*—that about 15 days before the outbreak, he heard of a fakeer of this description, he had an elephant, a ruth and horses, and about 10 followers, he came to the 20th Regiment Native Infantry lines, 4th company, and remained a few days, he appeared to be a Hindoo, and a resident of Ajuddeah.

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No. 11.—*Ussudullah, Jemadar, 20th Native Infantry, deposes*—that in February, he was at the Rifle Depot, Umballa, and remained 4 months, during which time, a fakeer, who had an elephant, a ruth and horses, and a few followers, was there, he saw him on the road*.

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No. 12.—*Deposition of Kooman Singh, late Havildar in the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, now wordee Major in the Mounted Police.*—On the 1st or 2nd of May, Brijmohun* a sowar of the 3rd Cavalry, told the men, he had fired off the new cartridge, and though they all called him a mean fellow, yet on the morrow, when they would all have to do the same, it would be seen, who would dare to refuse. On this, Peer Ali and Kudrut Ali, naiks, told their comrades, a magazine classie had averred an oath, that these new cartridges had been greased with cow's and pig's fat, and that, as they would have to touch them with their hands, they would be inevitably polluted; that for the Mahomedans

*Information conce
ing this fakeer has b
sought for at Agra
Umballah. He is s
posed to have gone
Delhie with the sowa

* In the first incendiary fires that broke out, Brij Mohun's house was one of those burnt, as is shown by the following extract from the Police Register Sudder Bazar; "13th April after 12 o'Clock in the night, Pramdeal chowkedar, reported that in the middle of the 3rd Cavalry Lines Brij Mohun Sowar's house, and four others were burnt."

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it did not so much matter, since they could remove the pollution, but for the Hindoos, it would be a sad business, as they would irrecoverably lose caste. Now we officers of the 1st Troop, stand on the right hand of the column, you shall see how decidedly we will refuse the cartridges. Do you all likewise take courage, and tell your captains, you will not use them, until every regiment has consented to do so. To this proposition, both Mahomedans and Hindoos bound themselves by oath on the Koran and Gunga; consequently, the next morning on parade, the cartridges were refused*, and on the 9th of May, 85 of the men were committed to jail. A rumour spread to the effect that 2,000 sets of irons, were ordered to be prepared in two nights and a day, for the rest of the men. On the afternoon of 10th, it was reported, that the Rifles were coming down to deprive the 20th Regiment of their charge of the magazine, in consequence of which, the 11th and 20th Regiments assembled on parade and armed themselves. The officers of the 3rd Cavalry ordered the regiments to assemble on their parades, and sent a squadron to the civil jail, which soon returned, as it had already been broken open and the troopers and prisoners released. The colonel of the 11th, coming forward to try and pacify the 20th Regiment, was shot; great confusion and uproar now ensued, firing of muskets commenced, bungalows blazed, and great was the destruction of life and property; all Christians coming across their way being put to death.

The mutineers then took to the Delhie road, headed by the cavalry, and accompanied by many of the convicts. The artillery coming up, fired grape upon the crowds, who all dispersed and ran away. About 39 troopers remaining staunch to their officers, the latter with four flags were brought by them into the European lines. Sheik Ali Bux, havildar major, came to me at about 11 P. M., and asked me, if I would prefer being blown up or hung or would go to Delhie, strongly advising my choice of the latter alternative, to which, I replied, I could not be guilty of such ingratitude as to leave my officers, but must stay and see them safe to the European lines.

The bad characters of the city and sudder, and more especially the mean fellows, were roving about in search of plunder, while hundreds of bungalows were burning.

*One of the 85 troopers imprisoned on the 9th May 1857.

On going into the city on the second day after to buy some food, I met there my nephew* Shewa Sing, and upon asking him, he said, he could not go to Delhi, but if his life were pledged to him, he would return to serve the British, if not, he would live where best he could. He further asserted, that two parties of bad characters had caused the disturbances in the city, set fire to the neighbouring bungalows, burnt the judge's kutcherry, and killed all the Christian writers. The one party was headed by Mahomed Ali Khan, resident of the Naie Bazar in the city, who, with about 500 men traversed the streets all night, shouting out, Ali, Ali, our religion has revived. The other party attached itself to a Moolvie, whose name I do not remember, and was acting in the same way.

*Q.*—Did the regiments preconcert this rebellion?

*A.*—The said regiments did not plot any thing before hand. Had they done so, they would not have kept their wives and children with them as they did; these had to wander about the town for several days, and afterwards went wherever they could.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of the rioters?

*A.*—As it was dark, I could not distinguish any amongst the crowds, who committed all the havoc, but most likely they were composed of butchers, labourers and Mahomedans. Rundheer Sing, trooper, knows many of the bad characters concerned, and if questioned, could doubtless give much information.

* The Cartridges thus refused could not of course have been the obnoxious ones, these latter being used with the Enfield Rifle alone.

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No 13.—*Deposition of Runddeer Singh, Trooper, of the 3rd Light Cavalry, now with the Mounted Police, at Meerut.*—On the day of the mutiny, I was on duty at the quarter guard, the firing commenced in the 20th Regiment Native Infantry, and shortly afterwards, I saw bungalows burning; I was with the officers of my corps, and accompanied them to the European lines.

*Q.*—Do you know whether the mutiny was preconcerted?

*A.*—No, the men objected to the cartridges, two naiks, Koodrut Ali, and Peer Ali, persuaded the men to take an oath to refuse them, till every regiment had consented to use them. After the 85 were sent to jail, a report circulated, that two thousand sets of irons were being prepared for those who might still persist in refusing them.

*Q.*—Where did you first hear this report?

*A.*—I cannot tell; it was spread abroad every where.

*Q.*—Was the mutiny planned for the 10th May?

*A.*—No, nothing of the kind.

*Q.*—How did it then commence?

*A.*—I was on duty, and therefore did not see all that took place, but I heard, that the report of the Artillery and Europeans coming to take the arms of the native regiments, caused the mutiny.

*Q.*—Who set this report about?

*A.*—I cannot tell.

*Q.*—Was there any rumour in your corps of attah mixed with bones being sold?

*A.*—Yes, three or four days before the mutiny, it was rumoured that attah mixed with bones, had reached the European Bazar.

*Q.*—Did the men leave off taking it, in consequence?

*A.*—No, they did not, they took it as usual, but the rumour was prevalent.

*Q.*—Can you give any information regarding the men who plundered the houses in cantonments, and murdered Europeans on the night of the 10th May?

*A.*—About five or six days after the mutiny, I was in the city, near the Shrine of Haji Gung and saw Kulloo, formerly a burkundaz in the jail guard, Sekunder Raheem Khan, and Malla Khan*, who was killed at Delhie with others, whom I did not recognize, and heard them boasting, that they had killed many Europeans, burnt and plundered bungalows, and were going to Delhie, with a Moulvie, whose name I did not hear.

*Q.*—How was it, that they so freely stated this in your presence?

*A.*—I had known some of them before.

*Q.*—Are these men still in the city?

*A.*—I do not know.

*Q.*—Could you recognize them?

*A.*—Yes, I could.

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No. 14.—*Deposition of Zalim Singh, Trooper, 3rd Light Cavalry, Drill Instructor in the Mounted Police.*—On the 30th of April or 1st May, a sowar of the 3rd light

* Certain bad characters bearing these names, were confronted with the deponent, but he could not identify them.

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cavalry called Brijmohun, came into the lines and said, I have used the new cartridges, and to-morrow you all will have to fire them, who will refuse to do so. Koodrut Ali, and Peer Ali, naiks, said to the Mussulman and Hindoo sowars, the cartridges had been greased with pigs' and cows' fat, adding the former could regain their purity, but the latter would irrecoverably lose caste, that they the naiks being posted in the right of the column, would refuse to bite the cartridges, and bid them tell all the men to do likewise, also to report to their captains, that till every regiment had agreed to use the cartridges, they would not take them. Thereupon the Mussulman swore by the Koran, and the Hindoos by the Gunga, to abide by this resolve. The next day on parade, Peer Ali, Koodrut Ali, and others refused to use the cartridges until the whole army had decided on doing so. Upon which 85 who refused, were tried and sent to jail. A report spread in our lines, and in those of the other native regiments, that they all would be put in irons, as orders had been given to prepare 2,000 sets of irons, to be ready within a couple of days. On the following day the 10th of May, it was reported among the 20th regiment native infantry, that the Rifles were coming to take away their magazine. In consequence, this corps and the 11th assembled on parade, taking their arms with them. The officers tried to pacify them, assuring them they would not lose charge of the magazine, but without effect, as the men began firing upon them, and some of them were thus killed.

The Officers of the 3rd light cavalry having ordered the bugles to sound for parade, the men fell in; a squadron under two officers was sent to the jail, but returned, as it had already been broken open and the prisoners released. By this time it was dark, and the two native regiments came towards the cavalry parade. The artillery now appeared, firing grape, upon which the mutineers fled, some of the sowars, however, remained. I took refuge, first in the riding master's house, and then hid in a village near the lines, and early next morning, presented myself to the commanding officer. I had not had time to get my horse or arms when the mutiny broke out.

*Q.*—As the troops did not remain, who committed the murders, and burnt and destroyed houses and property?

*A.*—The confusion was very great that night, but it was certain that policemen, with convicts, butchers and pulledars, were plundering and burning bungalows and murdering all Europeans, (men, women and children) they came across, shouting Ali, Ali, the mahomedan religion has again risen!

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of the people?

*A.*—The night was dark, and the uproar great, so that I could not recognize individuals, but I saw with my own eyes the police engaging in the riot.

*Q.*—Where did you see these policemen?

*A.*—On the road between the sudder and the cavalry lines, or rather between the sudder and the police station, near the cavalry lines.

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No. 15.—*Deposition of Duljeet Singh, late Pay Havildar, 11th Regiment N. I., Resident of Mouzah Sarwarah, Zillah Lucknow.*—On the 10th of May, Sunday, at about 5 P. M., the mutiny broke out, I was in the quarter guard, and heard the European soldiers were coming to take away the magazine. This rumour was raised by the sepoys of the 20th regiment and bazar people; seeing this I told the naik to go and inform the commanding officer. Meanwhile, the colonel of our regiment and other officers came and ordered the sepoys to fall in by companies, without arms talking to them cheerfully, saying, no one would carry away the magazine

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without the colonel's orders, he then went towards the men of the 20th, who shot at him, his horse being wounded, he returned towards his own lines, the sepoys of the 20th pursued, and fired at him, when the men of our regiment saw them doing so, they broke the locks of the bells of the arms, and took their arms.

The officers then went to their bungalows. When our sepoys heard of the murder of the colonel, they were much afraid, thinking they would not be spared, and consequently fled, meanwhile three sepoys of the 20th approached near our quarter guard, saying, take away the flags and treasure, which we did and ran, they fired at us, but missed. I being alone, left the flag and ran to the colonel's bungalow, but as he was murdered, I went on to that of Captain Owen, and remained the whole night there, going on the following morning to Captain Scott's.

*Q.*—Was any revolt plotted before the outbreak in your regiment?

*A.*—Nothing was conspired beforehand, had there been, I, as pay havildar, must have heard it, only at about 5 P. M., was it rumoured in the 20th regiment, and in the sudder bazar, that the European soldiers were coming to take away the magazine, this rumour occasioned the disturbance.

*Q.*--Do you know how this report orginated, and who first spread it about?

*A.*—I do not know how this rumour originated, nor who first set it about. The colonel's murder embarassed the men, so that they fled and commenced firing, which caused the sedition to rise to its height.

*Q.*—Had there been no conspiracy arranged with the 20th regiment previously?

*A.*—No communication of the kind had been held with the 20th previously.

*Q.*—How did they then at once unanimously decide on going to Delhie?

*A.*—Nothing was preconcerted before the outbreak, after which, they went off wheresoever they liked.

*Q.*—If there was no precombination, how was it that the several detached guards, at good distances from each other, broke out in revolt, at precisely the same time?

*A.*—I think they must have heard of the mutiny, and at once joined.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear any thing of the way in which Europeans were killed and bungalows burnt?

*A.*— I did not see or hear any thing, but was told the bad characters of the sudder bazar, burnt the bungalows, and created the disturbance. In the night, 8 or 10 bad characters, rushed into Captain Owen's bungalow to plunder, but I turned them out by threatening them.

*Q.*—What sort of men were they?

*A.*—I could not distinguish them.

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No. 16.—*Deposition of Bukt Singh, late Pay Havildar of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, son of Munshaw Singh, Chatree, Resident of Goury, in the Province of Lucknow, age 40 years.*—When the mutiny occurred on the 10th of May, I was opposite the store house, making up the pay accounts, a report spread that the European soldiers were coming to take away the magazine stores. It orignated with the 20th regiment, who raised a tumult, our regiment being confused, ran to the bells of arms, which I immediately locked up, and sent to inform the captain. The sepoys

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of the 20th now came to our regiment firing ball. By the colonel's orders (who was present) the sepoys were mustered. He himself took charge of the keys of the bells of arms, and ordered the captains to see if the muskets were in them or with the sepoys. Then going to the 20th he asked them what they were about, they fired upon him, and wounding his horse, he rode back to his own lines, the sepoys pursuing.

Our men now ran towards the bells of arms, where my captain and myself were standing. He told them to keep quiet, but they would not listen, and broke open the doors. I then advised his going away, when we approached the rear guard, the havildar major told us of the colonel's death, upon which, I urged his departure, myself accompanying him a long way. On returning to my regiment, I found my nephew crying, and took him to Mouzah Kothour, where after staying a couple of days, I accompanied a canal moonshie to the adjutant, Mr. Chambers, and Captain Bird. I was detained unavoidably 2 or 3 days from having account papers with me, and the road being infested with plunders.

All I saw and heard, I laid before my officers.

*Q.*—Did the sepoys of your regiment preconcert the mutiny?

*A.*—Nothing was premeditated, or I should have known it, the mutiny occurred from hearing that the soldiers were coming to take away the magazine.

*Q.*—How did this rumour originate?

*A.*—I do not know how it first arose. Our sepoys (fearing from the colonel having been murdered, they would all be hung on the morrow,) raised a disturbance.

*Q.*—If the mutiny was not previously plotted, how was it possible for all to agree unanimously to go to Delhie?

*A.*—Nothing was preconcerted; after the mutiny, they made off wherever they wished.

*Q.*—If the mutiny was not preconcerted, why did the distant guards break out at the same time?

*A.*—There was no precombination, on hearing of the revolt they must have broke up and fled.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing regarding the plundering of property, and burning of bungalows?

*A.*—The sepoys soon went off, but the bad characters of the city and town were roving about in crowds.

*Q.*—Could you recognize who they were?

*A.*—I could not distinguish them, there being great confusion.

*Q.*—What did you see whilst going to Kathour?

*A.*—The convicts were flying into the villages, and spreading the news about, which encouraged the villagers to beset the road for plunder.

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No. 17.—*Deposition of Joygopal Singh, Sepoy of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, Rajpoot, son of Thakoor Singh, Resident of Mouza Jota, Pergunah Gopalpore, Zillah Azimgurh, age 40 years.*—On the evening of the 10th of May last, hearing a great noise and bustle, I came out of the hospital, where I was on leave attending my sick brother, and saw all the sepoys assembled on the parade without arms. The colonel and officers came on the parade (the keys of the bells of arms,) were in the hands of the

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officers. On the 20th regiment firing on our men, they appealed to the colonel, who instantly proceeded towards the 20th sepoys, although we begged him not. A bullet bringing down his horse, he returned on foot to our lines. Pirtee Singh, havildar and others, entreated him to delay no longer, and took hold of him to force him away, when another bullet struck him down. Our sepoys now broke open the bells of arms, and took away the arms, some 12 or 13 went to the officers and told them of the colonel's death, and urged their flying, upon their not listening they forcibly took them home. By this time it was dark, and firing commenced from all quarters, I returned to the hospital.

*Q.*—Was there nothing preconcerted in your regiment?

*A.*—I have told the truth, our regiment never conspired, nor intended to mutiny.

*Q.*—*Did* you never hear any thing about the outbreak previously?

*A.*—I never heard any thing of the kind, only that some sowars were confined for disobedience.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear any thing of Europeans being killed, or houses burnt?

*A.*—Beyond what I have stated, I saw and heard nothing, as I did not leave the hospital. But the next day was told, the sudder bazar butchers had been murdering European women.

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No. 18.—*Deposition of Punchum Singh, Havildar of the 20th Regiment Native Infantry*—On Sunday 10th of May, at about 5 P. M., some sepoys of the 11th and 20th regiments, who were in the sudder bazar, returning hurriedly to their lines, stating that the European soldiers were coming to deprive them of their arms and the magazines. They were followed by a crowd of bad characters of the sudder bazar, such as butchers, pulladars and others. Hearing of this, the officers assembled on the parade, and quieted their men, who returned to their lines. I heard a sepoy of the 11th, calling out, that the rifles and artillery were coming to take away the muskets. Shortly after this an orderly trooper, I think of the brigade major's galloped past, raised his hand and shouted out that the rifles and artillery were coming to deprive us of our arms, hearing this, the men rushed out, seized there muskets and broke open the magazine. The colonel of the 11th regiment, rode up and spoke kindly and cheerfully to the men of the 20th, telling them, that the magazine would not be taken from them, but they warned him off, and as he still remained, they fired at him, when he returned to his regiment. Captain Macdonald of my corps also spoke kindly to the men, and tried to re-assure them, but they would not believe him, and fired at him also. Lieutenant Henderson was also fired at and wounded. I got him into the hospital, put him on a cot and gave him water to drink. Some sepoys of the 11th regiment, wishing to kill him, I concealed him in a back room.—The mutineers went off to Delhie, leaving their families and property behind them.

*Q.*—Did you hear of any conspiracy in the regiment?

*A.*—No, there was no conspiracy beforehand, had there been any, the men would not have left their wives and property behind.

*Q.*—If there was no precombination, how was it, that the several detached guards, some at a good distance off, such as the Collector's guard, &c., broke out into mutiny at the same moment?

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A.—Nothing was plotted beforehand, the rumours brought by the sepoys and the bad characters of the Sudder Bazar, on the evening of the 10th, caused the revolt, the disturbance spreading quickly, the different guards joined their comrades. But all did not leave, for instance the cantonment magistrate's guard remained a couple of days, and then dispersed on that officer's dismissing them.

Q.—Who committed the murders on the night of the 10th of May, the sepoys or the mob?

A.—The sepoys soon left the station for Delhie. The bad characters of the sudder bazar, the butchers, pulladars, chowkeedars, and policemen, caused all the havoc and destruction that occurred, in the burning of bungalows and murdering of Europeans, men, women and children.

Q.—Could you recognize any of these men?

A.—There was great confusion, and it was dark, so that I could not recognize any of them, but I saw with my own eyes, crowds of bad characters and policemen dressed in blue uniforms doing the mischief.

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No. 19.—*Deposition of Sheikh Moula Bux, Havildar, 20th Regiment, Native Infantry.*—After the parade on the 9th of May, when 85 troopers were sent to jail, I went to Major Taylor's house with the morning report book, he asked me why the sepoys looked up and down and wept? I said these troopers were comrades. The Major assured me, that there was nothing wrong in the cartridges, and told me to comfort the men, this I did by telling them what the Major said, at which they appeared pleased and satisfied. On the 10th of May, about 5 o'clock, I went to the dyer's in the sudder, and whilst standing at a pedlar's shop, I was surprised at seeing sepoys of my own corps, and the 11th, running hastily to their lines. I stopt a musician named Darean, and asked him what was the matter? He said, he had just heard from a cook boy of the rifles, that the artillery and rifles were coming to take away the arms and ammunition of the native regiments. I immediately returned. The sudder bazar was then quiet, but the bad characters, with the butchers, pulladars, &c., followed the sepoys to their lines, calling out that the rifles and artillery were coming. I met Major Taylor and the Doctor, at the rear guard, and accompanied them to the magazine of the regiment. I there saw some 70 budmashes of the sudder bazar. The Major told me to take 4 sepoys and drive them away. They only retreated a few paces, and kept near the magazine. The 11th regiment had assembled on parade, Major Taylor ordered the men of the 20th to remain quiet in their lines, which they did. A trooper of the 3rd cavalry galloped past from the direction of the brigade major's, holding up his hand and shouting out, that the rifles and artillery were coming to deprive the men of their arms and ammunition. The bad characters of the sudder took up the cry, and kept shouting out the same. Upon this, the sepoys of the right wing began to leave their huts, and assembled at the magazine. Captain Macdonald, and the officers with myself, tried to pacify the men, telling them that the rifles and artillery were not coming, but they would not believe us. The Colonel of the 11th regiment also came to the magazine, and spoke kindly to the men, telling them not to be afraid; that the magazine would not be taken from them, and there was nothing in the cartridges that would harm them; that they were made with ghee, but the men would not listen to him, and told him to be off; the Colonel not leaving, the men commencing firng, when he went back to his regiment. There were about 40 or 50 sepoys at the magazine, they fired at Captain Macdonald and myself, the Captain was shot, but I got him into the sergeant major's bungalow. Major Taylor then came up, in passing through the lines, a sepoy presented his musket at him, but I restrained him, by saying that the Major was ready to die for the men. A butcher of the sudder bazar made a cut at Major Taylor, but he

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knocked the man down. I took away the sword and would have killed the butcher, but the Major told me to let him go; seeing a number of bad characters about, I got the Major into the baboo's house, and hid him there, sepoy Bance Misser and myself watched at the door. The Major said it was very hot, and wished to get to his own house; this we managed to do. I then escorted another officer to the Major's house; seeing some troopers of the 3rd cavalry approaching, I got into the Doctor's house and hid myself. When it was dusk, I went to the lines of my regiment. I saw the sepoys weeping, they were very sad and said the recruits had ruined them, but they had killed the sepoy who fired the first shot. I then secreted myself with my wife and family, but lost all my property.

*Q.*—State the truth, was there any conspiracy amongst the men?

*A.*—No, there was no conspiracy.

*Q.*—How then did the detached guards at some distance from the lines at once join the mutineers?

*A.*—The uproar and confusion was very great, and immediately it reached the guards, they joined their regiments.

*Q.*—What did you see of the Sudder bazar?

*A.*—The bad characters of the Sudder, butchers, pulladars, koonjras, fishermen, &c., were roving about murdering and plundering.

*Q.*—Did you remark any of the police?

*A.*—I did not.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the butcher, who attacked Major Taylor?

*A.*—Yes, if I saw him again.

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No. 20.—*Deposition of Resaldar J. Hawes, of the Military Mounted Police.*—"On "the afternoon of the 10th of May 1857, the day of the out-break of the Troops at "Meerut, two or three men of the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry to "which I belonged, told me that the men of the Regiment in a body were going to "give in an application the next morning to the Colonel, and request him to for-"ward it to the General Commanding, to beg the release from confinement of the "85 Prisoners, and that if Government would employ them again, or let them go "to their homes free, they would be willing to obey any orders whatever that might "be given to them. To this I made answer, that I thought it would be a very good "plan."

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No. 21.—*Statement of Mr. James Doorit, Jailor.*—I was in charge of the Meerut Central Prison in May last. On the 9th of that month, 85 troopers of the 3rd light cavalry were committed by the sentence of a general court martial, eighty for 10 years, and five for 5 years, with irons and hard labour. At 5 P. M., I gave orders to the jemadar of the jail guard, (Bhowanee Sing) to go with the turnkeys to count the prisoners inside their different wards, and to prepare to lock them up for the night, shortly after I went inside the jail myself, to see that all was correct and secure, when I received the keys from the jemedar, and on coming outside, I stopped to give orders to the native officer of the guard, at the main gate (that had been sent down with 24 sepoys from the 20th regiment native infantry, by General Hewett,) when I observed heavy clouds of smoke rising in the direction of the cavalry lines, at the same time, I heard great shouting towards the city, and shortly after I saw a large body of mounted cavalry galloping up at full speed with drawn swords towards the jail. I immediately gave orders to turn out all the guards, and ran round to the jail guard, to send them to reinforce that at the main gate, when firing commenced, but the men at the main gate, belonging to the 20th regiment native infantry, made no resistance, and allowed the cavalry to ride into the jail and take possession of it. On seeing this, I proceeded and reported what had taken place to the Magistrate, (Mr. Johnstone) who wrote to the Brigade Major for assistance; the sowar who took the note returned very quickly, stating, that he had been attacked on the road by the 3rd cavalry men and one of them had taken the letter from him.

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I remained with Mr. Johnstone all that night, he had sowars bringing reports to him every half hour or so, and a little after 2 o'clock A. M., one of them came and informed him that the villagers had gone in a body and attacked the jail, set fire to it, and destroyed my house and property, with all the buildings outside, and released eight hundred and thirty-nine prisoners, that were locked up the evening before in the new jail, and seven hundred and twenty at the old, near the city, which the sepoys of the 20th and 11th regiments native infantry attacked, plundered and attempted to set fire to. On going down to the jail the next day, I found the house built for me much destroyed and burnt, the whole of my property cleared out and taken away, the jail godowns plundered of all the bar, flat, and sheet iron, carpenters', blacksmiths', masons', and other working tools, nails, screws, bolts, and hinges, brass and iron cooking utensils, millstones, with a large stock of saul timber taken away, and most of the door frames in the barracks inside the jail with iron bars in them pulled out, what they could not move, they burnt and destroyed to the extent of Rs. 22,832.

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No, 22.—*Deposition of Mahomed Ashruf Beg, Jail Darogah of Meerut, son of Mirza Rajjub Beg, Mogul, Resident of Ghazeeabad, aye 35 years.*—On the 10th of May at about 6 P M., some sowars of the 3rd light cavalry bare headed, with drawn swords, came on horseback before the jail, and rode off towards Komboh durwaza. I and Farzand Ali, jemadar of the jail toomun, first of all tried to shut the gate, then securing the prisoners in barracks, locked up the doors and served out ammunition to the men on guard; about 7 P. M., nearly 300 or 400 sepoys came with muskets, and seeing me standing at the gate demanded the key, which I refused to give up; one of them firing at me, I had a narrow escape and went up into the upper chamber; the sepoys now began to give abuse and collecting some bundles of straw lying about, set fire with them to the gate, then bursting open the door to the west, rushed into the jail. The jail guards offered no resistance but fled. On reaching the 2nd gate, and being as before refused the keys, they smashed the padlock with their muskets, broke open every barrack and released the convicts.

A jemadar and myself endeavoured to get to the Magistrate's, but the European soldiers posted in the cutchery compound, would not allow any to pass that way, we returned by the mundee chowkey, (where the jemadar and burkundazes were present) to the jail, and saw the gates and malkhana burning. I spent the night in the city, and next morning went to the Magistrate's, who sent me to assist the tuhseeldar.

*Q.*—When the sepoys attacked the jail, who else were with them?

*A.*—No others were with the sepoys at the jail. But when going to the magistrate's, I saw hundreds of common people roving about, such as butchers, koonjras, &c., with staves and some with swords.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of them?

*A.*—It was dark, and I had to fly hurriedly, besides, I am a stranger in the station, so could not recognize them.

*Q.*—About what number of sowars passed first of all, and were any bad characters with them?

*A.*—When before the jail, no bad characters were with them, but many had joined them further on, they were about 30 or 40 in number.

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No. 23.—*Statement of Baboo Hursarun Dass.*—I left Dehlie for Meerut on the night of the 10th of May 1857, about 10 o'clock, with my son and three other natives, in one of Gunga Ram's Dak Carriages. Just after crossing the Hindun, and getting on to the Meerut road, between 12 and 1 o'clock, we met 8 sowars in uniform.

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A shot fired by one of them cut the harness, they asked the driver what European (Feringee) was inside, he replied, only a Moonshie with other natives, the sowars went on to Dehlie, allowing us to proceed; about 4 miles further on, we fell in with another party of 25 sowars, they were also armed, and some had their swords drawn, but were not habited alike, some few being in uniform, but most without. Two or three shots were fired at us unsuccessfully. Hearing from the sound of hoofs, that a body of sowars were coming up, I and my son secreted ourselves in some jungle on the road side, and saw the sowars plundering the carriage, and take the horse with them. I heard them say, they had destroyed Meerut. I then proceeded along the fields to Mooradnuggur, reaching it about sun rise. I found the tuhseel had been burnt by the mutinous troops, and no conveyance was to be had. With difficulty, I procured a bullock cart, (tanga) the driver of which objecting to go by the highroad, we proceeded along bye paths to Mooree. On reaching this village, I saw some armed men at a distance, who proved to be a party of the Meerut jail guard, with muskets and pouches; I asked them where they were going, one of them sorrowfully replied, the troops at Meerut have mutinied, the sowars joined by the city budmashes, and those of the sudder bazar, have broken the jail, and released prisoners; had we remained at Meerut, we should have been punished, we have therefore joined the rebel troops, and must now take whatever Providence has "in store for us." I remained at Mooree a short time, and then attempted to proceed, but after going six miles, met some travellers, who had been plundered and ill-treated, from whom I heard, that some 2 or 300 goojurs were on the road ahead, and had just plundered a wedding procession, a party of some 70 men, and wounded some of them. I was consequently obliged to return to Mooree, and it was only on the 19th, that having hired an escort of 25 men, I could get into Meerut.

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No. 24.—*Deposition of Ram Lall, Coachman son of Ram Singh Khateek, Resident of Begumabad, age 25 years.*—The night the mutiny at Meerut occurred, I brought over from Dehlie, Moonshie Hursaran Doss, his son, a servant, and to other men and at about 1 o'clock A. M. reached the Meerut road, by the Gazeeooddeenduggur Bridge, when we met 8 sowars in cavalry uniform, one of whom firing at the carriage cut the harness across, and asked me if any Feringees were inside. I replied, "no, only a Moonshie;" they opened the door, looked in and went off, about 5 miles from Mooradnugger, we met about 30 sowars, some in uniform and some not, but all with pistols and naked swords, some of them struck the carriage, without however, doing any harm, meanwhile the passengers got out, the sowars examined it, and then went away, it sounded as if other sowars were coming behind, the Moonshie offered to give me Rs. 10 if I would convey his things to Mooradnugger; but I said, I could not leave the carriage, he replied, if you will save the papers no blame shall attach to you about my property. The Moonshie, his son, and servant, then went into the jungle, and the other two passengers to Gazeeabad; after a while, a number of sowars and sepoys came up to the gharee, smashed it to pieces, and plundered the things. I being helpless left the road, fled eastwards, and arrived in the evening at Meerut, while coming to it, I saw parties of tens and twenties passing along the road, some with and some without arms, the syces and grasscutters riding horses. This I saw till 1 o'clock midnight, as far as village Bhorbhoral. The sowars and sepoys were going on ponies, which probably they obtained by plunder.

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No. 25.—*Deposition of Dowlut, a Jat, Resident of Mouza Bessokur, a Zemindar.*—Q.—At what time and in what state did the sowars pass through your village on their way to Dehlie?

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*A.*—I was in my house about 10 in the night, I heard the clatter of horses' hoofs on the road. A short distance from the village there is a well and a chowpal erected for travellers, there the sowars went, they appeared to be about 2 or 300 men, they staid a short time, set fire to the chowpal and went away. They were heard to say, that they had cut down the Electric Telegraph, they burnt a few of the posts in the fire near the well. After this, horsemen and sepoys were constantly passing through the village during the night.

*Q.*—What direction did they go after passing through Bessokur?

*A.*—They went straight to Dehlie. I heard in the morning, that a bungalow at Begumabad was burnt by them. I also heard, that about 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning, 2 or 3 Sowars came and went away without interfering with any one. A short time afterwards 8 or 9 men arrived, they are said to have wounded a European near Mouza Gouree's garden, who afterwards escaped to Bahadoorpore, he was coming from Dehlie, and was murdered by Jhangeera, goojur, and others.

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No. 26.—*Bidhee Singh, Chowkeedar of Mulliana, Luchminger, Khoshiallee and other Residents of Keshunpoor, depose*—that on the day of the outbreak, the sepoys and sowars, some with their uniforms on and some without, in little bands, consisting of about 20 or 30, passed through Mullianah to Dehlie and by Bhagput. They were evidently in a hurry, for they threw their arms and property all along the road. Kulloo and Hossain Buksh, and the Cotwal of Hauper state, that on the 10th of May 1857, two of the sowars' horses were brought into Hauper, and on the 11th May, 16 more from the Goolaothee road, from which it would appear, that the sowars went from Meerut through Goolaothee.

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No. 27.—*Depositions of Thundie and Behal, Zemindars of Seekree.*—The village Seekree is on the road to Dehlie. About midnight, sowars from the direction of Meerut passed; the sepoys about 5 hours afterwards. In the morning they were all gone. Both sowars and sepoys entered the village, and took whatever they could lay hands on, they also cut down the Electric Telegraph Posts.

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No. 28.—*Statement of Syed Meer Khan, known as the Sirdar Bahadoor.**—On the 10th of May 1857, (it was the Ramzan, and consequently a fast,) I suddenly heard a great uproar, and on enquiry learnt that the native troops had mutinied. It is the duty of a soldier to die bravely and not cowardly, he should fight and die as a martyr. I mounted and rode to the house of General Hewett. I found it on fire, and the mob plundering. I then went to the house of Mr. Greathed the Commissioner, and tried to persuade him to accompany me to cantonments, but he would not leave the house.

The mob appearing, I attacked them with great ferocity like a terrible lion; wounded 14 or 15, and drove them to the ice pits, here some mutineers came to their assistance, they fired at me, and I was wounded, but I still drove them back, killed one and wounded others, two balls pierced my horse, who died as I passed the camel sheds. I with some difficulty reached Mohomed Ali Khan's, who lent me a horse and sent me home. The next morning, my brother came and told me that the Commissioner and his wife, after having been concealed in the garden all night, had got safe to cantonments. I immediately went to see them, the Commissioner embraced me, and said, you have served me well; you have saved my life. I provided sowars and cossids; of the latter, one was sent to Agra, the second to Dehra Dhoon, the third to Umballa, and the fourth to Hansie. With the exception of the first to Agra, all were murdered. My brother Syed Jann, took the

* This statement was taken, to prove the incorrectness, of a very prevalent report, that the Sirdar Bahadoor, had prior to the revolt, warned the Chief Civil and Military Authorities of an intended outbreak.

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sowars to Bagput, and brought in 4 ladies and 4 gentlemen, who had escaped from Dehlie. By the favour of God, I fought many actions with the mutineers. Out of 50 sowars, 25 have been killed, and 14 wounded. What more can I say, the above is but a short account of my doings, if I were to detail them it would be immense.

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No. 29.—*Deposition of Lieutenant W. H. Furnell, of the Mounted Police, taken by me at Meerut, on the 23rd of December* 1857. *Lieutenant W. H. Furnell being sworn, deposes as follows.*—On the night of the 10th of May 1857, I was standing at the door of my bungalow, waiting for the dawk gharee to convey me to Dehlie; hearing sharp firing in the direction of the native infantry lines, and seeing natives hurrying in all directions, I hastily took my sword, which was on my baggage, mounted a horse, with only a blanket, and watering bridle, and rode towards the sudder bazar; near the wooden bridge, I met several European soldiers, (one was wounded) flying from some police peons and others, who were pursuing them with naked swords, but fled on seeing me approach armed. The soldiers begged me for God's sake, to go back or I should be murdered, all the sepoys and bazar people having mutinied. I urged them to hasten to their lines, and pushed forward myself in the hopes of saving some others.

On the other side of the bridge, I met two artillerymen, beset by a gang of natives, who also fled as I charged up; one poor fellow was severely cut across the face, and was evidently faint from loss of blood, I made him mount my horse, and we all three returned to their lines, and reached them in safety, my single weapon being alone enough to deter the mob from advancing. I left the artillerymen on their parade, and crossed to the foot artillery lines, beyond the hospital; I saw the rifles drawn up, as I passed on, arriving at the battery lines, I was accosted by some 50 or 60 women and children, praying me to go and get assistance for them, there not being one European left to protect that side of the station, only Goolundazes, who, they stated, had been using threatening language to them; and the fire was fast approaching their long range of quarters; whilst listening to their story, a wretched woman was brought in by a Sergeant, who had picked her up on the road nearly mad, and severely wounded, with a bleeding infant in her arms, she wildly stated, that her husband and 3 children had been butchered before her eyes but a short distance from where we stood; this determined me, and I started for the rifle picquet, which I expected would be placed on the mall. I had not proceeded many paces on the road leading to the Brigadier's house, where I came across the murdered corps of Mr. Phillips, the veterinary surgeon of the 3rd light cavalry. I reined up, but the quantity of blood that had issued from a deep sword cut at the back of his head, told me all was over, I recollect hearing a faint blow, as I approached the spot, but no cry was uttered. On turning to pursue my way, four men in the police uniform, rushed upon me, armed with drawn swords, the first stumbled and fell, the second I cut across the face and got clear off; passing, I was fired upon, from the Brigadiers's compound, but fortunately escaped! at the angle of the road near the artillery mess, where I expected to find a picket, I was again cut off by a mob of natives, with sticks, and had to turn off to the left by the road at the back of the mall, which I was prevented from gaining, until I reached Mr. Gibbon's stores, I then only succeeded by charging through a mob armed chiefly with latties, but the sudden turn, that brought me on them, dispersed them, as they raised a cry. "The Dragoons are coming" to this mistake, I attribute the safety of all the houses from that point to the mall, as they fled precipitately. Mrs. Fergusson's house was the only one burnt.

I saw and warned Larke the pensioner, who was standing at his gate. My road being now clear, I made for the carbineers' lines, a trooper lent me a saddle, on

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hearing of the unprotected state of the poor artillery women and children, a Captain of the dragoons offered to accompany me with 30 men. We started, but near the horse artillery lines, he and his men were ordered back. I pushed on to the hospital, where I succeeded in getting 5 volunteers, who accompanied me to the women's barracks. A Sergeant joined us, but he had no arms. I lent him my sword, and carried a child, we all then retired to the hospital. I then remembered, that my money, watch and some treasury drafts had been left on my table, I again took to my saddle, and succeeded in reaching my bungalow, and fortunately secured my little all just in time, as I was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, and was pursued by two mounted men, I believe of the 3rd cavalry, who chased me across the Begum's Bridge, over which I turned to the right; and on the road to Elahie Buksh, I passed two dead bodies, one a man's, the other a woman's dreadfully mutilated, and could distinctly hear cries for help, and of "murder" near O'Brien's Castle. In my flight I was several times cut at by the police; and on my returning by Elahie Buksh's I passed a gang of Mahomedans, shouting 'maro, maro,' they were headed by a tall men, with strongly marked narrow features, but my pursuers, being taken for our dragoons, were my protection, and I passed on taking the broken ground to the left, and pushed into the nullah. I found the dragoon bazar nearly deserted; on both occasions, when I neared the sudder bazar, I observed the police with drawn swords, and men who looked like the Mohomedan butchers, the majority of the mob had spears and iron bound latees; bricks and stones, were hurled at me; seeing the terror cavalry inspired, I the next morning, canvassed for volunteers, and in a few days, succeeded in procuring the signatures of 36 who were willing to serve. The offer was first gladly accepted, but afterwards coldly declined, these very men were subsequently enrolled in the gallant little band of "khakees," who behaved so well to the last, and to the second division of which after the Sekree affair, you appointed me commandant; had they been sanctioned earlier, many a poor man might have been saved.

*Q.*—Do you know the names of the men you brought in?

*A.*—No, but I imagine some of them must be here.

*Q.*—What is the name of the poor woman the sergeant brought in?

*A.*—Mrs. Law.

*Q.*—Where was the fire when you were at the battery lines?

*A.*—The sapper and minor lines were on fire.

*Q.*—You state, you saw the police actively engaged in riot, and that you were repeatedly attacked by them. How do you know that they were the cantonment police?

*A.*—From their uniforms, and the belts round their waists, they must have belonged to the cantonment police, for I was passing near their chowkies and beats, my route on this plan of the cantonment shows it.

*Q.*—Did you meet with assistance from any of the police?

*A.*—Quite the contrary, as I have already stated, I was attacked by them. I did not see any of the police attempting to save life, they joined the mob in murdering and plundering.

*Q.*—The tall Mahomedan who headed the mob near Elahee Buksh's, could you recognize him?

*A.*—Certainly, I imagined he was the Cotwal, or some official, I have since seen him in the Joint Magistrate's Court, and pointed him out to Mr. Wigram.

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No. 30.—*Statement of Lieut. J. Eckford.*—About six o'clock on Sunday afternoon, the 10th of May last. I heard a great uproar in the direction of the native infantry and cavalry lines, It increased, and I heard shots fired. On enquiring from my servants and chuprassies, they said the native troops had mutinied, and were setting fire to the lines and officers' houses. I sent a man to find out, what was going on, and he returned and said, the sepoys were murdering their officers. From the compound of my house, I saw crowds of natives in front of the bazars, and also some European officers and gentlemen gallop past on horse back, and drive furiously away towards the Europeans lines in buggies, &c. At this time, a number of the bungalows were on fire, and the noise and musket shots seemed to approach. I therefore, (although momentarily expecting succour from European troops of the station) prepare to defend the house, (an upper roomed pukka building, in which were my office, and treasury, as well as my place of residence). At about seven o'clock, a man came running to me and said, that the mob having killed Dr. Smith, (my next door neighbour, whose house was on fire) were coming into my compound. I had loaded the fire arms, I had by me, and as soon as I saw a band of men (with arms and torches in their hands) enter my compound, I went out from the verandah, where I had been standing and having allowed them to advance to within about 25 paces of me, I fired with my double barrelled gun, and shot down the leader (who was armed with a musket) and the contents of the other barrel, I let drive at the others; they all turned and ran out of my compound. The chuprassies and burkundazes of my treasure guard, now told me, that the mutineers and mob would return in greater numbers. I therefore, after having the body of the man I had shot, removed, posted the burkundazes in and over the treasury room and office, and having closed and barred all the doors, made ready to defend the building, I also shortly after, determined to send my family away to hide in the garden.

In about 20 minutes after the disappearance of the first mob, the noise of a great number of men approaching was heard. Taking a brace of pistols, I went up to the flat roof of the portico, (which was on a level with the upper rooms) to the side nearest the treasury room, in order that I might deter any one from getting at it.

An old European pensioner and a private of the 60th rifles, who had been pursued by the mob, and sought shelter in my house, were told off by me, after being armed, to remain inside the building. The servants, &c., had begged of me to send these men away, as the mob particularly sought their lives, but to this suggestion, I would not for a moment listen. I had hardly reached the portico, to be on the look out, (it was now dark) when a very large mob of sepoys and others entered the compound, and made for the house, when they saw me, they commenced firing, but none of the shots took effect on me.

Almost simultaneously, I heard a heavy battering downstairs, at the back of the house, a party having turned the rear of it, I rushed down stairs, armed with a brace of double barrelled pistols, and found about 12 or 14 men in the large centre room, who had effected an entrance from the back, I dashed at them, and fired two barrels at those on the right. All ran away, except one man, who from his appearance, I should say, was a 3rd light cavalry trooper, he made a rush at me with his sword, and although, I gave him a pistol shot, (which at the time appeared to take no effect, but as my servants afterwards saw him dragged out of the burning house by the legs, I conclude, he must have been very hard hit) he cut me over the head with it (a severe wound), I tried to close with him, and gave him a blow over the head with my left hand pistol, (the second barrel of which had missed fire) and he gave me sundry other cuts with his sword. The rifleman, who had been in the adjoining room, hearing the struggle, came in, and my assailant staggered out of the door way. I was bleeding profusely and much stunned. I therefore, determined again on going up to the portico, and making a stand there.

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When I got up, I found myself so weak that I was obliged to sit down, I told the rifleman if he wished to go away and try to make his escape, that he might do so. I made over to him my double barelled gun which had been reloaded, and he accordingly ran down stairs. I heard two shots in rapid succession, and was told afterwards that he got out of my compound, but was killed by a party of men on the other side of the wall, out on the road. This man's name was, I believe, Fitzpatrick, of the G. company of the 60th. The old pensioner, (Chapman) whom I had armed with a spear, made his escape previously, during the melee, to the gardener's house, where he lay concealed and ultimately escaped in safety to the artillerly depôt. I lay on the portico for about two hours and more, sometimes sensible, and at other times in a faint.

The miscreants searched every where for me, they more than once came close to where I was lying, but the shade of a tree (it was bright moon-light) most providentially was the means of screening me from their view. They looked up along the roof of the upper story, against which a small ladder was placed, and they evidently thought I had gone up there, but were afraid to ascend. They, however, gutted the house, broke open the treasure chests and boxes, and having heaped up the furniture, both in the lower and upper rooms set fire to the whole; I saw the entire building, before long, in a blaze.

They also, for a time, placed sentries round the house in the hopes oi capturing me.

I lay on the portico, as I have before described, for more than two hours, and then, when I was conscious, and on hearing no noise or voices of the mutineers, I commenced crawling and staggering, and by the outer pukka steps, which led from the front verandah and portico, I got down below, and there met my tent pitcher, who conducted me to where my wife, sister and child were hiding. In about half an hour afterwards, a litter having been made up for me by my servants, &c., we made our way to the right picquet of the carabineers, along the bed of a dry nullah, and got to the officer's bungalow, where my wounds were dressed.

With very few trifling exceptions, every thing in the house was plundered and burnt.

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No. 31.—*Statement of Mr. Joseph Chapman, pensioner.*—Being employed at the house occupied by Captain Eckford, Executive Engineer, near the native infantry lines, about ½ past 5 o'clock, I heard the sepoys commence firing, my people all ran from their work, the mistree excepted; about 10 minutes after, I saw coming down the road at the back of the sudder bazar, one of the 60th rifles running for his life, with the back hair of his head laying on his shoulders, and about 60 yards behind another of the 60th, as he passed close by me, I saw his face was covered with blood, whether these two had escaped from the sudder bazar or the sepoys lines, I cannot tell. In about a quarter of an hour, I saw another of the 60th running out of a bye street, out of the bazar, sharply followed by one of the police, who knocked him down with a lathee, about 9 feet long, (this was near where I stood, a wall only between us) on the policeman returning to the bazar, he met another of the 60th, at the entrance of the same street, and knocked him down in like manner, his blows were repeated with lattees, by two of the bazar people several times, and I thought the poor men were killed. I thus saw four knocked down in the space of a few minutes, they, however, soon after got up and ran away, apparently being only stunned; the fifth man, by name Fitzpatrick, escaped into the compound where I was standing, the sleeves of his white jacket all saturated with blood, he would have fallen had not the mistree and myself taken hold of him; as I saw a mob coming after him, we made the best of our way to the house where Captain Eckford seated the man on

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a chair, and went out with his double barrelled gun, (by this time it was dark,) and the mob had come in by the corner of the godown towards the house, led by a man with a musket, whom Captain Eckford shot, and discharged the other barrel among the crowd, who then ran away; Captain Eckford returned into the house and reloaded the gun, we then fastened every door; when it became quite dark, a large mob entered the compound with lighted torches, some of them had guns, others swords. Captain Eckford gave his gun to the 60th rifle man, and to me a spear and sword, keeping for himself, a pair of double barrelled pistols; the mob flocked to the rear of the house, smashed the door, then entered and commenced rummaging, we three were standing close to the door of the large room below, which was filled with the mob; by the help of a ladder (which was at the back of the house,) they scaled the verandah of the upper rooms, on hearing which, Captain Eckford went on the top of the portico, under the shade of two tall trees, the man of the 60th rifles and myself going up stairs, also stood at the door, watching for a chance to get at them, by this time, the upper rooms were filled with the mob, Captain Eckford then told us to escape, if we could; I passed through a large room, and got to the bath room, and from thence to the verandah, by means of some steps, I heard the pistol shots fired by Captain Eckford, going down these steps I met a man, but he no sooner saw my sword in my hand than he ran away, and entered the room filled with the mob, I leaped the remaining stairs and escaped into the garden, I was followed by some of the mob, but being dark and having dark clothes on, I jumped into a large clump of bushes, and by that means was not seen. I then went to the gardener's house, who wrapped me up, and hid me in his house, the mob now set fire to the house, which was soon in flames; they then collected at the gardener's house, at which were 8 burkundazes, 1 khansama and 2 kidmatgars, a dhoby, the mally and his two sons, in the stables, were 6 syces, 1 coachman, besides grass cutters, about 22 in all, but not one came to our assistance, the sirdar bearer excepted, who stuck close to us, and was I believe, the chief means of saving the two laidies and child. The mob kept watch about the house till 3 A. M., thinking some Europeans were about it; they did not, however, discover Captain Eckford and myself. At day light, I wrapt myself up in a blanket, and gave a man a rupee to accompany me home, which was near at hand, but as soon as he got out of the gate, he ran away, on going down the road, I saw the house occupied by pensioners Kinly and Markoe, with the widow of pensioner Cahill. Kinly and Markoe both lay murdered, and the two women severely wounded and the house plundered, just beyond this was my own house, but thank God, both my wife and it were safe owing to the timely arrival of the carabineers.

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No. 32.—*Statement of Captain W. H. Earle.*—On the afternoon of the 10th of May 1857, I left the lines of my regiment, about half an hour after sunset, and proceeded on foot by the rear of the lines, from the rear guard past the light company lines to the gate of Captain Taylors's bungalow, from thence at his request, I started in my buggy, to go to the brigade major's. I was not molested, until I got in front of Shunker Dass' gate, I was here pelted with bricks or stones, by a number of natives, who came out of his compound. One man rushed at me with a drawn sword, but my horse was going too fast for him to do me any harm. Who these men were I do not know, but they came out of Shunker Dass' compound; a little further on, I was again attacked by a crowd at the corner of the compound of the bungalow of the late Dr. Smith. The men came from the sudder bazar, and were, I was told, kahars, who lived in the uddah close by; at this place I was fired at by a native, and a guard (when I was some distance off) fired a volley over my head, some half a dozen men ran after me, with swords and latties, one succeeded in catching hold of the strap on the right side of the buggy, but I was going too fast for him to do me any harm. A crowd was coming down the road, which runs from Elahie Buxsh's shop to the begum's bridge, but they were prevented from

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attacking me by some men, who were standing near his shop, who ran towards them thus giving me time to escape. I was not after this molested, with the exeception of a few stones being thrown at me in front of Mr. Fergusson's house. I saw several of the cantonment police in my progress, but I am perfectly certain none of them molested or attacked me, at the same time, I must say, none attempted to dissuade the crowd from attacking me.

I joined the European troops on the mall, and proceeded with them to the native lines. The body of Lieut. Macnab, 3rd light cavalry was found in the ditch, between the houses occupied by Mrs. Hobson and the late Surgeon Smith. The face was frightfully cut. It had at least four long deep cuts across the face and head, an European soldier's body was also found here. We picked up the body of Captain Taylor, close to Elahi Buxsh's shop; he had apparently been killed by an iron bound lathie, the back of the head was smashed; all these had their clothes on. Early next morning, Mrs. Chamber's body was found in her compound, I saw the body covered up, consequently cannot say in what state it was; just by the old jail, we found the bodies of some fourteen or fifteen European soldiers and their wives, all these were perfectly naked and frightfully mutilated. One man had one of his hands entirely cut off, and another had the whole of his stomach laid bare with the entrails hanging out. Mrs. MacDonald was so much disfigured from the cuts about her face, that although I had known her intimately for upwards of nine years, I did not recognize her. The body of a soldier was also found (naked) on the road in the rear of the house occupied by Lieut. Eckford. We found Dr. Smith's body in his own compound, naked and frightfully mutilated by sword cuts. Captain MacDonald, 20th regiment native infantry and Mr. V. Tregear, were killed in the lines by the sepoys 20th native infantry, both these gentlemen were shot, when the bodies were found next day, they were dressed.

*Q.*—Which house of Shunker Dass' do you allude to, from whence you were attacked?

*A.*—The house near Peter's the tailor.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the native who fired at you?

*A.*—He was a dirty looking man, he fired a pistol at me, and then threw it at my head, my syce who has now left me, told me he was kahar of the udda, close to the place, where I was attacked.

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No. 33—*Deposition of Mussumat Golab Jaun, Cashmerian, residing in the Sudder Bazar.*—At the time of the out-break, I was residing with the late Dr. Smith; was on that day in his house, and informed him of the intended out-break*, of which, I heard from my mother; she learnt it from a Cashmerian girl, named Sophie, who was told by a sepoy, at about 2 P. M. on that day, that the troops would mutiny and massacre the Europeans Dr. Smith replied, I always brought him bazar reports void of foundation, and took no notice of it.

I therefore quietly sat down, at about 5 or 6 P. M., sound of musketry was heard from the infantry lines, and all at once, I saw hundreds of men running towards the parade, after a while people began to rush into the bungalow. I begged my master to fly, but he refused, asking where we could go to, and we then stood by the garden hedge; meanwhile, my mother sent a dooly for me from the sudder bazar, in which I left, my master remaining behind, the mob had not then entered the compound though crowds surrounded it. As I passed, they wished to kill me, but hearing I was a woman, allowed me to pass. The girl Sophie was turned out of the bazar, and her house knocked down.

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* This is the only glimpse, of an intention to mutiny being known to any individual.

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No. 34.—*Deposition of Mussumat Zeenut, Chashmerian, residing in the Sudder Bazar.*—On the day of the out-break, I was residing in the sudder bazar. About 2 P. M., on that day, I heard from Mussumat Mehree, mother of Sophie, that there was to be a disturbance that day, and that she had heard it from the sepoys, I did not believe it, still mentioned it to my daughter Golab Jaun. At 6 P. M., when I heard firing, I sent a dooly for her, I can give no information of the disturbance in the sudder bazar, I do not know where the Cashmerian girl Sophie is.

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No. 35.—*Deposition of Mussumat Sophie, Cashmerian, residing in the City of Meerut.*—At the time of the out-break, the date of which I do not remember, I was residing in the sudder bazar, on the day it occurred no one was in my house, but Goolam Hossain, my servant. At 4 o'clock, Pundit Dhurm Narain, who was formerly in the office of the Meerut cantonment joint magistrate, came to my house, but left, when the out-break commenced, to return home, I then closed the doors; my mother is named Mehree, she left for Loodhiana, some two months before the out-break. I reported her departure at the cotwalie, I never heard of the out-break before it commenced. The sowars and sepoys did not frequent my house.

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No. 36.—*Report of Bukhtawur Singh, officiating Cotwal of the Sudder Bazar, Meerut.*—Agreeably to orders received, I made enquiries of the neighbours of Mussumat Sophie, and learned that sowars were in the habit of visiting the house, and that her mother had left previous to the out-break; her house, with others in that neighbourhood, was razed to the ground.

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No. 37.—*Deposition of Nusseebun, nurse, in the service of the late Mrs. MacDonald.*—On Sunday the 10th of May, about 5 o'clock, I had dressed the children to go out. Captain Chambers, the adjutant of the 11th regiment, came to my master and spoke to him, Captain Macdonald put on his sword, and went to the parade ground, and told my mistress to go to Mrs. Chambers, she was putting on her bonnet, when we heard a great noise, she sent to enquire what it was, but could not learn. My mistress then went to the room where the children were; just then, Moobarick, son of Zahoorun, came in crying, and said, Captain MacDonald had been shot, Mrs. MacDonald was greatly agitated and said, I will go to my husband. I replied, how will you go, when every carriage and buggy is attacked by the bad characters. The bungalow was then on fire, I took my mistress to Aliyar, the bhistee's hut, and there with the three children secreted ourselves. Zahoorun Ayah, went to the house to try and get some clothes for the children, when she returned, we were obliged to take refuge in the hut of Buktawur chowkedar, as the stables were on fire. The chowkedar's family were just leaving the house, and my mistress asked where they were going; they told her to a new house they had built near the city. Mrs. MacDonald asked to be allowed to accompany them, so that she and her children might be saved. Mrs. MacDonald said to the ayah, I and my children will go with the chowkedar's family, as we may be saved, and I will take the nurse with me, but for God's sake, do not accompany me, as some one may recognize you, and then I shall be discovered. We dressed her up in native clothes, and left her clothes in the hut.* The chowkedar took one child, the dhobee another, and I took the third. We then started, had passed the elephant sheds, and through a lane on to the road, where we met a crowd of people, about 70 in number, they told us to stand, one man looked at my face, then into the face of the chowkedar's wife, on this, the chowkedar said one is like another, why do you look into their faces; one man approached Mrs. MacDonald, the chowkedar said, she is my sister-in-law, what are you looking at, but he would not mind, he looked into her face, pulling aside the

* This chokeedar, though a Mchwattee, did his utmost to save his Mistress, and every endeavour has therefore been made to discover and reward him, but in vain. I traced the route Mrs. MacDonald took from her house to the spot where she was murdered, near the Jail and think it likely she there met a gang of released convicts, who committed the deed.

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chudder, and said to the chowkeedar, you rascal, this is your sister-in-law, now I will cut off your head, and laid his sword on the chowkeedar's neck. Another man then went to Mrs. MacDonald, and asked her who she was, she did not answer, he again asked her, but she made no reply, he asked her the third time, and she said, it is I, (hum haie,) on this he cut her down. The dhobee and chowkeedar took the children, but I remained where my mistress was slain; after a short time, the mob dispersed, I then ran towards the chowkeedar's house, and met another mob, they asked me, who I was, I told them the house I lived in, had been burnt, and I had the Captain's child, they enquired where the parents of the child were, I told them, that the father had been shot on parade, and the mother killed near this, they said the men were wretches to kill a woman. They told me to go, or some one else would kill me and the child. A little further on, a native christian pensioner, who was standing at his door, took us into his house. The chowkedar's house was next to his, and he had left the other two children with the pensioner. We remained there during the night, and the next morning, were taken to the Dumdumma.

*Q.*—Can you describe the people who met Mrs. MacDonald?

*A.*—There was much confusion, so that I could not make them out, they appeared to be rustics, meanly clothed, armed with swords and some with latees.

*Q.*—Were there any police amongst the mob?

*A.*—I did not see the police, I could not distinguish them, whether they were or not.

*Q.*—Where is the chowkedar, and do you know his mohullah?

*A.*—I do not know where he is or where he lives.

*Q.*—Who were about the bungalow, when it was set on fire?

*A.*—I was in the dhobee's house at the time. They were not sepoys, but appeared to be bazar people.

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No. 38.—*Deposition of Sookha Dhobee, in the employ of the late Captain MacDonald of the 20th Regiment Native Infantry.*—On the day of the mutiny, I was busy with my work about 5 o'clock, when I heard a great uproar and firing in the direction of the native lines. My master mounted his horse, and rode off towards the parade, shortly afterwards, I saw the bungalow was on fire. My mistress first went for shelter to the bhistee's hut, and then to the chowkedar's. Being much alarmed, she told the ayah to remain, and that she would put on a native dress, and with the nurse and children, try to escape with the chowkedar's family, who were going to their house near the city. I took one of the children, and we started, we got past the elephant sheds, and coming out of a lane on to the road, we met a large crowd, armed with swords and latees, they looked at the faces of the women, and when one went to my mistress, the chowkedar told him, not to look in the face of the women, adding, this is my sister-in-law, but the man would not mind, and then cut her down. The nurse remained a short time, but the chowkedar and myself fled with the children to Poorwa, near the gate of the city. The children were taken by the chowkedar to the house of a christian pensioner, where they remained all night, and next day were taken to the Dumdumma.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any one of the mob, who killed Mrs. MacDonald?

*A.*—I did not.

*Q.*—Did you see who set the house on fire?

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*A.*—No, I did not, there was a great crowd about.

Q.—Do you know where the chowkedar is ?

*A.*—No, I cannot tell, he lives near the christian pensioner.

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No. 39.—*Deposition of Jorawun, coachman in service of the late Mrs. Courteney.*—On Sunday the 10th of May last, in the evening after 5 o'clock, when the firing commenced in the regimental lines, Mrs. Courteney was alarmed, by her orders I made ready the carriage, and took her towards the city, near the gate of the city, I saw a great crowd of people standing with swords and latties ; they struck the carriage with their latties, when Mrs. Courteney said, coachman take me to the Deputy Collector's house, then I shall be saved, so I turned the carriage towards the sudder bazar, the mob followed, we met some of the 3rd cavalry, they told the mob, not to touch Mrs. Courteney, so they went away ; I then took her in the carriage to the Deputy Collector's gate. The gate of the compound was shut by a jemadar, a mussulman, who would not allow the carriage to enter. Mrs. Courteney spoke to him, but I do not know what she said, the jemadar told me to take away the carriage, as I turned it round, a man knocked me off the coach box, I ran away, and hid in a heap of timber, Mrs. Courteney and her two children were killed at the gate.

Q.—What is the name of the jemadar?

*A.*—I do not know.

Q.—Describe his appearance ?

*A.*—A mahomedan, grey beard, colour tawney, short and old.

Q.—Can you recognize him ?

*A.*—Yes, if I saw him, I could recognize him.

Q.—Could you recognize any of the mob at the gates of the city ?

*A.*—I saw a crowd, but I could not recognize any of them.

Q.—Could you recognize any of the party who attacked Mrs. Courteney ?

*A.*—I was flurried, and therefore could not recognize them, they appeared to be butchers, coolies, &c., from the sudder bazar.

Q.—Were there any policemen amongst the mob ?

*A.*—Yes, there were a great number of men in blue coats with brass plates, and armed with swords; the place where Mrs. Courteney was killed is about 20 yards from a police chowkie, and all the men of that chowkie were present. I saw them. The Deputy Magistrate's jemadar must know the men who killed Mrs. Courteney, for they all assembled round him at that time.

Q.—What became of the horse and carriage ?

*A.*—The horse was wounded and ran away, and the carriage was left in the same spot; the horse ran to the house, and after eight days died, they burnt the carriage. The iron from the two front wheels was found in the ditch at the Kyrnugger gate, and the body of Mrs. Courteney, with those of the children, were on the following day, found behind the camel sheds. The Deputy Magistrate's men must have thrown them there.

*Re-examined in the presence of jemadar.*

Q.—Do you recognize this man ?

*A.*—Yes, I do. When Mrs. Courteney reached the Deputy Collector's gate, he closed the gate, and would not admit Mrs. Courteney, he told me to turn the

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carriage and drive away, he said something to Mrs. Courteney, which I did not hear; after this he went into his house, I turned the carriage, Mrs. Courteney was then killed; it is the same man. No doubt about it.

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No. 40.—*Deposition of Gunner Hugh McCartney, 4th Company, 2nd Battalion Artillery—Gunner Hugh McCartney being sworn, deposes.*—On the evening of the 10th of May 1857, about 5 o'clock, I was in the Sudder bazar of Meerut with two of my comrades (since dead), when near the cotwali, where there is a flag and a guard of sepoys, I heard shots fired. The guard immediately turned out and fixed bayonets. The police chupprasies ran down the street with drawn swords. A little further on, we met a trooper of the 3rd cavalry, who warned us to our lines, as there was a bobbery, and all the Europeans in the bazar would be killed, we turned towards the cotwali, and were fired at by three of the sepoys, who, however, missed us. We then ran, my two companions, who were behind, were knocked down, I got to an open spot clear of the streets, when two parties of natives tried to stop me, one party on my right, headed by two policemen, attacked me. The policemen with drawn swords, and a man with a stick came forward. I had a stick in my hand, I put it up to save my head, but it was cut through by a blow from a sword, and my cap also cut, I received two wounds on the head, I then struck a man a blow, and tried to wrest a stick out of his hand, when I was struck senseless, and left for dead; on coming to my senses, I got over a wall into a compound, and there found a dragoon, who had been wounded, and also three artillery men, I received four wounds on my head, and was severely beaten about the body.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the policemen who attacked you?

*A.*—No, I could not, I was so taken by surprise, and engaged defending myself.

*Q.*—How do you know that they were policemen?

*A.*—From their uniforms, they had blue coats and belts round their waists.

*Q.*—Did you receive any assistance from the police?

*A.*—No, none of them came to my assistance.

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No.—41—*Deposition of Gunner James McAlroy, 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery—Gunner James McAlroy being sworn, states.*—On the evening of the 10th May 1857, I was in the sudder bazar of Meerut, between 5 and 6 o'clock, I saw the natives running towards the cotwalie a place where was a guard and a large flag. A trooper of the 3rd cavalry, who had two or three stripes on his arm, rode up to me, and said, 'juldee', I turned round, but a mob of natives rushed at me, and knocked me down with sticks and bricks. They then followed some other Europeans. I got up and ran. When I came near the pop shop, a chupprassie struck me on the head with a sword or club and fell senseless. I was shortly afterwards picked up by some of my comrades and taken to the hospital.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the chupprassie, or any of the men who attacked you?

*A.*—No, I do not think I could.

*Q.*—How do you know that he was chupprassie or policeman, who attacked you at the pop shop?

*A.*—By his blue coat and red turban.

*Q.*—Did any of the police assist you?

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*A.*—No, I got no assistance from any native.

Q.—Were the shops shut or deserted as you pssed?

*A.*—The shops were open, I saw natives leaving them with clubs.

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No. 42.—*Deposition of Gunner Williams Caldwell, of the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery—Gunner William Caldwell being sworn, states*—I was in the sudder bazar with Gunner McQuade, on the evening of the 10th of May 1857, between the hours of 5 and 6 o'clock, it was nearer 6. We saw a crowd of natives running and shouting ayah, ayah, we thought they meant fire, and looked about us. A trooper of the 3rd cavalry galloped past us, and said something, which I did not clearly hear. A European also past us, and told us to run for our lines, as the sepoys had turned out. We were then in about the centre of the bazar. We ran as hard as we could, but immediately we turned, we were attacked by the natives; passing through a lane, I was knocked down with a stone or piece of kunkur by a native. I then ran about 20 yards, after I got over the blow, and was attacked by a chupprassie, I was wounded in the hand. I was behind Gunner MacQuade, and saw another policeman attack him, making a cut at him with a sword, whilst passing him. I did not see more, as I was then knocked down by the policeman, who wounded me. I got a brickbat, and then none of them ventured near me.

Q.—Could you recognize the chupprassies or policemen, who attacked Gunner McQuade and yourself?

*A.*—No, I could not, I was in a hurry to get away from them.

Q.—How do you know they were chupprassies?

*A.*—By their uniform.

Q.—Describe it?

*A.*—Blue coat and yellow pantaloons, a dark leather belt round their waist, with a brass buckle in front, they had red turbans.

Q.—Did any of the police come to your assistance?

*A.*—No, not one.

Q.—When you first entered the bazar, was every thing quiet and orderly?

*A.*—Yes, it was, and we had got up nearly to the centre of the bazar, where there was a sepoy guard, when I observed natives running and shouting.

Q.—When did they commence closing their shops?

*A.*—Immediately the people began shouting, ayah, ayah.

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No. 43.—*Deposition of Gunner James McQuade, of the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery—Gunner James McQuade being sworn, states*—on the night of the 10th May 1857, between the hours of 5 or 6, I was in the sudder bazar with Gunner Caldwell, the bazar was then quite quiet, the shops open as usual. About ten minutes after we had entered the bazar, near the middle of it, and had just purchased some things at a shop, on leaving it, we saw a large crowd of natives armed with sticks. A sowar of the 3rd cavalry in uniform overtook us, and said "Jao sahib, sepoy bobbery kurta" we went towards the cotwalee, where there was a flag, but were opposed by a crowd of natives in that direction, there were four sepoys with fixed bayonets; we therefore turned round and broke through the crowd in our rear, we

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were repeatedly struck with sticks, but managed to get clear. We had gone about 300 yards ; when we met a policeman, armed with a sword, I passed next to him, he drew his sword, and made a cut at me, I was running, and threw myself down to avoid the blow. I sprung up and ran, he followed me, and made another blow, which I again avoided, than an old man with a stick interfered and kept the policeman back. We then got clear of the bazar, and made our way to the lines by the roman catholic chapel.

Q.—Could you recognize the policeman ?

A,—Yes, I think I could, if I saw him again.

Q.—Can you describe him, and how he was dressed ?

*A.*—He was tall and had a long thin face, was dressed in a blue coat, and light yellow pantaloons, a belt round his waist, and sort of red turban round his head.*

Q.—Did any of the policeman give you assistance ?

*A*—No, not one, though I saw many of them, but this was the only policeman that attacked me.

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No. 44.—*Deposition of Gunner Thomas Crawford, of the 3rd Company 6th Battalion of Artillery—Gunner Thomas Crawford being sworn, states.*—I was in the sudder bazar of Meerut, on the night of the 10th May 1857, between 5 and 6 o'clock, Gunners Dunn and Conolly were with me. Conolly was killed in the sudder bazar that evening, Dunn was wounded and is now at Dehlie. We had passed through the bazar and were returning, when we saw natives rushing out of their houses shouting, we had got about 30 yards when they commenced throwing bricks, but we managed to get about half way through the bazar, when I was knocked down by a native with an iron bound stick, my companions were then ahead of me. I got about 30 or 40 yards, when a chuprassie standing on the side of the street made a cut at me with his sword, I had lost my cap when I was first knocked down, and was thus wounded in the head, and again fell, I was battered about with clubs till they thought I was dead and left me. When I came to myself, I got up, and after going about 100 yards or more, I saw Dunn attacked by a number of natives, but could not see Conolly, the natives kept throwing stones at me, and did not follow me beyond the bridge, near the roman catholic chapel, Dunn had just got to the bridge and waited for me.

Q.—Could you recoguize the man, whom you call a chupprassie, and who wounded you?

*A.*—No, I was too much stunned to do so.

Q.—How do you know he was a chupprassie ?

*A*—By the long blue coat, and he had a black belt with a brass plate, I do not recollect the colour of his pantaloons or his turban, but remarked the blue coat and brass plate.

———

No. 45.—*Deposition of Gunner James Butler, of the 2nd Company 2nd Battalion Artillery—Gunner James Butler being sworn, deposes as follows.*—On the evening of the 10th May 1857, I was in the sudder bazar at Meerut. I am not quite sure of the time, but I think it was near six. Gunners Cairns, Benson and Corrigan were with me; we had passed the pop shop, when we met a christian drummer of the native regiment, who told us to make to our lines as quick as we could, as the native

* A discharged Policeman, found lurking about in the neighbourhood of his home and answering to this description, was confronted with others for the deponent to recognize, which however he failed to do.

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regiments had risen, we turned back, and Benson who was leading, turned down a lane, thinking it would take us out of the bazar, but we found we could not get past, returned to the main street, and found it lined with natives armed with clubs, who struck at us when we passed, I soon missed my companions, I was often knocked down, but managed to get away, till I was attacked by two men, one was a policeman, the other I do not think was one, as he had no uniform on, the policeman I recognized, and he has been hung.

*Q.*—Did any of the police come to your assistance?

*A.*—No, not one.

*Q.*—What became of your companions?

*A.*—Cairns and Benson were killed in the bazar, and Corrigan was killed at the seige of Dehlie.*

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No. 46.—*Deposition of Mrs. Emma Markoe, widow of Pensioner John Markoe, of Meerut—Mrs. Emma Markoe being sworn, states.*—That on the evening of the 10th of May, at a little after sunset, just about dusk, a mob of about 100 or more of natives, some armed with swords, weapons and daggers, others with iron bound lathees, rushed into my house, seeking a poor wounded artillery man, who had taken refuge there, having received three severe wounds on the head and shoulders; I hid him in the corner, the mob seeing the bloody clothes, which had been taken off the poor man laying on a chair, took them up and threw them on me, saying, he is hid here, show us the kafirs, we will kill the feringees, enquiring also for my husband. They seized me, knocked me down, and tried to illtreat me, on which I called out to my husband, seeing him rush out with a stick they fled. I got another stick, and we went out to shut the gate, whilst I was doing this, a man with a sword wounded me twice on the head, my husband put up his stick to save me, and his hand was cut, we then went back to the house, and hid in the bed room, the mob broke open the gates and again entered the house. I persuaded my husband to get through the window, and hide in the garden, the artillery man followed him, the mob by that time got into the bed room, I was knocked down by sticks, and so severely beaten, I fainted away, how long I remained insensible, I cannot say, but when I came to my senses, I opened my eyes, and saw the mob plundering my house, on their leaving the bed room, I took the opportunity of getting out at the window, I could hardly walk, but went in search of my poor husband, and in a garden close to the wall of the house, occupied by Mungul Sain, the portrait painter, I found his body, he had one leg hanging over the wall, as if he had tried to get over, when he was killed by a severe sword cut, nearly dividing the neck, I then returned to the garden, and hid there till the next morning.

*Q.* Could you recognize any of the party who attacked you?

*A.*—If I saw the pock marked chupprassie, I think I could swear to him; he caught hold of my hand saying, I only get four rupees as a chupprassie, is that enough to feed and clothe me, but we will now kill all the kafirs, making use of dreadful abuse against christians.

*Q.*—Did you see any of the cantonment police with the mob?

*A.*—I could not swear to any, though I saw men dressed in blue coats, with black belts, and I think reddish turbans.

*Q.*—Did you receive any assistance from the catonment police?

*A.*—No, not one came to my assistance.

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* I accompanied the European Soldiers, who were wounded in or about the sudder bazar, to the spots, they pointed out, as the places where they had been attacked, and examined the shop-keepers, and residents of the different neighbourhoods to elicit further evidence but without success.

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No. 47.—*Deposition of Mrs. Elizabeth Cahill, widow of pensioner M. Cahill, of Meerut—Mrs. Elizabeth Cahill, being sworn, states*—Between 5 and 6 o'clock of the evening of the 10th May 1857, I heard firing in the direction of the cavalry lines, a little after sunset, just as it was getting dusk, a large mob of natives, I should say more than 100, some with swords, others with iron bound lathees, rushed into Mrs. Markoe's compound, where I was residing in one of her houses. I ran towards the gate to escape, but was met by the mob, and was seized by a chupprassie, who threatened to kill me with a dagger he had, if I attempted to proceed further he dragged me from the gate to my house about 10 yards, and told me to give him up my keys. I replied my drawers were open, the mob rushed in, and commenced plundering; another chupprassie, who was with the mob, asked me, if I would become a mahomedan; to save my life, I said I would, he tried to drag me into an empty room, but on my struggling against him, he ran me through the thigh with his sword, he then made a rush at Mrs. Markoe, and I ran out to try and get over the wall of the compound. A sikelgur made a cut at me, and wounded my shoulder. A blacksmith who lived close to me, took hold of my hand, and helped me over the wall with Mrs. Millar, and hid us both in his house, where we remained till the next morning.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the two chuprassies?

*A.*—Yes, I could, the first man who attacked me, was a short stout man, with very dark complexion, the second man who stabbed me, was pock marked, and of a lighter colour than the first.

*Q.*—Have you been able to trace these men?

*A.*—I went to Mr. Gee's and Mrs. Ludlam's, to see their chupprassies, as they reside close at hand, and heard that Mr. Gee's moonshee, and two of his chupprassies had run away.

*Q.*—Did you see any of the cantonment police with the mob?

*A.*—I saw two or three men with blue coats, black leather waist belts and red turbans, but cannot tell whether they belonged to the cantonment police.

*Q*—Did the cantonment police afford you any assistance?

A.—No, not one, though a number of them are stationed within 100 yards of the place.

*Q.*—Where is the blacksmith that gave you shelter?

*A.*—He was hung for setting fire to Mrs. Markoe's house.

*Q.*—Has the siklegur, who wounded you, been recognized?

*A.*—No, there was, I hear, a number of them flogged, and turned out of cantonments, if I saw him I would have him hung.

*Q.*—What has become of Mrs. Millar?

*A.*—She died 20 days after of her wounds.

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No. 48.—*Deposition of Mrs. E. Law, widow of the late Overseer James Law of Meerut.—Mrs. E. Law being sworn, deposes as follows.*—On the night of the 10th May 1857, at a little past ten o'clock, just as my husband and myself had finished prayers, all of a sudden, our house was broken into by a mob of some two or three hundred natives, armed with swords, spears and clubs. We attempted to escape, they surrounded my husband, but I managed to get away, with a baby in my arms and fled towards cantonments. As I was escaping, two men, both chupprassies in

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Government employ, one the son of the man who supplied us with milk and butter, and the other, chowkeedar of the school, debated about killing me, the first man said, they had got quite enough in the house and was for allowing me to escape, but the other, who had on a red turban, was for killing me. Another mob of natives coming up at the time, these two men left me and returned to the house, they respeatedly struck and kicked me. In making my escape, I received three wounds on the head, and a cut on my right arm. I met Sergeant Foster, of the artillery, who took me to the artillery hospital.

My husband was murdered in the house, and my youngest girl; the eldest girl was almost cut to pieces, but lived till the next morning, a boy was wounded, but recovered.

*Q.*—*Did* you see any of the cantonment police with the mob?

*A.*—When I first came out, I saw three men dressed in blue coats and red turbans, that I thought were cantonment policemen, but I was so agitated at the time, that I could not swear to them.

*Q.*—Did any of the cantonment police give you assistance?

*A.*—No, not one.

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No. 49.—*Deposition of William Foster, Drill Sergeant of the Artillery—Sergeant William Foster being sworn, states.*—On the night of the 10th May I found Mrs. Law, and escorted her into the artillery barracks, she was wounded, this was between 10 and 11 o'clock; about 1 or 2 A. M. of the 11th, I heard the noise of a large mob advancing from the sapper lines towards the foot artillery barracks. They fired Drill Sergeant Storey's bungalow, and came towards the foot artillery barracks with torches. I called on 5 goolandaz recruits to aid me and beat the mob back, there were, I should say, about 60 or 70 natives, some of them had torches, they were armed with spears and clubs, except the men who headed them, abont six, who were dressed in the police uniform. They had on blue coats, light yellow pantaloons, waist belts and plates, these had swords in their hands. The goolandazes shouting out, as if a reinforcement was at hand, made the mob throw down the property they were plundering from Sergeant Storey's bungalow and run. The policemen called on them to stay, and a man who was not in the police uniform dressed in clean white clothing, was very active and appeared to command, I should have taken him for a cotwal, or bazar chowdry. I took two prisoners, and made them over to Captain Light, who had come up by this time with some carabineers and rifles. Captain Light ordered them to be made over to the native non-commissioned officers of the quarter guard, until, he had time to see about them.

*Q.*—Could you recognize and swear to the police that were with the mob?

*A.*—It is a hard thing to swear to men whilst engaged in a bustle, but the man in white, who appeared to command, and one of the men in police uniform, a tall awkward man, pock marked and swarthy, I could swear to, if I saw them.

*Q.*—What made you distinguish these two from the rest?

*A.*—The man in white spat at me, and abused me, calling me ferringee soor, he cut at me with his sword, and the tall man in police uniform cut at me three or four times, but I being armed with a fursee, a long kind of battle axe, taken in the Santhal war, he could not get at me.

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No. 50.—*Deposition of Sergeant William Harwood, of H. M.'s 60th Rifles—Sergeant William Harwood states.*—On the night of the 10th May, I accompanied the troops

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to the sepoy lines, when the native regiments mutinied, on returning through the bazar, we found two bodies much mutilated, they still had their clothes on, but was almost cut to pieces.

The following morning, I accompanied the party sent out to reconnoitre, we moved down in the direction of the sepoy lines, before we reached them, we found four bodies much disfigured by severe cuts, and wounds all over their bodies, they were partly dressed. After passing the lines, we went towards the jail, and found some eight bodies, one of them was a female, she was much cut about the body and breast, and in returning through the sudder bazar, two more were, I believe, picked up.

As we passed through the sudder bazar, it appeared partly deserted, but the city was densely crowded.

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No. 51.—*Deposition of John Green, a Native Christian, resident of Sirdhana.*—On Sunday the 10th of May, when the mutiny broke out, I was in the Meerut sudder bazar; about 6 P. M., suddenly the sounds of musketry and of a great uproar was heard from the lines of the native regiments, large volumes of smoke rose up, the people appeared amazed, I was also much astonished, and moved on towards my house. A little beyond the Besautee mosque, I saw four Europeans, two of them were in front, and two about forty paces behind, the former managed to get clear, but* a police chokedar stationed at the chowk, called out "kill the Europeans" stept forward, and struck one of them with his stick, on which, hundreds of koonjras and others followed his example, and he fell, the shop keepers now commenced shutting up their shops, I saw the other European struck with sticks, but left the place immediately from fear; all night long I heard cries of "the mahomedee flag has been raised, let all the Europeans be slain." Thries the mob attempted to force my door, but were unable to do so, it being a strong one.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the police chowkedar, who first struck the European?

*A.*—Yes, I think I could, he was a mahomedan of middling height, dark, with beard, wore a red turban and had on a Government badge or chupprass.

*Q.*—Is there any one else you recognized in the mob?

*A.*—I particularly noticed the chowkedar, but do not think I could recognize any of the mob. The shop keepers were closing their shops.

*Q.*—Did you see anything more of the police?

*A.*—No. I remained in my house, I do not think I saw any of them.

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No. 52.—*Deposition of Joseph Henry Jones, of Meerut.*—On the 10th of May 1857, about half past 5 P. M., I left my house, which is situated near the old jail bungalow, No. 165, for evening divine service. I marked from the very moment I was out of my gate, that people were running from all directions towards the city, however, I did not take any notice, until I came near the begum's bridge, where I asked a native, where and why people were running about, the man answered me in a most impertinent manner, saying, "what are we running for, the sepoys are killing the European soldiers, and no Feeringhee will be alllowed to exist on the earth," on hearing this, and the firing of musketry from the direction of the native infantry lines, I galloped back to my house, no body molested me, or said any thing during my retreat. When I reached home, I found Bebee Lane there, a poor old woman, living near the chamar gate of the Meerut city, and her bylee in my compound. I told the sad news that brought me back, to the people of my house Bebee Lane on hearing me, offered to take all the females of my family in her bylee, saying, she would be

* This corroborates the evidence of Gunner James Butler, Page 29 deposition No. 45, the whole of the Cantonment Police was paraded, for him to recognize the individual he saw attacking the Europeans, but he failed to do so.

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responsible for their safety. I agreed and thanked her for the kind offer, and she immediately took my wife, my wife's grandmother and aunt to her house, where they were quite safe. I remained at home to see the result of the outbreak. No sooner had my family left the compound, then I saw a great number of troopers galloping towards the new jail, some had their uniforms and accoutrements on, some without, and drawn swords in their hands, on seeing this strange and sudden outbreak, I at once left my house for the garden attached to it, thinking I might be able to conceal myself under some tree, but this plan was soon interrupted by my seeing a trooper and some natives chasing an European, very likely a soldier, who took his way towards the jail, when the jail guard also rushed out, exclaiming "maro kafir ko," he was at last surrounded and killed, I saw his body, the head was separated, I then took refuge in a sweeper's house in my neighbourhood, the head man Seera was absent at his village in the Boolundshere district some days before the out-break, but his wife, very kindly gave shelter to me and my brother, we remained their till it got dark, then we got out into our compound again my brother sat for a short time in the garden, and then one of our gardeners, (a Jeypore chamar) took him to a man's house of his own caste, there he was safely kept for the whole night, About 7 o'clock, a party consisting of jail guards and escaped convicts, the former about 6 or 7 in number, and the latter about 50, came in the compound, making a great noise and firing muskets, the jail guard were all armed with firelocks and headed by one Namdar Khan, duffadar, of the same guard, saying to the prisoners, their fetters were cut hy the brave fouj, (army) it were better to do something before going to their respective homes. Namdar Khan questioned my servant Matadeen, who only went near them, where was sahib and other members of the family, he replied; that the sahib had left the house for church, and the mem sahib and others had gone to Sirdhuna a week ago. He insisted upon my man telling him, where I was, and placed a naked sword against the faithful servants throat, telling him either to point me out or loose his own life, the good servant even at that moment denied, "I am a brahmin, you may kill me, you will not gain any thing, but where my master may be is beyond my knowledge." They let him go on this, but asked him to shew where the principle things were kept, he told them, he was only a servant for out door duty, and had never entered the house. The party then went inside, and took what suited them. Namdar Khan had a bundle under his arm, rode my mare himself and offered my carriage horse to another nujjeeb of his guard, setting fire to my carriage worth 400 rupees and to my bungalow. Both my horses were valuable, the mare worth 300 rupees, and the horse 200 rupees, another mob followed them, I recognized them as Khoomrahs, and other people with some policemen, nearly all mahomedans shouting "Ali, Ali, aj marlia haie kafron ko," in them were recognized Mungul Khan and Peer Khan chowkedars; my faithful servant went again near them, and assured them, that I was not at home, these plunderers also robbed my property and set fire again to the house, which was not burnt down, when fired by the jail party, a third mob also came, they were lodhas mostly; among them was recognized Munphoolla, a converted moosulman, he had a sepoy's musket with bayonet on, and one Bussunta, loadha, and some people, chowkedars, they committed the same depredation as the two first mobs did. I at last thought best to leave my compound, and go where my family had gone, as there was no end of the insurgents comming into the compound, I jumped over my compound wall, disguised by my servants, "chudder" I wanted to go and see the fate of my relation, Mr. John Arot, horse merchant, but when I came near the bungalow of Beebee Parbuttee, I saw almost every lodha, both of Boolaki Mundee and Uttharaghur standing armed near the police chowkee. I saw a corpse lying there, which I believe was that of Mrs.———— the natives were laughing, and about seven paces from there, was poor Mr. Hughes a Government pensioner, (formerly clerk of the Moozuffernugger magistracy,) lying dead in native clothes, which Moonshie Usgur Ali gave him, that he might be

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saved. Mr. Hughes had cuts on his hands and neck, I could not go any further, and seeing the case of Mr. Hughes, that he was murdered even in native clothes, I took my way to the city, passing the compound of the kotee called elephant sergeant's, near it, I saw the corpses of two women and a man, all Europeans, I believe he belonged to the engineering department, the women were shamefully treated, their clothes were burnt, I remained there till day light, when my chowkeedar came and asked me to accompany him to his village for a day, I consented and went with him to his house, in the village of Panchlee, where I remained three days; he was a servant of mine of course, but other men of the village also treated me with kindness and supplied my wants. The Meerut police acted most shamefully throughout; in no case was life saved or property secured by them, they themselves were as deeply engaged in acts of riot as the mutineers and insurgents. Mr. John Greson, of Sirdhanna, who happened to be here on the 10th May, told me, that he saw some sudder kotwalie chowkedars beating European soldiers with clubs, and he thinks, killed one of them in his presence. The police failed to exert themselves in recovering plundered property, for I know, I lost all I had, but nothing has been recovered.

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No. 53.—*Deposition of Angelina Hughes, widow of the late pensioner Hughes, resident of Cantonment Meerut, Chowkee No.* 5.—On the 10th of May about 7 P. M., upwards of 300 men, (lodhas, chumars, pulladars, butchers, rebel sepoys and policemen) attacked my house, situated near the elephant sheds, seized Asgur Ali, owner of the house and used violence to make him point out the christians, a little before the attack, he had disguised and concealed us. Upon his replying, none were there, they searched the house, my husband had fled, I afterwards heard, he had been murdered by the tomb of Aboo. They plundered property, to the amount of 1,200 rupees and burnt the bungalow. Notwithstanding his heavy loss on our account, Asgur Ali, at my request, took me with his wife to the city, and kept us there.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of the police engaged in the attack on your house?

*A.*—I only recognized Mohiboolla, who lived in our neighbourhood.

*Q.*—Did none of the police give you any assistance?

*A.*—No, none of them helped us at all, Asgur Ali fed and protected us, to the best of his ability.

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No. 54.—*Deposition of Asgur Ali, son of Seyud Akber Ali, resident of Meerut, Cantonment, age* 30 *years.*—On the 10th of May last, when the insurrection commenced, 3 or 400 lodhas, chamars, pulladars and sepoys attacked my bungalow, caught me, and asked were the christians were, who lived in my house, I replied, none live there, upon which, one of them, whose name I do not know, struck me with his stick, and another drew his sword, but I would not point out the christians, I disguised them in native clothes, hid them in a field, and myself separately, they robbed me and burnt my bungalow. At the request of Mrs. Hughes, I took her to the town, not knowing where her husband was, but heard 3 days after, that he had been murdered near the tomb of Aboo.

*Q.*—Amongst the mob did you see any of the police?

*A.*—Yes, I saw two men in police uniform, but do not know their names, if the police were not implicated would they have not assisted us.

*Q.*—Describe the two men?

*A.*—Amongst the plunderers, I recognized two in police uniform, I do not know their names, but can describe their persons, and also that of another, named

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Mohiboolla, who lived near my house, and broke my iron box, with the assistance of others; if he were taken, he would give you full information of all that occurred.

Hindoo, age about 28 years, fair broad forehead, wide eyebrows, long nose, corpulent, middling height, small moostaches, wore a blue coat, had on a dhotee, armed with a sword.

Mussulman, tawney, complexion, broad forehead, lean cheeks long nose, whisker with a beard, thin, age about 35 years, wore a blue anga, yellow trowsers, with a doputta on head, and staff in his hand.

Mohiboolla, yellowish colour, broad forehead, wide eyebrows, tall and fat, age about 20 years.

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No. 55.—*Deposition of Sudasook, Malie.*—On the 10th of May 1857, I was on the top of Usgur Ali's house, in which Mrs. Angelina Hughes lived; about 6 o'clock 12 or 13 sowars, and a mob consisting of chamars, lodhas and police chuprassies, came and took Usgur Ali prisoner, and asked him who lived in the house, he told them that there were no Europeans there, only natives, they then set fire to the house and let Usgur Ali go. He and two ladies were hid in the garden under a tree.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any policemen in the mob?

*A.*—No, but I saw, Chadie, punsarie, and Munpholla, chamar, and Chudda, bunia.

*Q.*—How far is the police chowkee from your house?

*A.*—I do not know.

*Q.*—How did you know that there were policemen in the mob?

*A.*—Because there were men who had on the police uniform and breast plates.

*Q.*—What did they do, and how many of them were there?

*A.*—I do not know, there was a great crowd of them.

*Q.*—Where any of the lodhas that lived before your house in the mob?

*A.*—Being frightened, I went and sat down a good distance off, and could not distinguish any of them.

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No. 56.—*Deposition of Hurnam Singh, Mahajun, resident of Meerut.*—On Sunday the 10th of May, at about 6 P. M., I, Kullian Singh, and some others, whose names I do not remember, were sitting as usual in front of my door, when all at once, some sowars of the 3rd light cavalry rode up without saddles, bare headed and armed with drawn swords and pistols, crying out, "Babas, this war is in the cause of religion, whoever likes to join, come along with us," uttering which, they passed on to the Sharah gate.

Observing this with fear and dread, I went inside, locked up the doors and got on the roof of my house, the noise and disturbance now became tremendous, every one shut up their houses and went on the roofs.

We now heard the sounds of musketry from the direction of cantonments and the jail, and it was rumoured, that the sepoys had mutinied. At sunset, fires were seen, and we heard of the customs house being burnt. By this time, the sowars that had gone towards the Shahrah gate, returned with about 70 or 80 convicts in prison

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uniform, on the arrival of whom, a great uproar ensued; meanwhile, came a mob of bad characters, comprising mahomedans, pulladars from the gunge, and another of butchers with stones, came from the goozree, shouting, Yah Ali, Ali! part of whom went through the Kumboh gate towards the sudder bazar, and part to the tehseel, great noise and tumult now arose on all sides, and fires appeared in every direction.

The sowars were roving about saying they had burnt cantonments, destroyed the Electric Telegraph, and the British dominion had ceased to exist, which declaration caused great alarm in the city. After two hours, the same bad characters, who had accompanied the sowars, returned laden with booty, the butchers taking bullocks along, this continued all night.

The next morning it was found that the Europeans were all in the Dumdumma, and making arrangements for restoring order, this frightened the rioters, so that two or three days after they threw out all the plunder they had acquired, casting some before the doors of respectable men's houses; all property thus recovered was carried into the Dumdumma. A few days afterwards, some of the bad characters went off to Dehlie, some escaped, and others remained here.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of the bad characters?

*A.*—I looked attentively at them, but do not remember all their names. I could, however, recognize by their faces, Chunda, mussulman, Boolakee, Gheesa, Chunda, Nathooa and Nunoah, butchers of the city, with moodasas and dhotees round their loins, together with several others, composing a large multitude, roving about shouting, Yah Ali, Ali! These very bad characters wounded the mahajuns, Lalla Nund Ram and Rahtoo Mull, (while coming from a village) with sticks and swords, they reached their houses with the greatest difficulty.

All these things Kalyan Singh and myself saw from the top of my house.

*Q.*—Did you hear any thing more about the mutiny?

*A.*—After the mutiny it was disclosed, that a little before it occurred, a sowar of the 3rd light cavalry rumoured it about that 2,000 sets of iron chains had been prepared for the sepoys, and that the European soldiers and artillery would come to imprison them, this report caused the revolt, and made the sepoys fly without any previous preparation.

*Q.*—When and how did you hear this?

*A.*—One or two days after the revolt occurred it was much talked of, that rumours without foundation had ruined the sepoys, but I do not know, who mentioned this.

*Q.*—Could you recognize any of the bad characters, pulladars and butchers?

*A.*—Yes, I could recognize them, if they were here, many of the respectable city people saw them, but are afraid to disclose who they were.

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No. 57.— *Deposition of Kulyan Singh, Mahajun, resident of Meerut.*—On Sunday at about 6 P. M., while sitting before my shop, all at once some 5 or 6 cavalry sowars came on horse back with drawn swords and pistols, calling out in a loud voice, "this war is in the cause of religion, whoever wishes to join, may come along with us," uttering which, they went towards the Shahrah gate; getting alarmed, I closed up my shop and went to the roof. Great confusion now arose in the city, the inhabitants shut up their houses, and got on the flat roofs. After a while, the sound of musketry came from the direction of cantonments, and it was rumoured that the sepoys had mutinied, fires were also seen in the same direction, and the customs house was burning. The sowars who had just previously gone to the Sharah gate now returned with a large multitude of prisoners and bad characters, the noise and disturbance lasted all night.

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*Q.*— Give particulars of what you saw, and how you recognized the prisoners?

*A.*—They wore the usual prison uniform, and those who accompanied them were mahomedans, butchers, pulladars, &c., of the city, shouting, Ali, Ali, our religion has revived. The pulladars were chiefly those of Khoorja. I moreover heard that the cantonment had been reduced to ashes, the Telegraphs destroyed, and the British Rule overthrown.

*Q.*—What did the mobs do?

*A.*—Some were running towards the tehseel, and some towards the sudder bazar; after two or three hours they returned, the pulladars of Khoorja, carrying loads of plundered property on their heads, and each of the butchers driving 5 or 6 bullocks.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of them?

*A.*—I saw numbers of bad characters, but do not recollect their names, many of them are not now in the city. I might, however, recognize some of them, if they were brought forward. Chanda, mussulman, Gheesa and Boolakhee, butchers, frequently passed by the place where I was standing They had sticks in their hands, wore moondasas, and were walking about, making a great noise.

The next day the civil administration resumed its usual course, the bad characters, getting alarmed, began throwing out the plundered property into bye lanes and streets, all which was collected and taken before the authorities.

Some of the bad characters fled to Delhie, and others went wherever they best could. We were much alarmed at this sudden revolt, but happily some four days after, the Commissioner came, and talked encouragingly to the inhabitants, who as usual derived much comfort and assurance from his conversation.

*Q.*—Did you hear any thing before the outbreak?

*A.*—No, nothing, but that the sepoys had shouting refused to bite the cartridges, and were in consequence imprisoned. After the mutiny, I heard, that a few hours previously, a sowar had set it about, that 2,000 sets of irons were being prepared for the sepoys, and that the European soldiers and artillery were coming to deprive them of their arms and ammunition. Hearing which, the sepoys broke out into mutiny, all this I learnt after the outbreak.

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No. 58.—*Deposition of Rutton Lall, Mahajun, resident of Meerut.*—On the day of the outbreak, I was at my zemindaree village, called Sullahpore, about 14 miles from this, and about 5 P. M., went in a bullock cart, we reached mouzah Galahur, about 7 P. M., and near a well met a number of men, chiefly camp followers of the 3rd cavalry flying precipitately, we enquired what had happened, and why they were flying; some of them replied, that the troops at Meerut had mutinied, fighting was going on, and the station burning, and advised our not going there. We tried to stop some one, from whom to obtain information, but none would stay nor return to bring us news so fearing the destruction of my house, I went forward, and shortly after saw a long way off prisoners hurrying away with irons on, I knew them to be such by the jingling of their fetters. I hurried on and reached Meerut, and saw numbers of persons flying, but could not recognize any of them.

When I reached Smithgunge, I saw great confusion and excitement, and observed about 20 or 25 sowars, some dressed and others not, going out of the city. I also saw a crowd of about 300 men, consisting of bad characters, musulmans and pulladars of Khoorja, shouting Ali, Ali! they bid me stop the cart, and

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when I would not, seized the bullocks, and began using their swords; I received a cut on my left arm, another which took off the great toe of my right foot, and a third, that struck me on the head; Nund Ram also received some blows from sticks, the driver now hurried us home.

We found the doors of all respectable people's houses shut, and the bad characters roving about the streets. I lay unconscious all the night, but had my wounds dressed the next day by a native Doctor.

*Q.*—Could you recognize any of the bad characters?

*A.*—I recognized many of the pulladars, but do not know their names.

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No. 59.—*Deposition of Ram Nath, son of Binda Mull, resident of Sudder Bazar, Meerut.*—On the 10th of May, Sunday, at about 5½ P. M., I was realizing my money as usual, all at once the sepoys ran from the sudder bazar, and it was noised about, that the native regiments had mutinied; hearing this, I ran to my shop in the gunge, as I had money with me, and closed the doors: at about 6 o'clock P. M., 8 or 10 sepoys passed over the Begum's bridge, (2 of them were in uniform, but had muskets) to their lines from the direction of lutha guard, meanwhile, the sound of firing was heard, and conflagrations were seen, I was much surprized. The bungalow of the European leather dealer was set on fire. The tumult increased, I saw a crowd of about 150 budmashes coming from the direction of the bazar, headed by 2 or 3 sepoys, with torches in their hands, 8 or 10 rushed into the gunge, and passed through the south gate, seeing this, I went inside of the shop. I recognized Mowla Buksh, butcher, Kalunder, dyer and Khoda Buksh, pulladar, who were shouting, maro, maro breaking to pieces the lanterns! they met with, I kept quiet and sat in my shop. At about 10 P. M. I was going to my house, outside of the gunge, I met Deen Mohomed, jemadar of the kotwalic, and requested him to take me to my house, he said, go, I am watching you; moreover he mentioned, that just then, a gang of plunderers had rushed into the baboo's house, situated near the old chukla, the kotwal with Deen Mohomed and some 30 chowkeedars went to the house and turned out the plunderers. I heard the next day from Ausud Ali, duffadar, that the budmashes took 200 rupees from the baboo, and that Beharee chupprassie wounded one of them.

*Q.*—Did any one else recognize the budmashes that were plundering in the sudder bazar.

*A.*—That day the budmashes treated some of the native so disgracefully, that it is well known to almost all. All the police must have recognized the plunderers, who staid a long while at the baboo's place, and took money from him. Jumna, goldsmith, whose house is situated close to the baboo's, knows the matter. I also heard, a moonshee was killed at the camel sheds.

*Q.*—Did you hear any thing of how the revolt commenced.

*A.*—After the outbreak, I heard that some one came from the direction of the bridge, calling out, that the Europeans were coming to take away the magazine, hearing this, the sepoys ran from the sudder, and great was the confusion and bustle.

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No. 60.—*Deposition of Dabee Sahay, Mahajun, resident of Meerut, Sudder Bazar.*—On Sunday 10th of May between 5 and 6 P. M., four sowars came from the direction of the lutha guard, shouting out, they had broken open the jail, and burnt the cantonments, and then galloped on towards the sudder bazar; shortly after 4 or 5 sepoys came from the direction of the pay master's office, crying out they had

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burnt all the bungalows, they were followed by a crowd of 50 or 60 men, shouting Ali, Ali! On seeing this, I put out the light of my shop, closed it up, and sat inside.

I could not recognize of whom the crowd was composed but it appeared to consist of goojurs, butchers, pulladars and others, and was headed by Kullun, *alias* Kullunder, a dyer, I do not know where he at present may be.

*Q.*—Were the policemen present at their posts?

*A.*—Up to 9 o'clock, I saw none of them, after which, on going home, I found them patrolling as usual. The next morning, I heard that some bad characters assembled at the house of a Bengalie during that night, and created great disturbance, on hearing of which, the cotwal and policemen went there, so, they might perhaps have recognized some of them.

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No. 61.—*Deposition of Bhugwan Dass, resident of the Sudder Bazar, Meerut.*—On Sunday 10th of May, at about 6 P. M., I was sitting in my shop, when suddenly a great noise arose, and I heard that fighting had taken place between the European and native troops.

Meanwhile, a sound of firing was heard from the direction of the native infantry lines, on which I closed my shop; at about 7 P. M., fires were seen, and I observed two or three sowars coming from the direction of the lutha guard, with drawn swords and in uniform, shouting, "our fight is for the cause of religion," they then went off.

At the same time, four or five sepoys with a mob of bad characters appeared in the direction of the Begum's bridge, shouting Yah! Ali, Ali, maro! maro, and breaking off all the lamps along the road, a great many fires now broke out on all sides. The bungalow that stands in the rear of the gunge being set on fire, I informed its owner of the same, fearing it might approach the gunge, but he replied, he must remain quiet, as he could not help it.

*Q.*—What class of men were these bad characters?

*A.*—They appeared to be low people, such as pulladars, milkmen, cobblers, &c.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of them?

*A.*—I saw Molla Buksh, musulman, resident of the old bazar, Khoda Buksh, pulladar and several others, whom I recognized at the time, but whose names, I have forgotten, having, however, once seen them, I could mark them again.

*Q.*—Were policemen present in the gunge at the time?

*A.*—Only one policeman was posted at the gunge, and he was absent.

*Q.*—Did you hear of any thing having been plotted before the outbreak?

*A.*—I heard nothing of the kind.

*Q.*—Did you see any thing more?

*A.*—After 10 P. M., I saw Deen Mahomed, jemadar and some burkundazes coming towards the gunge patrolling.

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No. 62.—*Deposition of Boodh Singh, resident of Sudder Bazar, Meerut.*—On the 10th of May, I was sitting at the shop of my master between 5 and 6 P. M. at once it was noised about, that the native regiments had mutinied, hearing this, the sepoys who were walking in the bazar ran towards their lines, I heard also that the cotwally guard made off to their regiment, after a while, a sound of firing was heard from

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the direction of the native lines, and the budmashes were running about; seeing this, I quietly sat on the chabootra of my shop. About 7 P. M., some sepoys and 2 or 4 sowars of the 3rd light cavalry accompanied by a crowd of budmashes, rushed out of the bazar, shouting, Ali, Ali! The sepoys were saying that they had murdered the Europeans, burnt the cantonment, cut the electric telegraph wire, broke open the jail, released the prisoners, and cut off their fetters, and whoever wished could go and help them; uttering this, they passed on towards the bridge, through Dal-ki-mundee; after a while, they returned the same way they had gone, and made a rush towards the cotwally through the sudder bazar. The whole night the budmashes were carrying away bundles of things on their heads.

*Q.*—Where did these budmashes come from?

*A.*—The budmashes were chiefly pulladars, koonjras, butchers, and cobblers of sudder bazar.

*Q.*—Besides them who else were concerned in the riot?

*A.*—After 9 or 10 P. M the villagers of the neighbouring villages rushed in.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of them?

*A.*—Nanno, pulladar, a great scamp, was at the head of the crowd, he has since been hung, and his father Lushkerry, and Munwa and several others, whom I recognized, but I do not know how many of them fled, if they were here, I should be able to recognize them.

*Q.*—What did the police do that night?

*A.*—Nothing was done by them, they were equally running about.

*Q.*—Where the police present as usual in Dal-ki-mundy?

*A.*—None were present there.

*Q.*—Did you see any thing more?

*A.*—From fear, I did not go out of my shop; however, I heard that in rear of the Deputy Collector's house, opposite the door of Mohun cobbler, Mrs. Courtney was murdered, many such matters occurred, and many bungalows were set on fire, even the bungalow situated near the gunge was set on fire, the tenants sent word to the owner that the bungalow was burning, and probably the fire would approach our gunge, I replied it could not be helped.

*Q.*—Has any one else recognized those budmashes?

*A.*—Many must have seen them. I heard the following day, that a crowd of budmashes went over the house of a bengalie, living behind the old chukla. At the same time Ussud Ali, (I do not know whether he is an officer or a chowkedar) being accompanied with other policemen, went after them. The said bengalie offered 200 rupees to the budmashes. The police will be able to describe it fully, as they were eye witnesses of the fact. Moreover, Jumna goldsmith, resident of the same mohulla, has seen them all, as they passed his house. The inhabitants in that direction must have recognized them, for the budmashes stayed a long while there.

*Q.*—Did you hear how this disturbance commenced in the sudder bazar?

*A.*—After the out-break, I was told that some sepoys or sowars came running from the direction of the regimental bazar, they cried out, that Europeans and guns were coming to take away the magazine from the native regiments; hearing this,

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as many sepoys as were walking in the sudder bazar precipitately ran towards their lines, and at once the disturbance commenced.

*Q.*—Where is Mohun cobbler, in front of whose door Mrs. Courtney was murdered?

*A.*—Mohun cobbler and his son Mya Ram, are living in Naipoora.

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No. 63.—*Deposition of Soondur Dass, Merchant, resident of Meerut.*—On Sunday the 10th of May 1857, I was in my shop in the sudder bazar, when the guard of the cotwally ran away, at about half past 6 o'clock. I then took my family to our house in the city, where we shut ourselves up.

*Q.*—Did you lose any thing by the mutiny?

*A.*—Yes, a house (No. 173) was burnt and a good deal of property, about 5 or 6,000 rupees worth plundered, and besides two banghies of cloth, which were with Eshur, son-in-law of Buddree Dass, my partner.

*Q.*—At what time, in what place, and by whom, were these 4 bundles plundered, and who saw them taken?

*A.*—On the 11th May 1857, at about 8 o'clock in the morning, they were plundered, behind the camel shed. I believe the plunderers were goojurs, chamars and bad characters. Eshur Buldeo, a tailor, and Kulloo and Buldewa, 2 bearers, who carried the bundles, saw them seized, one of the bearers has gone away, and the other may have obtained employment in the city since then.

*Q.*—Did you report this to the cotwal?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—Why not?

*A.*—Because I knew others must have lost their property, and yet had not reported it, therefore I did not.

*Q.*—Do you know any other person who lost his property?

*A.*—No.

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No. 64.—*Deposition of Eshur, a Merchant, resident of Putteealla.*—On the 11th of May 1857, the day after the mutiny, about 8 o'clock in the morning, I took 4 bundles of clothes from my shop in the sudder bazar to the city; Buldeo tailor was with me; when we arrived behind the camel sheds, a mob consisting of about 150 men, chiefly mohomedans and goojurs, met us, and plundered all that we had; both myself and my bearers, who carried the bundles, were struck two or three times by them, I ran away to the city.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any person in the mob?

*A.*—I was frightened and could not recognize any one.

*Q.*—Did the bearers remain or did they run away also?

*A.*—They both accompanied me to the city.

*Q.*—Did you report this to the cotwal?

*A.*—No, I did not.

*Q.*—Why?

*A.*—Because I knew other men must have lost their property, yet did not report it.

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*Q.*—Tell the names of those who lost their property ?

*A*—I do not know the names of any.

*Q.*—Name the bearers and where they now are ?

*A.*—Kulloo is in the city, but I do not know where Buldeo is.

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No. 65.—*Deposition of Baboo Caylash Chunder Ghose, resident of Jahanabad.*—I was in my shop behind the Cotwalie, in the sudder bazar about 6 o'clock in the evening ; hearing a great uproar I went into my shop, shut the door and sat down, warning the chowkedars of my house to be on the alert. In the middle of the night, a mob of about 150 men came to my house, broke open the lock and entered where I, Prosono Comar Baboo, and Issan Singhee, since returned to Cawnpore, Kullian (chowkedar) a lodha, who is in the city, another bearer, a brahmin, my servants (now gone home) were present; as the mob entered I ran out and went to a tailor's, who lives in the sudder bazar, Prosono Coomar went up a tree and concealed himself. The mob burnt the roof of one house, set fire to the office, spilt the wine, and burnt the cases in which it was kept, plundered the plates and money, and smashed all the glass doors, when my chowkedar went and reported it to the Cotwal, Dhumna Singh, he with about 28 men came to the gate and called out who are there, upon which the mob immediately dispersed. The Cotwal did not make any prisoners, nor take any further notice of it. This I heard from my chowkedar when I returned.

*Q.*—Did you hear of what persons the mob consisted?

*A.*—I heard from my chowkedar that they were goojurs.

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No. 66.—*Deposition of Kullian Chowkedar, in service of Caylash Chunder Ghose, a risident of Meerut.*

*Q.*—Where were you on the 10th of May, when the mutiny broke out?

*A.*—I was at Baboo Caylash Chunder's, for I was his chowkedar.

*Q.*—State truly what you saw on that day?

*A.*—At 6 o'clock the mutiny broke out, I was in the house, shut the gate and went inside; at midnight, a mob of about 150 men broke open the gate, entered the compound, they then commenced plundering the property. I saw a very large mob, and was therefore unable to do any thing. I went and reported it to the Cotwal, who sent four men with me, and himself following a short time after with about 12 more and turned the mob out, who had, however, plundered the property before he arrived.

*Q.*—What sort of men did the mob consist of?

*A.*—Goojurs, Jats and other villagers.

*Q.*—Could you recognize the policemen that came with the Cotwal ?

*A.*—I recognized Bahar, a musulman, but no others.

*Q.*—Did the Cotwal rescue any property and return it to you ?

*A.*—None.

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No. 67.—*Deposition of Sauta Singh, chuprassie, being sworn, he deposes.*—That on the 10th of May Sunday at about 5½ P. M., a sepoy came to the guard in the sudder bazar, talking with them quietly and gently, but on returning to his lines, told them aloud, should any body detain them, not to mind ; very soon after his going, the sepoys of the guard began to load their muskets. The men of the cotwally and neighbourhood were surprised at this, but ventured not to ask them the cause of it; meanwhile, firing commenced, and it was noised about, that the native regi-

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ments had mutinied, the sepoys of the guard made off to their lines, bidding salam to the cotwal, saying, they were going away, and whosoever wished to accompany them, should not let the opportunity slip; two or three prisoners convicted for some crime, lost no time in doing so; meantime, great tumult and uproar rose around. Dhunna Singh, ordered his subordinates to be on the alert, as there was a disturbance, so nearly 30 or 40 men prepared themselves. We heard, that the sepoys who had just left the guard, shot two christians near the adda of bearers, but none went to see them; at this time, crowds of budmashes, consisting of butchers, koonjras and pulladars, &c., in dirty clothes began to rush out of their houses, and moved on towards the lines, Dhunna Singh ordered all the chowkedars to sit under the tiled roof, and not to stand outside, we acted accordingly; at about 8 or 9 P. M., a man came from the house of a bengali, situated at the back of the cotwally, behind the chukla of prostitutes and said, that the budmashes and village people, had set fire to the bengali's house, and were plundering his property; hearing this, Dhunna Singh called as many as were present there, and ordered them to accompany him to the house of the bengali, they all went with him, met with opposition and swords were drawn on both sides, Dhunna Singh asked them who and what they were, they contemptuously asked him, who he was, he replied, he was Dhunna Singh, they said, he was in the rifle bazar, why did he come here, Dhunna Singh told them that the cotwal had been suspended for bribery, and he was acting for him. Dhunna Singh then told them to be off, they said, if their man who was put in the stocks at the cotwally were released and allowed to go away with his things, they would be off. Dhunna Singh* strictly prohibited his police from drawing swords against his friend, and sent a man to the cotwalie; after a while, the prisoner came with his things, viz. 1 horse, 1 inkstand, 1 sword, Dhunna Singh made over his things to them and liberated the prisoner. They went towards the shootur khana, and Dhunna Singh returned to the cotwally, and sent guards consisting of 4 chokeedars and one officer to patrol the bazar.

* The officiating Kotwal being a Goojur appears at once to have fraternized with his brethren. It would also seem from this statement, that some of the police did at first attempt to do their duty but were carried away by the force of numbers.

*Q.*—Who was the prisoner liberated by Dhunna Singh, and why was he apprehended?

*A.*—I do not recollect his name, he was apprehended on the evening of the revolt, and was brought by an officer and some chowkedars to the cotwally, he was put in the stocks by order of Dhunna Singh, and his property kept in the cotwally.

*Q.*—Do you know who he was, and what was his caste and profession?

*A.*—As it was dark, I was unable to know who and what he was.

*Q.*—Who else followed Dhunna Singh to the bengali's house?

*A.*—Juswunt Khan, jemadar, Deen Mahomed, jemadar, Asud Ali, duffadar, these three deserted; Mooktar Khan, duffadar, Sheochurn, Sookul, duffadar, these are present in the cotwaly, Punchum Singh, and Beharee Singh, chupprasees, Sewa Singh, Binda Singh, Dabee Singh, Amanut Ali, chowkedars, and Kauta Singh, chowkedars deserted*, and several others, whose names I do not remember, followed Dhunna Singh to the house of the bengali.

*Q.*—Can you trace out the man who was imprisoned in the cotwally?

*A.*—I will endeavour to trace him out.

*Q.*—Who else do you think can describe the prisoner?

*A.*—I think Mooktar Khan, duffadar, will be able to give you particulars regarding the man, as he generally had charge of all the prisoners in the cotwally, and most probably Kunhya Lall, mohurir, who is now transferred to the artillery bazar chowkey, knows about him.

* A number of the chokeedars, who deserted taking with them the Government badge, were arrested and tried.

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Q.—Who attacked the baboo's house and took the prisoner from Dhunna Singh?

A.—I could not recognize them, but they appeared to be budmashes and goojurs of the surrounding villages, had they not been goojurs, how could they recognize Dhunna Singh, who was of the same tribe.

Q.—It is said, that the baboo gave some money to the plunderers, and that Beharee Singh wounded one of them, they also staid a long while talking with Dhunna Singh, can you not give a minute account of the above circumstances?

A.—I know nothing of the offer of money to the plunderers, but I heard from Asud Ali, jemadar, that Beharee Singh, chupprassee, wounded one of them with his sword.

Q.—Can information regarding those plunderers be obtained from any one?

A.—Information regarding them could have been had from the goojur police, as they must have recognized them, but I regret to say, that all of this tribe have deserted.

Q.—Why did you not state all this in your reply taken on the 4th of January 1858?

A.—For fear I did not state the truth, besides all of us unanimously decided to depose to the same things, that is to say, that we were all patrolling and knew nothing of the disturbance, therefore I was also obliged to state in my reply, what they had deposed, so that no discrepancy might appear.

Q.—During the night that the budmashes were plundering, did you recognize any of them?

A.—At about 11 P. M., all was over at the baboo's place, we, viz. Mookhtar Khan, duffadar, being accompanied with some chowkedars, proceeded towards the naie bazar, there we met Luchmun Singh, chuprassee of aubkary, who told Mookhtar Khan, duffadar, that a European leather dealer and his wife were hid in his house, therefore I took great care of this part of the bazar, the duffadar whispered in my ears the above circumstance, ordering me to take great care of them, and let no body know about it, and that he would also now and then patrol to this side. The whole night, I took care of them, and did not stir from my place, therefore, I was unable to seek out any of the budmashes during the night. On the morrow, I apprehended about 16 men with plundered property near the kothee of Mahomed Sadig, and brought them to the cotwalie.

Q.—Were they punished?

A.—The cotwal appropriated the plundered property, and let the plunderers go.

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No. 62.—*Deposition of Laik Ram, chowkedar, at chowkie No.* 4.—I do not recollect the precise date when the mutiny occurred, about 9 months ago, some Sunday after 6 P. M., sounds of musketry were heard in the direction of the infantry lines, hearing the firing, sepoys ran away with their pouches and muskets leaving behind their bedding. A little before this, a sepoy came to the cowtally guard, and after he left the sepoys armed themselves. News came on of the mutiny of sepoys, Dhunna Singh ordered the chupprassies not to stir from their places.

Meanwhile, two sepoys without uniform came to the shops of Sahib Singh and Hoolas Roy with arms accompanied by a crowd of 200 men, and demanded money

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from the shop keepers (the owners went up stairs) the servants told them, that they had no money, at last Nund Ram, son of Sahib Singh gave them 7 rupees, then the sepoys went to the shop of Ram Hoolas, but I do not know what they got there, they demanded from other tradesmen by the help of the butchers, pulladars, &c., of the sudder bazar; at this time Dhunna Singh concealed himself close to the house of Hingun Khan cotwal, who called him out. The sepoys made off, but the budmashes continued plundering. At about 9 P. M., only 20 men were present in the cotwally, the others were absent, Dhunna Singh ordered them on patrolling duty, Ram Narain, Dabee Singh chokeedars, Juswunt Khan, jemadar and myself came to the chowk, where we met a butcher galloping past. The horse was valuable, and appeared to have belonged to some European, we took them to the cotwal (Dhunna Singh) who made them over to Mookhtar Khan, duffadar (now jemadar) the horse was tied up under a peepul tree, and the rider was placed in custody. Dhunna Singh said, why are you making arrests, what will you have me strung up. After a while, we caught a goojur, he had a horse of some European, a sword, an inkstand, a bundle of papers. At about 10 P. M., a crowd of goojurs armed with swords and gundassa and lathees, came in through the kuttra gate, although the tradesmen, Juswunt Khan, jemadar, and his police, who were 8 in number including myself, tried to prevent them, we followed them, they came first to the shop of Sadiq, merchant, and wished to break off the doors. We asked the chowkedars of the said merchant, where their pistols and matchlocks were, and to call their masters, hearing this, the goojurs drew their swords against us, one of us ran to call Dhunna Singh; the goojurs returned towards the bazar, and came to the house of Baboo Beerbul, we returned to the cotwally; meanwhile a servant of the Baboo Beerbul came into the cotwally and reported that the Baboo's house had been set on fire, and his property plundered; hearing this, Dhunna Singh having taken 18 or 20 men with him, went over to the house of the Baboo, and saw it burning on one side and plundering going on at the other, Dhunna Singh forbad them, on which swords were drawn on both sides, two of the goojurs were wounded, one was wounded by Beharee Singh, chupprassie, and the other received a cut by Dabee Singh, since deserted. The goojurs retreated and said to Dhunna Singh, thou hast called us, and now turn us out, very well, release our man now in confinement, and we will go away, Dhunna Singh made him over to them, and they retreated; with the exception of the sword, every thing was delivered to them. Likewise, the other prisoner was also released with the horse, on which Ramnarain chowkedar remonstrated with the cotwal, saying, we with great difficulty arrest the bad characters, and you set them free; about midnight, the bad characters went out of the sudder and the disturbance subsided; whatever occurred, I have laid explicitly before you.

Q.—Tell the truth, where were the policemen, &c., during the riot?

*A.*—At that time, about 20 men were present in the cotwally, and the rest were absent, I do not know where they were and what they were doing. Kadir Buksh chowkedar, now a duffadar, was absent for 3 days, after which he returned, laid his turban at the foot of Dhunna Singh, calling him his father and entreated to be forgiven, Dhunna Singh reprimanded him and excused his fault, this matter is well known to almost all hindoos, mahomadans and chrprassies of the cotwally. Sibba Singh chowkedar, Juman Singh chowkedar, Moorlie Singh chuprassie, orderlies of Captain Cookson, Phewkwa chowkedar and Debee Singh chowkedar, will detect the above matter. Wuzeer Khan and his brother, deserters of Agra, are full brothers of Mudeh Khan, duffadar of the cotwally. Wuzeer Khan is employed in the cotwally, and his brother, whose name I do not know, is either in the bazar of the rifle, or artillery, I have never seen them, however it is no secret, it is well known at the cotwally. Hingun Khan entertained them both. Mudeh Khan was also absent during the night of the disturbance, every one knows it. Yusuf musulman, who

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absented himself for a while, during the uproar, received a sword cut in his hand, has been discharged, and is residing with Uzuher Khan puthan. He was turned out of the cantonment police for laughing at a lady, who was riding.

*Q.*—Who were the two men arrested during the night of the disturbance?

*A.*—They were goojurs, but I do not know their names and residence.

*Q.*—Were their names not entered in the police diary?

*A.*—As they were released during the night, I do not think their names were noted down in the diary after the riot. I apprehended plunderers and secured plundered property, but Dhunna Singh and Mudeh Khan released the prisoners.

*Q.*—Can you prove it?

*A.*—It cannot be proved.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of the budmashes?

*A.*—Qalunder Buksh, dyer, Elai Bush, pulladar, Hoossain Buksh, pulladar, &c., amongst many, I do not recollect the names of them all, but will be able to recognize them, if I see them again.

*Q.*—Why did you not state all these things in your deposition taken on a previous occasion?

*A.*—All the chupprassies and officers of police unanimously determined to depose alike.

*Q.*—Which of the officers conspired thus?

*A.*—Mookhtar Khan, jemadar, Behary Singh, jemadar, Raheem Khan, jemadar and Mudeh Khan, duffadar, these arranged to say alike, thinking, that if discrepancies were found in their depositions, they would be liable to suffer death.

*Q.*—Is the above deposition true?

*A.*—It is all correct, make any enquiry you like.

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No. 69.—*Deposition of Dabee, a Lodha.*—When the mutiny broke out, I was at Nuthun's, in the sudder bazar, between 1 and 2 in the morning, Nuthun told me, that there was a great disturbance in the sudder, and asked me, and Goolabee lodha, to accompany him to the Deputy Collector's house to bring some grass that was there for his cattle, and told us he would pay us for doing the same. As soon as we came on the wall, we saw butchers, chupprassies and coolies, some with arms, and some without, running here and there, and a short distance on, under the walls of the Deputy Collector's compound, near Shair Khan's* house, I saw 3 bodies of Europeans lying, one was a lady's and two gentleman's, after this we entered the compound, and were returning with the grass, when I saw Shair Khan pass with a box under his arm, and a bundle on his head, he was bringing it evidently from the Commissioner's house, I then went to the sudder.

*Q.*—Did you see any one else besides Shair Khan, carrying away plundered property?

*A.*—There was a very large crowd, and I was unable to make out any one else.

*Q.*—After the outbreak, why did you go to the city?

*A.*—I lived in the udda, but when it was afterwards deserted, I went to the city, I am still earning my livelihood in the sudder bazar.

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*Shair Khan traced to the Jail Guard, where he had obtained employment as a Burkundaz, was convicted and sentenced to 14 year's imprisonment.

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Q.—Did you recognize any one else besides Shair Khan in the mob?

A.—I did not.

Q.—How long have you known Shair Khan?

A.—For many years.

Q.—Do you know where he is now?

A.—Two or three days after the mutiny, he went to Dehlie.

Q.—Did you and Shair Khan ever have a quarrel?

A.—Never.

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No. 70.—*Deposition of Goolabee.*—On the day the troops mutinied, Dabee and myself were present at Nuthun chowkeedar's, about 3 o'clock in the morning, he told us to follow him to the Deputy Collector's compound, to bring some grass for his cattle, promising to pay us for doing so, we did so, and were returning with the grass, when I saw under the walls of the Deputy Collector's house, and near that of Shair Khan's 3 bodies, 1 woman's and 2 men, I heard also a great noise. The coolies, chupprasies and butchers were plundering. I saw Shair Khan, with a box under his arm, and a bundle on his head, he was evidently bringing them from the Commissioner's house, I then returned to udda.

Q.—Did you see any one else besides Shair Khan plundering and carrying away property, and could you recognize them?

A.—There was a very large crowd, I was therefore unable to recognize any one; after that night I went to the city, but am still earning my food in the sudder.

Q.—Since when did you know Shair Khan?

A.—Before the out-break, I was employed in mending the wall, and it was there, where I saw him.

Q.—Had you and Shair Khan ever quarrelled?

A.—No.

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No. 71.—*Deposition of Sadha Singh, gardener.*—About 8 or 9 months ago, on a Sunday night, at 6 o'clock, suddenly I heard a great uproar; my master, the late Mr. Greathed, Commissioner of Meerut, was in his house. About 8 o'clock a number of sowars came from the new jail, they set fire to the house, my master went up to the roof, I told Punchum, sirdar bearer, to get my master down, which he did, by a ladder, and brought him to the garden, I there secreted him with the memsahib, and two other ladies, and in the morning, accompanied them to the cantonments.

Q.—Did you recognize any of those who burnt and plundered the house?

A.—No, there was a great crowd they shouted Ali, Ali, Mohomdee! I, for fear, remained in the garden, watching over my master, and prevented any one from coming in, one attempted to enter, but I drove him out.

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No. 72.—*Deposition of Baboo Bunseedhur, writer in Major Williams' Office.*—On the 10th of May 1857, about 6 o'clock, on Sunday evening, I was at Major Williams' house, which is situated near the Session Judge's Court, all at once I heard a great uproar, and saw a number of men running from the sudder to the city, and from the city to the sudder; a little afterwards, I heard firing in the direction of the native

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cavalry lines, I also overheard the men, that were passing say, that the sepoys had killed the Europeans. I now heard that the old jail had been broken open, and the prisoners let loose, hearing which, I got up and went to the roof of the cook-house, from which I saw the sowars of the 3rd cavalry going on the Soorujkoond road towards the new jail, some had on their uniform, they had drawn swords, they were about 30 or 40 of them, I heard them say "come along brothers with us to the holy war". When night set in, these sowars with the convicts, came and set fire to the Sessions Court. They then pointed to my master's house, said that the thuggie officer lives there, let us let loose the prisoners from there also, saying which, they went away, but the bad characters, with lathees and swords about 50 or 60 in number, came in and asked for the prisoners, all of them joined, the mob with their fetters; about 50 bad characters plundered the house, Juggun Nath, chuprassie, took by force a clock, which one of the mob was making way with, they then set fire to the house, all the property we could manage to take out, we did, and saved it, but the rest was either burnt or plundered.

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No. 73.—*Deposition of Juggun Nath, chupprassie in service of Major Williams, a brahmin, resident of Doadpoor, elaka Lucknow.*—On the 10th May, 1857, at about 6 o'clock on Sunday evening, I was at my master's house, which is situated near the city of Meerut. At once, I heard a great uproar, and saw a great number of men running from the sudder to the city, and from the city towards the sudder; a little afterwards about 40 or 50 sowars came, some with uniforms on, on horseback from the direction of their lines, they took the road to the Soorujkoond, they went along, calling out, "come along brothers to the holy war." In the meantime; my master's house was set on fire, I then told Somaie sirdar bearer, to take out the property, we were preparing ourselves to do so, when a mob consisting of about 40 or 50 men with latties and swords came in, they asked, who lived in the house, we told them that the master was not in it, both Somaie and myself began to take out the property, and to carry it to my house, which was about 50 or 60 paces off, by this time the house was in a blaze, all the property I could take out and save I did, I took by force a clock from one of the mob, the rest was either burnt or plundered. The convicts I did not see, therefore I do not know any thing about them.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# ALLYGURH,

IN 1857-58.

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No. 11 of 1858.

From

W. J. BRAMLY, Esquire,

*Magistrate and Collector of Allygurh,*

To

A. COCKS, Esquire,

*Special Commissioner.*

DATED ALLYGURH, THE 17TH NOVEMBER 1858.

1. News of the Meerut outbreak reached Allygurh May 12th. The troops then in the station were about 300 men of 9th Native Infantry, and Head-quarters of the Regiment, commanded by Major Eld. A period of the usual uncertainty and dismay occurred, but the troops appeared quiet and orderly. Beyond the burning of an empty bungalow, no overt act of disaffection appears to have been committed till the day of mutiny.

2. At that time Mr. Watson was Magistrate and Collector, assisted by the Officers noted in the margin.* What Mr. Watson's views were at that time I have no means of determining. No record remains here. They were probably in every detail communicated at the time to the late Lieutenant Governor.

* Mr. W. Lane, Joint Magistrate.
Mr. F. B. Outram, Asst. Magistrate.

3. The troops on the 19th were reinforced by a detachment, and on the 20th, by the remainder of the right wing of the 1st Gwalior Cavalry, under Captain Alexander. On the same day a Brahmin named Naraen, resident of a village close to Allygurh, who had an uncle in Nujjeeb Jail Guard, made proposals of mutiny to two sepoys of the 9th Native Infantry, promising, on the part of villagers, support in the work of plunder. These men informed their Commanding Officer, who directed them to seize him. He was accordingly apprehended by them, tried by a Native Court Martial, and by its sentence hung at the Collector's Cutcherry on evening of 20th, about sunset. The execution had hardly terminated when the 9th broke out into open mutiny. Their Officers were allowed to escape. They and the Civil Officers, with some

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ladies, who were still in the station, were able to retire in safety to Hattrass,* under escort of the 1st Gwalior Cavalry. The sepoys then set fire to the Collector's Cutcherry and Post Office, plundered the cash in both places, and left the station for Dehli by nine or ten P. M., without doing further mischief. From the Collector's Treasury they carried off about three lacs, and left the other four for the rabble.

* A town on Agra road.

4. On the next and few following days, the prisoners were set free by the Jail Guard; the large number of bullock train carts collected there, containing property to an unknown amount, also all the houses, the property of the Europeans, with the property contained in them, plundered,—the houses belonging to Natives alone partially escaping with loss of wood-work, &c. In this work Russool Khan, Khansamah to the Dâk Bungalow, and Meer Khan, Mail Coachman, distinguished themselves.

5. In the hurried departure of the European Residents on evening of 20th, Messrs. Connor and Hine, Clerks, and their families, were left behind. On the 22nd, in retreat to Agra, they had reached Sawamye in company with Mr. Nichterlein, an Indigo Planter, and his family, when they were attacked, stripped, and plundered by a party of Mewatees and others. Mr. Nichterlein, Junior, an Eurasian, was killed by them. In this state the party remained all day, when they were released and brought into Sasnee by a party of police and others sent by Punnahloll, a banker of Sasnee. On their arrival in Sasnee they were kindly treated by Punnahloll, and finally escorted to Hattrass by a party of the 1st Gwalior Cavalry under Lieutenant Cockburn.

6. On the 24th, about 100 men of the 1st Gwalior Cavalry mutinied at Hattrass, and went off to Dehli. Their Officers, with those of 9th Native Infantry, and Civil Officers, retired to Khundowlee.*

* A place one march from Agra.

7. On May 26th, a body of Volunteers, Europeans and Eurasians, above 40 in number, arrived at Khundowlee, and went to Hattrass to effect the release of Messrs. Booth, Saunders, and party in durance at Mulloee Factory. This was effected on the 29th. Allygurh was occupied by them the same day, Mr. Watson, the Magistrate, accompanying them. The Volunteers, in varying numbers, continued with Mr. Watson till July 2nd, when that Officer, on the advance of the Neemuch mutineers on Agra, and the mutiny of the two bodies of Gwalior troops stationed at Hattrass and Sasnee, was compelled to leave the District.

8. However to continue the narrative;—On Mr. Watson's return, some degree of order was established at Allygurh itself. The people made haste to throw out from their houses plundered property in great quantities. Doctor Clark, Post Master, who accompanied Mr. Watson, was enabled at once to re-establish Mail Cart communication with Meerut, and maintain it for eight or nine days.

9. On June 1st, the Volunteers made a successful attack on Khyr, a town fourteen miles west of Allygurh. One Rao Bhopal Singh, of an old Chohan Rajpoot family, had immediately after Mr. Watson's departure from Allygurh, May 20th, gone to Khyr with a large following, deposed the Tehseeldar, and taken possession of the Tehseel building. Mr. Watson found him with but few attendants, and had him summarily hung. The party returned to Allygurh the same day.

10. Before the middle of the month the Chohans of the Pergunah, intent on revenge, called in the Jats to their help, attacked Khyr, plundered and destroyed nearly all the Government buildings, as well as the houses of the Bunyahs and Mahajuns. The Government Tehseel, a strong masonry quadrangular building on the Board's plan, might have held out long, had the defenders had more heart and gunpowder. It was besieged for several days in vain, when the Tehseeldar and the rest of the officials, hopeless of relief, withdrew in the night.

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11. During the first half of June, Mr. Watson and the Volunteers continued at Allygurh and its neighbourhood, making demonstrations continually in different directions, with a view of preserving some semblance of order, and keeping open the communications between Agra and Meerut; they had continually to be on the alert, as well to avoid surprise by district rebels as also by rebel troops, who were passing continually up the Trunk Road en route to Dehli. On the 5th June, the 7th Cavalry mutineers passed through, and plundered or destroyed all the property the Volunteers had collected.

12. From about the middle of June the Magistrate, with the Volunteers, made the ruined Indigo Factory Mudroc, situated about 7 miles from Allygurh on the Agra road, their Head-quarters. About the same time Major Burlton took up a position at Sasnee, 7 miles in rear of Mudroc, with a force of Cavalry, Guns, and I believe Infantry. Captain Alexander with his men remained at Hattrass, and did good service on several occasions.

13. About June 21st the Lieutenant Governor recalled most of the Volunteers to Agra; there then remained with Mr. Watson the 11 gentlemen noted in the margin.*

* Messrs. Cocks, and Outram, } Civil Service.
S. Clark, Esq., Post Master.
J. O' B. Tandy, Esq.
P. Saunders, Esq.
H. B. Harington, Esq., *Jr.*
Mr. Hind.
Ensign Olivant.
„ Marsh.
Mr. Castle,
„ Burkinyoung.

14. On June 30th, 2 P. M., Mr. Watson and party still at Mudroc; information was sent them by the Deputy Post Master of Allygurh, that the Mewatees and other Mahomedans of the City Coel* had raised a green flag, and proposed to attack Mr. Watson's party in large numbers. The news was shortly after confirmed by the approach of the attacking party, 500 to 1,000 strong. This party had boastfully declared they would fix the heads of the Europeans on the City Gates before night; they fled however at the first charge of the 12 gentlemen above mentioned, and lost some 14 of their party killed. The small party of Nujjeebs and Sowars with Mr. Watson were of no use, and fired in the air. It is credibly said that the villagers plundered this formidable body of "Jehadees" on their retreat to Coel.

* Coel is the name of the City, and Allygurh properly the name of the Fort and Cantonment only.

15. With the City of Coel in his front, and Major Burlton's force at Sasnee in a mutinous state in his rear, Mr. Watson, July 1st, thought best to retire to Iglas, where he was informed next day of the mutiny of the Gwalior troops at both Hattrass and Sasnee. Mr. Watson and party then left for Agra.

16. I should have mentioned above, that a few days before their mutiny Major Burlton's force proceeded to Iglas, to protect the Tehseel building threatened by a large body of Jats of that Pergunah. These Jats, in their stupidity, absolutely thought to possess themselves of Captain Pearson's Battery, and advanced against Major Burlton with that view. A shower of rain put out their "pulectahs;"* Major Burlton's sowars charged, utterly overthrew and scattered them in all directions.

* Matches.

17. I wish here to remark on the good service performed by the Agra Volunteers, and especially by the body of gentlemen who stood by Mr. Watson till the last. The Post Office Authorities were thus enabled to keep open communication with Meerut. It delayed the establishment of a rebel Government in Coel, so that no time was left for its organization, before Mr. Cocks, with Major Montgomery's force, appeared on the scene in August. Besides, the moral effect of a small body of Europeans living in the open field, marching, halting, and attacking when they pleased, must have had a good effect on the population, and shewn them how vastly inferior they were to the men they were attempting to crush.

18. On Mr. Watson's departure in beginning of July, a *punch* was formed to preserve order, and save the City from plunder by the Mewatees, butchers, and other low Mahomedans. One Nusseem-oollah, a Wakeel of the Judge's Court, took umbrage at his exclusion from the Punchayut, and invited

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Mahomed Ghous Khan to come to Coel. With Nusseem-oollah was Neyaz Ahmud, Zillah Visitor, both able men. Mahomed Ghous Khan, a Zemindar of Secundra Rao, of this district, arrived July 15th, and began to entertain men, with the view of usurping power. The Punchayut however refused to abdicate, whereupon Ghous Khan and Nusseem-oollah repaired to Wuleedad Khan, of Malagurh, (who derived his title of "Soobah" from the King at Dehli,) who granted a Sunnud of "Naib Soobahship."

19. Armed with this they returned, declared their titles, and were allowed to assume power,—Nusseem-oollah became Ghous Khan's Naib, Mahboob Khan was created Tehseeldar, and Hussun Khan, Cotwal. A large number of men were enrolled to support the new power. Many of the Police chuprassees and Jail guard took service, and he was supported generally by all the Mahomedans of the Town. Ghous Khan had but little time in which to consolidate his power. He had no money beyond what he could obtain by plunder, nor Artillery. He had little authority beyond the limits of the Town. He collected no land revenue.

20. On August 20th Mr. Cocks, with a force under Major Montgomery, was sent from Agra to succour Hattrass, supposed to be threatened by Ghous Khan. At this time Hattrass was the only Town and Tehseel post in which British Authority could be said to exist. This Town lies on the direct road from Agra to Allygurh, 20 miles distant from the former. Its inhabitants, for the most part wealthy Hindoo traders, had with the assistance of the neighbouring Jat Rajah of Moorsan, Tekum Sing, and also Thakoor Gobind Sing, (now Rajah) been able to preserve order in the town, and ward off every threatened attack from plunderers. But the main-stay of Hattrass was the blind Ex-Tehseeldar of that place, Choube Ghunsam Doss, who on many occasions proved himself a most wise, brave, and zealous partisan of Government.

21. Major Montgomery's force occupied Hattrass 21st August, and advanced on the morning of August 24th to attack the Rebel force, which under Ghous Khan and Moulavee Abdool Juleel, &c., was assembled at Maun Sing's garden near Coel. The Moulavee had lately arrived in Coel from Chitaree, and ben most active and zealous in stirring up the religious bigotry of the Mahomedans;—mainly through him were the Mahomedans encouraged to meet the British force. As is well known the Rebels were defeated, and the Moulavee himself killed. All the Mahomedans fled the City.

22. For the reasons stated in the despatch, the City was not occupied till the 28th. Mr. Cocks, in his advance, had been joined by Thakoor Gobind Sing, the followers of Rajah Tekum Sing and other friendly persons. It was considered best to leave the City of Coel in charge of Thakoor Gobind Sing, who agreed to undertake the duty with such forces as he could raise, and that Major Montgomery's force should retire on Hattrass. This was carried out September 4th. With Thakoor Gobind Sing was associated a Council.* Aftâb Raiee, a wary and experienced old Tehseeldar, well acquainted with the District, was left to fill that post. All the Tehseeldarees were at this time re-occupied, though the authority of the Officers was necessarily but weakly established.

* Sudder Ameen, Soondur Lall.
Deputy Collector of Boolundshahur, Doorga Pershad.
Ex-Tehseeldar, Pensioner, Aftab Raiee.

23. This arrangement answered very well till September 25th, when Nusseem-oollah, at the head of a Mahomedan rabble, surprised the Thakoor, and turned him out of the City. On the same day (September 25th) the Mahomedan rabble of Atrowlee rose and murdered the Tehseeldar, Mahomed Alee. They attacked the Tehseel building, but were unable to take it.

24. September 26th.—Major Montgomery's small force was obliged to fall back from Hattrass in the direction of Agra, to avoid the very large force of rebels in retreat from Dehli, *viâ* Muttra, which threatened Hattrass. This body of rebels eventually arrived at Hattrass October 3rd, and Secundra Rao on 4th, where they halted on 5th, and marched on 6th, while Colonel Greathed's

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* To punish Mungul Singh and Mahtab Singh.

Column arrived at Coel on 5th, and at Akrabad* on 6th, (one march from Secundra Rao,) and then proceeded to Agra, where it arrived October 10th.

25. After the action of the 10th at Agra, Coel was speedily re-occupied on the 19th by a force of 150 Europeans and two guns under Major Eld, Mr. Cocks again being deputed as Special Commissioner, and myself as Magistrate. The old fort of Allygurh was cleared up and taken possession of. This fort, which had cost Lord Lake so severe a struggle in 1803, and which in the old times of confidence and security had been left to the care of a Naik and four sepoys, was now found to be a valuable possession.

26. With its aid the above small force and 100 Sikhs kept the whole district in check with ease. The Police at the different Tehseel and Thanah posts were strengthened by levies of horse and foot, raised within the district; for these purposes any number of men required were available. The City of Coel being two miles from the fort was held by Thakoor Gobind Singh: a strong force of Police was necessary there, to give confidence to the people, who had been so often plundered by friends as well as foes.

27. The collection of the Revenue proceeded steadily, with the returning confidence in the stability of our Government. Payment, except in a very few instances, was withheld only where there was really inability to pay.

28. During the month of November we were continually harassed by flying parties of rebels from across the Jumna going eastwards; but these did little or no harm in their passage, though they caused a great feeling of insecurity at our Police and Revenue posts. It was then felt of what consequence it was that our Police posts should be of a defensible character, and guarded by a few trained men, who would not run at the first summons of an enemy. As it was, one could not but feel that they were completely at the mercy of the smallest bodies of the enemy; the mere cry of "baghees" was enough to put to flight the raw Police levies.

29. In December we were threatened by a body of the Futtehgurh rebels, who advancing by Ulleegunge, Putialee, Sahawur and Kasgunge, gave out their intention of annexing the country up to Coel. It took them long however to occupy the above ground; their extreme slowness and want of enterprise lost them their opportunity. By December 11th Colonel Seton's Column arrived at Allygurh, and proceeded by regular marches towards Kasgunge. On the morning of 14th December Colonel Seton having made his march, found the enemy close by, marching to attack him;—the result is known. It is sometimes said that our information of the enemy's movements is bad, but it would be difficult to match the gross blunder of the enemy on this occasion.

30. After Colonel Seton's triumphant march *viâ* Kasgunge and Putialee to Mynpoory, this part of the Dooab was thoroughly cleared of the enemy. Our only danger then was from the Rohilkhund side. For our escape from inroad by the swarms of Irregular Cavalry in Rohilkhund we must thank the want of enterprise of the enemy, for even after the occupation of Futtehgurh, the whole river face between it and Allygurh was at his mercy. In March General Penny's force marched down and took up a position at Putialee and afforded some show of protection.

31. In further explanation of the parties in this district, who have done good service to Government, I beg to append certain paragraphs of a letter* addressed to Mr. Cocks, Special Commissioner.

* No. 54, dated 4th May 1858.

32. Two persons who particularly distinguished themselves, Choube Ghunsyam Doss and Mahomed Alee, both of whom lost their lives in the service of Government, are not mentioned in my letter. One I never saw; the other I knew but slightly. Mr. Cocks himself reported their service to Government,

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as also those of Choube Jaikisen Doss and Dhunput Raiee, brothers of the former. Punnah Lall of Sasnee, (*vide* paragraph 5 of this letter,) Hotee Lall, a leading banker of Hattrass, have also been reported by Mr. Cocks for good service.

33. *Feuds.*—The old Rajpoot and Jat feud raged strongly in the western parts of this district, and towards Saidabad, in the Muttra district, and was only stopped by the fall of Dehli. The feeling of animosity between Hindoos and Mahomedans was also generally bitter in the Towns of this district, especially after the excesses of Nusseem-oollah, and the elevation by us of Thakoor Gobind Singh.

34. *Behaviour of Government Officers.*—No Officer of Government above the rank of Jemadar of Police has been proved guilty of any overt act of rebellion, excepting the Zillah Visitor and Jail Darogah.

35. *Behaviour of people to Christians generally.*—Only one Christian in this district was murdered. His name was Nichterlein, mentioned in paragraph 5. The whole party was stripped and plundered, and might, if not rescued, have been murdered; but again they were rescued by natives, and entirely at the suggestion of Natives. Mr. Hoggan and family, five persons, were kept concealed in a Bhungee's house at Coel, for six days after the departure of the European Residents. Serjeant Ryan, of the Nanow Toll bar, was plundered and stripped by villagers; but the Zemindar, a small man, the owner of but one village, though certainly a man well known for humanity, made the plunderers disgorge, and sent the Serjeant safe into Hattrass. At the same time little trust can be placed in the humanity of the lower classes, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans. They have I think proved themselves little better than savages. All that can be said, is, that they treat us not worse, perhaps better, than they treated one another.

36. *Of Indigo Factories.*—The property of Europeans; one large one was plundered and burnt by the villagers, *i. e.* Mr. Nichterlein's, and 3 others were plundered by mutineer troops; the other considerable ones were saved by the *Zemindars*, who had the sense to perceive that their destruction would benefit no one.

37. *Behaviour of people towards Government Officers.*—The records of the Suddur Cutcherry, and those of four out of eight Tehseels, were destroyed; of these one act of destruction only was purely the work of villagers, *i. e.* the case of Khyr above mentioned, paragraph 9. In the other cases the populace took a share after order had been first upset, or plunder commenced by mutineer troops. As elsewhere, the people plundered one another freely. *Two Towns of importance* were plundered,—Khyr to the amount of one lac of Rupees, and Hurdooah Gunge, four lacs; these estimates are moderate. Coel was also a good deal plundered by Mewatees, &c. of the Town, also by passing rebel troops, by Nusseem-oollah during his 11 days' reign, also by our own troops.

38. The attack on Mr. Watson at Mudroc by the Coel Mahomedans, June 30th, and the attack of the Jats on Major Burlton at Iglas, have been already mentioned. The rise of the Mahomedan Zemindars, and other inhabitants of Atrowlee, September 25th, (vide para. 23,) and the murder of Mahomed Allee Tehseeldar, was a case of the worst description. The influential inhabitants, chiefly converted Mahomedans of old, bore turbulent character. During the disturbed months they took the management of the Town into their own hands. Early in September Mahomed Allee was deputed by Mr. Cocks as Joint Magistrate, with Daood Khan as Nazim; but the Zemindars refused to acknowledge him, and on September 25th, when the Mahomedans (at the time unaware of the fall of Dehli,) broke out into open rebellion, he unfortunately left the Tehseel building, and was murdered. I never saw him, but I have little doubt that Government has *seldom had a better servant.*

39. The behaviour of Ghous Khan, of Secundra Rao, and of the Mahomedans of Coel, has been mentioned in para. 21. The only other case of marked

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rebellion among men of consideration is that of Mungul Sing aud Mahtab Sing, Rajpoot Zemindars of Akrabad, who after the plunder of Akrabad Tehseel treasury by sepoys, permitted the destruction of the records by their own people, refused all aid to the Tehseeldar, and generally lived a life of open rebellion.

40. Though aid in the struggle has been in many instances rendered us by the natives, especially by the Hindoos, after they had received a foretaste of a Mahomedan Government, still their general attitude must be characterized as apathetic. The large number of persons who had so much to gain from the overthrow of our Government were content to annex their lost estates, and await the result of the struggle.

41. That the people plundered, when they suddenly found authority overthrown by the mutinous troops, and anarchy ready made for them, was natural. What people would have done otherwise? But to take an active part, and assist the mutineers, the small Mahomedan section excepted, they shewed in this district little desire. Much as they love plunder, they love life and security more.

42. And the same with the sepoys. A hard contest, even though successful, formed no part of their programme. The treacherous and easy slaughter of their Officers and other Europeans, accompanied with the certain plunder of Treasuries,—the wiping out of debts, and the prospect of a new regimé, in which they must necessarily play a leading part, was the pleasing picture they had before them, when they shouted "*Deen! deen!*" The storming of forts and intrenchments, though held by a few Europeans, and they worn and exhausted, was a service of danger to meet, which there was no sense of duty or spirit or patriotism—no sense of injuries to be avenged—to spur them on. In such a cause they could not meet death.

43. The plundered villages will soon recover. The only other result of the mutiny, nearly affecting the people, that I can observe, is that money is scarcer, and zemindars especially have to pay higher interest for accommodation,—a fit retribution on them for plundering the bankers.

W. J. BRAMLY,
*Magistrate and Collector.*

ALLYGURH:
*The 17th November* 1858.

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# APPENDIX A.

*Copy of Paras. of letter No. 54, dated 4th May 1858, from W. J. Bramly, Esquire, Collector and Magistrate, Allygurh, to A. Cocks, Esquire, late Special Commissioner of Allygurh, Mynpoory.*

*Para* 3. First of all I would mention *Thakoor Gobind Singh*, Jat, son of Thakoor Dyaram, former Talookdar of Hattrass. Dyaram's history is well known. Up to 1816 he exercised almost an independent rule within the Pergunnah of Hattrass. His misconduct then brought down upon him a British force. His fort was taken, and his property confiscated. Dyaram himself was pardoned, and pensioned upon Rs. 1,000 monthly. His son Gobind now receives Rs. 750, and other relatives Rs. 225, from Government.

4. With such antecedents, it would perhaps have been no matter of surprise if Thakoor Gobind Singh had, on the occurrence of the Mutiny, like others in his situation, taken part against the Government. However his conduct has been eminently loyal. I am not aware that he at any time wavered.

5. On the first call of the Magistrate and Collector of Muttra, he came with his personal followers and servants to the assistance of that gentleman, and was shortly afterwards sent for by Mr. Watson, then Magistrate and Collector in this district. Here he has remained throughout the disturbed period, ready to perform any service within his power. After Mr. Watson's final departure for Agra, about 3rd July, Gobind Singh, with his followers, remained at or in the neighbourhood of Hattrass. That this very important town was saved from plunder by the surrounding population, is, in a great measure, due to him. When you were deputed into this district in August last, with a force under Major Montgomery, Gobind Singh accompanied you in your advance on Coel, and was present with his men in the action fought with the rebel followers of Mahomed Ghous Khan, at Maun Singh's Bagh, 24th August. On the flight of the rebel Governor of Coel and his people, Gobind Singh was put in charge of the town of Coel, and allowed to raise a body of men for this service. He held the town of Coel, assisted in collecting revenue, and recovering plundered property till 25th September, when he was surprised by a body of Mahomedan rabble under Nusseem-oollah, and forced to leave the town, with some loss of men. This service was one, I presume, of very considerable danger. There he was surrounded by a low and incensed Mahomedan population, and on the high road of retreat of the Dehli rebels, while the support of Major Montgomery's force at Hattrass was distant, liable itself to be called away on any exigency occurring at Agra.

On the re-occupation of the Allygurh district, till the present time, Gobind Singh has held his post in the city. By his good example he has rendered most important aid in the work of restoring order in the district. His followers have at all times been ready for any service, and have been extremely useful in police duties, and in escorting treasure to Agra and Boolundshahur,—in guarding Ghats, and watching the advance of rebels,—in performing, indeed, the duties of regular troops.

8. *Rundheer Singh*, nephew of Gobind Singh. This man was with Gobind Singh throughout, always at his command. He was in action on August 24th, and behaved well.

9. *Khurruk Singh*, of Beswan, a relation of Gobind Singh's, remained with him throughout the disturbances, and behaved remarkably well on August 24th, when he received both a sword and bullet wound.

10. *Kesree Singh*, also a nephew of Gobind Singh. His services have not been so conspicuous; but he is deserving, I understand from you, of notice.

11. *Bhurt Singh*, Jat (tribe Dagur), of Nugla Dagur, happened to be at Coel at commencement of disturbances, and at once joined Mr. Watson, and remained with him till that Officer retired to Agra, to which place he escorted him. He assisted Choube Ghunsyam Doss in keeping order at Hattrass, and brought off treasure, Rs. 3,300, from Hattrass Tehseeldaree, threatened by retreating rebels from Dehli, and while doing so was pursued by the rebels.

12. *Duryou Singh*, Jat, of Jowan. This man has done good service also. In September last he escorted Mr. W. Gardner and family from Minota, near Kasgunge, to Hattrass, a hazardous enterprise. He has also on other occasions made himself highly useful.

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13. *Shib Singh*, Jat, of Pisawah, has shown his loyal feeling very decidedly. He has been at all times ready to assist me with all the men at his disposal. Many of Gobind Singh's best men were Shib Singh's followers.

14. *Bulram Singh*, Jat, of Kajrot, has shewn decided loyalty.

15. *Nund Kishore*, Brahmin, Hattrass. This man and his family have been old servants of Thakoor Gobind Singh and his family. Throughout the disturbances no one has behaved better than Bukshee Nundkishore. He has been paymaster to Gobind Singh's forces, and in all matters his chief manager and councillor. His services have been most valuable.

16. *Heera Singh*, of Beerpoor, Jadon Rajpoot.

17. *Chundun Singh*, of Goobanah, Jadon Rajpoot.

18. *Bulwunt Singh*, of Somnah, Jadon Rajpoot.

Nos. 1 and 2 are own brothers. No. 3, a nephew. These men are now considerable landholders; but their property, though some of it was acquired by their ancestors, has been all obtained from the surrounding Chohan Rajpoots, and most of it during our rule. Consequently they lost it all at the first outbreak, and had good reason to be loyal. They were, I understand, of extensive assistance to you in sending information of the movements of rebels, and assisting us as far as lay in their power.

19. *Rajah Tekum Singh*, of Moorsaun, (Jat.) The Rajah has throughout assisted the Authorities to the utmost of his power, by obtaining intelligence, watching rebels, keeping the peace in his own villages. Tekum Singh is nearly connected with Thakoor Gobind Singh.

20. *Tej Singh* and *Jowahir Singh*, Pooreer Rajpoots, of Akerabad. They possess, with other landed property in their own right, half of village Akerabad; the other half was owned by Mungul and Mehtab Singh, rebels, who were killed at Akerabad by a portion of Colonel Greathed's column in October last. Failing direct heirs to Mungul and Mehtab, Tej and Jowahir would be their successors. Both men have behaved well;—Tej Singh in refusing to join his brethren Mungul and Mehtab in their rebellious proceedings, or to send assistance to Mahomed Ghous Khan, the rebel Governor of Coel;—Jowahir Singh was an Officer in the 17th Irregular Cavalry, and exerted his influence to the utmost in keeping the men loyal. His late Commanding Officer had the highest opinion of him.

21. *Koondun Singh*, of Naiee, Pergunnah Secundra Rao, also a Pooreer Rajpoot. Pooreers are very strong in this Pergunnah, but a great many of their estates have passed into other hands. Koondun Singh's estates are small, but his influence in his clan is great. His presence in the neighbourhood of Secundra Rao continually served as a check to the Mahomedan population of that town, who never dared to do any overt act of rebellion without the help and screen of rebel troops, on whom they could afterwards throw the blame. During the month of June, and a portion of July, the Tehseeldar, though his functions were entirely in abeyance still, was allowed to live in the town without molestation. During this time the only two men who visited him, or showed him any countenance, were Koondun Singh, and Devee Pershaud, Bunya. After the departure of Mr. Watson for Agra, the Tehseeldar being no longer safe in the town, took shelter with Koondun Singh. In the end of August, after the defeat of Ghous Khan's followers near Coel, Koondun Singh having been made by you Nazim of the Pergunnah, entered the town of Secundra Rao with a body of some 1,500 of his own followers, re-instated the Tehseeldar, and maintained him in that position till our authority was thoroughly established. I have always heard Koondun Singh well spoken of as an upright man. He is one of the best specimens of the home-bred, untravelled Rajpoot I have ever met.

22. *Devee Pershaud*, Bunya of Secundra Rao. I mention him next, as he is mentioned in connection with Koondun Singh. He sent information to Agra on several occasions; he gave information to the Tehseeldar of Secundra, while in a state of semi-imprisonment in the month of June, and helped to escort him on one or two occasions as far as his means would allow. In consequence of his conduct his house was pointed out to the rebel troops, when they visited Secundra, and plundered; but to no great amount.

23. *Motee Singh*, of Ahk, Pergunnah Coel; a Chohan Rajpoot, and a man of acknowledged courage and activity. At the call of Choube Ghunsyam Doss, in December last, he followed that Officer to Kasgunge with 40 to 50 Sowars of his own following, when that place was threatened by the rebels from Futtehgurh. Ghunsyam Doss was surprised and killed by the rebels. With him fell many of his men, and among them Motee Singh.

24. *Dowlut Singh*, a follower of Motee Singh's, was also killed.

25. *Basit Alee*, and the rest of the Saiyud Zemindars of Julalee, preserved order within their bounds, which are extensive, and protected the Kusbah from plunder.

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26. *Pundit Aftabrae*, Cashmeeree, is an old servant of Government in this and other districts, was receiving a pension at time of mutiny, but at the end of August was selected by you for the most responsible post of Tehseeldar of Coel. His duties have necessarily been most arduous, and at times involving him in considerable personal risk. The duties of collecting revenue, supplying troops with food and carriage, apprehending rebels, and keeping up a perpetual watch upon the movements of the enemy near home and abroad, have afforded an ample field for the display of his industry and acuteness. I know no one in the district who could have filled his place so well.

27. *Sawunt Singh*, of Bissanah, Gahlot Rajpoot. This village is on the boundary of Pergunnah Hattrass, and of Saidabad in Muttra district. In the beginning of the disturbances the neighbouring Jats threatened Saidabad, and the people applied to Sawunt Singh, as a leader of the Rajpoots in those parts, for help. Sawunt Singh, mindful of the old Jat and Rajpoot feuds, responded, and came to Saidabad with a large body of men, and fought the Jats for several days, eventually without success. The Jats in revenge attacked his village in force, burnt it, and killed several of his men. The Tehseeldars of Saidabad and Hattrass speak most highly of Sawunt Singh.

29. *Mahomed Alee Khan*, of Chitaree, in the Boolundshahur district, also possessing estates in this district, is entitled to the thanks of Government. For some months he lent a body of 50 Sowars to assist the Authorities in this district. Muzhur Alee Khan, who commanded, and most of his men, have taken service with Captain Murray, the former obtaining a * Ressaldarship. Both deserve notice.

* This troop has been made over to the Agra Police.

30. *Netram*, Brahmin, Agent to Ranee of Bijehgurh, is also entitled to the thanks of Government for having preserved the peace to the utmost of his power, and for affording supplies to troops.

31. *Bishunloll*, Kayeth, Nazir of the Magistrate's Court, went in disguise to the rebel Camp at Muttra in September last†, and sent daily reports to yourself I understand.

† Remaining there ten days or so.

(True Extract.)

W. J. BRAMLY,
*Magistrate and Collector.*

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# APPENDIX B.

No. 922.

FROM

LIEUTENANT W. H. GREATHED,
*Deputy Consulting Engineer to Government,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces.*

DATED ALLAHABAD, THE 30TH JULY 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to avail myself of your invitation to submit, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, a report of the services of the Agra Volunteer Horse in their first days; and to solicit His Lordship's favorable consideration of such claim as those services may be held to establish to the honor of recommendation for the War Medal.

On the 25th May 1857, Mr. Paterson Saunders brought information to the Hon'ble Mr. J. Colvin, that a party of six or seven Englishmen, with several women and children, who had been some days beleaguered in the Factory of Mulloee, 16 miles east of Hattrass, were in imminent danger of being destroyed on failure of food and ammunition.

The Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor was unable to afford any assistance; for the Bhurtpore levies had already failed,—the men of Captain Pearson's Gwalior battery could not be moved,—the Maharajah Scindiah's body guard declared themselves unable to cross the Jumna,—and the remnant of the squadron of Captain Alexander (Shore's) 1st Gwalior Cavalry, from which 80 men had just defiantly gone off to Dehli, in open day, declined to advance beyond Hattrass without Europeans and guns.

It was considered inexpedient to divest Agra of any portion of the 3rd European Regiment, or Captain D'Oyly's battery.

On learning the state of affairs, Mr. Paterson Saunders expressed his belief that, if supported by Mr. Colvin's authority, he could raise a body of 30 or 40 European horse, sufficient to effect the rescue of the people at Mulloee.

The necessary authority was immediately given, and a Circular issued by order of the Lieutenant Governor, inviting all classes to join, on the understanding that they were liable to be kept under arms a month, and to be called upon for such service as might be requisite.

The call was answered with spirit: arms were furnished from the arsenal, horses were purchased at the expense of Government for such Volunteers as required them, and on that very evening thirty-seven Volunteers rode out of Agra on the way to Hattrass.

Next day, by Mr. Colvin's order, I overtook the party and assumed command, with instructions, after relieving Mulloee, to re-occupy Allygurh if possible, and maintain the Magistrate there as long as I could.

At Hattrass we were joined by a party of 1st Gwalior Cavalry under Lieutenant Cockburn, who accompanied us to Mulloee, which was relieved on the 27th without opposition.

Lieutenant Cockburn's party returned to Hattrass according to their orders; the Volunteers, recruited by three of the Mulloee party, advanced to Allygurh, and re-occupied it, May 28th, without opposition.

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From that day to the 2nd June, when I left the Volunteers, they were employed in watching the approaches to Allygurh, and in visiting neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants had taken an active part in the plunder of the station. On the 1st June the force, accompanied by Captain Stewart, 9th Native Infantry, and Dr. Clarke, suddenly moved 17 miles to Khyr, where a Thakoor, Rao Bhowanee Singh, had deposed the Tehseeldar, and proclaimed his independence.

Whilst the town of Khyr was being surrounded by videttes, to prevent the rebel Chief's escape, the late Mr. Watson, Magistrate of Allygurh, with a few of the Volunteers, gallantly rode straight through the town to the Tehseelee, where Bhopal Singh was surprised and captured, with sixteen attendants.

On the 2nd June I made over Command, by the Lieutenant Governor's orders, to Captain Stewart, of the 9th Native Infantry, and my connexion with the Volunteers ceased.

During the eight days, above described, the Agra horse were never under fire; but they came forward in the hour of greatest need, and when no troops were available, performed services considered important at the time, which were cordially acknowledged by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor.

I do myself the honor of appending a list of the Troop as it stood on the 30th May, and recommending its members to the protection of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

## AGRA VOLUNTEER HORSE.

Lieutenant W. H. Greathed, A. D. C., Commanding.

1. Mr. Saunders, ... ... ... Second in Command.
2. „ Williams, ... ... ...
3. „ Cocks, ... ... ...
4. „ Page, ... ... ... } Officers.
5. „ Harington, ... ...
6. „ Tandy, ... ... ...

7. Mr. Hind.
8. „ Clarke.
9. „ Scarlet.
10. „ Hannigan.
11. „ Brannagan.
12. „ White.
13. „ Doyle.
14. „ Barber.
15. „ Whiteside.
16. „ McCurly.
17. „ Nixon.
18. „ Carrol.
19. „ Wrixon.
20. „ Kelly, *(invalided.)*
21. „ Brammer.
22. „ Eastwood.
23. „ Duddy.
24. Mr. Polites.
25. „ Castle.
26. „ Price.
27. „ Walker.
28. „ Poole.
29. „ Catania.
30. „ Hyne.
31. „ Bailie.
32. „ Charde.
33. Ens. Marsh.
34. „ Ollivant.
35. Mr. Burkingyoung.
36. „ O'Conner.
37. „ Blackburne.
38. „ Cripps.
39. „ Wilson.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. H. GREATHED,

*Deputy Consulting Engineer to Government,*

*Railway Department.*

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# APPENDIX C.

FROM

A. COCKS, ESQUIRE,
*Special Commissioner,*

TO

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces.*

DATED CAMP LANDOUR, THE 5TH OCTOBER 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter No. 624, dated the 12th August 1858, and to furnish a continuation of the proceedings of the Allygurh Volunteer Horse.

2. After Captain Greathed's departure, Captain Donald Stewart, now Assistant Adjutant General, assumed command; but he was shortly afterwards deputed to take despatches to Dehli, and was succeeded by Mr. Paterson Saunders.

3. This gentleman gave great satisfaction, both to the Volunteers themselves as well as to the District Authorities; he set an excellent example of self-denying patience, never-failing energy, and daring courage.

4. Until about the middle of June, our party was composed of the Volunteers (40 in number) mentioned by Captain Greathed. It was sufficiently strong to overawe the Mahomedan population of the town of Coel, as well as the refractory villages, which were ever ready to take advantage of the state of anarchy.

5. On several occasions we were obliged to saddle at a moment's warning, and descend on these villagers, who met us with matchlocks, swords, and bludgeons, but were, on every occasion, well punished.

6. Our greatest danger, however, arose from the frequent arrival at Coel of large bands of mutineers from Oude and the Districts, which had been abandoned.

7. When we felt unable to face these in the open field, we occasionally harassed their movements, by firing at their advanced guards, and then making an orderly retreat, to some position, capable in a certain measure of defence.

8. We were never attacked by these parties, owing to their anxiety to reach Dehli; but the excitement was great, and from this cause, as well as from the desponding reports from Agra, and the inevitable mutiny which was about to occur amongst the Gwalior troops at Hattrass, the majority of the Volunteers became disgusted, and obtained permission to return to their families and homes.

9. Our military duties were very heavy; not a night passed but we were told off for either sentry or patrol; and during the day, when not employed on some expedition, we were without the convenience or even necessaries of life; and it was considered a luxury to get a thatch or tree to sleep under.

10. I consider myself bound to remark here that, so long as the Volunteers remained in the District, their conduct was soldier-like and creditable, and many displayed a dashing courage, which was afterwards memorably proved at Agra on the 5th of July, and at Allygurh on the 24th of August.

11. I would especially bring to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, the names of Messrs. Doyle, Blackburne, Catania, White,

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Carrol, Polites, and O'Connor afterwards killed. No veteran dragoons could have shown greater contempt for danger, or more anxiety to press to the front, when an enemy was to be seen. Mr. Page, now Sub-Adjutant of Meade's Horse, was very useful as a drill instructor, and in teaching the rudiments of Cavalry manœuvres.

12. It is now my pleasing duty to name the few (ten in number) who remained with Messrs. Watson and Outram to the last. Many of them were totally disconnected with Government, and only impelled by an Englishman's dislike to desert a countryman. They remained by Mr. Watson to the last.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Mr. Burkingyoung,... ... | Music Seller. |
| 2. | Mr. Castle, of Messrs. Dalziel and Co.'s, ... ... | Merchant. |
| 3. | S. Clarke, ... ... | Civil Surgeon. |
| 4. | A. Cocks, ... ... | Civil Service. |
| 5. | H. Harington, ... ... | Electric Telegraph Department. |
| 6. | Hinde, ... ... | Railway. |
| 7. | Marsh, ... ... | Cadets. |
| 8. | Olivant, ... ... | |
| 9. | Saunders, ... ... | Planters. |
| 10. | Tandy, ... ... | |

12. Our numbers being thus reduced to ten, it was considered expedient to take up a stronger position, capable in some degree of defence against a mob.

13. This was the compound of an Indigo Planter, at a place called Mudrack, about 6 miles from the town of Coel on one side, and the same distance from Hattrass on the other. From this point we were in the habit of visiting the towns, and keeping a sharp look-out after the Gwalior troops at Hattrass, who were daily expected to mutiny; and so passed the weary month of June, the monotony of our existence being occasionally broken by the arrival of a Cossid from Lucknow, Futtehgurh, or Mynpoory, giving details of a fresh mutiny, and sometimes of a party of Native troops, who had escaped from their mutinous brethren, and reported the murder of their Officers.

14. We daily felt that our position was getting less tenable. A *Jehad* had been preached at the mosque at Coel.

15. The Gwalior troopers had positively refused to obey their Officers, and on the afternoon of the 2nd of July, numerous messengers came in to report that the whole population of Mahomedans and *budmashes* (loose characters) of the town were in daily communication with the Gwalior troops, the object being to surround Mudrack, and annihilate our little party. *Fifteenth*;—On that date, at 3 P. M., we sat down to our mess dinner. In the midst of it, we heard the buzz of an enraged populace;—soon tom-toms were beating, flags flying, and the country swarming with white clothes,—each Government Chowkee in a blaze added to the excitement of the scene.

16. Scarcely a word was spoken, but each seemed to understand his neighbour's thoughts, saddled his horse, and drew his sword. We rode forth, the gallant Watson at our head. On reaching the road, we were met by a salute from a hundred matchlocks;—a hundred more were aimed, but missed fire, owing to the damp state of the atmosphere. "Charge!" was the order, and well was it obeyed. Stirrup to stirrup, and man to man, we dashed through the mass of cowards, scattering them like so many sheep, and not stopping till nearly 15 corpses remained as trophies of our victory. Watson was wounded, as was his horse, and two or three got contusions.

17. When we charged, I believe not one expected to have come back alive; and when darkness compelled our return, it was with feelings of intense satisfaction and thankfulness that we finished our repast, and talked over our escapes and adventures.

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18. On the 2nd, the Gwalior troops broke out into open mutiny, and their Officers were obliged to fly into Agra.

19. We also felt there was nothing further to be done, and accordingly steering clear of Hattrass, we rode in the broiling sun fifty miles, and reached Agra in time to take part in the battle of the 5th of July; where, I may be permitted to remark, the Allygurh Volunteers did their duty. Out of forty, six were killed, six wounded, and ten horses killed or lost.

20. In conclusion, I would pay a short tribute to the devotion to his duty, and chivalrous courage of the late Mr. W. Watson. Naturally of weak constitution, he exerted his powers, both mental and physical, to such a degree, that, on reaching Agra, he was taken with cholera, and died. I fully believe he had, from the commencement of the outbreak, made up his mind to be killed, or die in the defence of the District, in which he took so much interest.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. COCKS,

*Special Commissioner, on leave.*

LANDOUR:
*The 5th October* 1848.

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS AT ALLAHABAD.

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19

# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE

## FURRUCKABAD DISTRICT,

IN 1857-58.

---

## No. I.

REPORT

BY

W. G. PROBYN, Esquire,

*Formerly Officiating Magistrate and Collector of that District.*

DATED FUTTEHPOOR, THE 3RD JUNE 1858.

1. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Government Orders No. 212, dated 30th April, forwarded with your letter No. 187, dated 5th May, calling on me for a statement of the events during the disturbances.

2. I would premise this Report by noticing that it must necessarily be very egotistical to enable me to explain how I, holding the important position of Magistrate, by a wonderful combination of circumstances, became separated from the other Europeans of the Station, and thus escaped the sad fate which befel so many of my dearest friends.

3. On receipt, about 14th May, of the intelligence of the mutiny, and frightful atrocities, which had occurred at Meerut and Dehli, a meeting of the principal residents, both Military and Civil, of the Station, was convened at my Bungalow, to take into consideration the adoption of precautionary measures for the protection of the Station and inhabitants. Various suggestions and plans were proposed. The Officers of 10th N. I. were most confident of the fidelity of their Corps, and it was eventually agreed that a guard of the Regiment be sent down to the Jail; the Treasury guard be increased; the two guns be brought from the Parade ground to Colonel Smith's house; and that on the signal of the guns being fired, all the European residents at once repair to that place. Every European in the Station was informed accordingly. A few days afterwards, the Rendezvous was changed from Colonel Smith's House to the Fort; a circular to that effect was issued to the residents. The guns were also (if I remember right) taken back to the Parade ground.

4. The District remained very quiet till about 22nd May; I had however, as a precautionary measure, increased all the Thannah and Tehseelee establishments. I had also, with His Honor the Lieutenant Governor's permission, been getting together as many sowars (discharged and leave men, &c.) as I could.

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5. During the third week of May, ugly reports regarding the state of the Shahjehanpoor district, began to get about; and it was deemed expedient to send out a body of men to the banks of the Ramgunga: and it was hoped that these would be able to prevent any budmashes coming from Rohilkund, and would have the effect of keeping the Trans-Gangetic Pergunnahs of the District in order. Two or three hundred good matchlock-men, with a few sowars, were collected from different Zemindars, and on 18th May accompanied by Lieutenant Monckton, Engineers, Lieutenant Walcote, N. I., Mr. Lowis, Joint Magistrate, and Mr. James, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, went out and took up a position at Allygurh on the right bank of the Ramgunga. Every thing in that direction proving to be so very quiet, the party remained out only a few days.

6. All this time the 10th N. I. never showed openly any symptoms of disaffection; and when spoken to by their Officers on the subject of the mutinies, declared that, happen what might, they would remain staunch. From natives, however, they did not attempt to conceal that, when any outside Corps arrived, they would join them: for, argued they, "Can we be expected to fight against our own brethren?" This was the story almost invariably brought me by my spies. One man, whose statement I unhesitatingly believe, told me that on his interrogating the sepoys as to what they would do in case of a rise, they answered, that they did not intend to kill their own Officers, but that if they were killed by another Corps, it was not their fault. As regarded the other Europeans, of course they would fare the same as at other Stations.

7. On 22nd May I heard from the Joint Magistrate of Etah of the mutiny of 9th Native Infantry at Allygurh, and of their marching *eastwards*. I of course communicated this to Colonel Smith, and I also told him freely the feelings and intentions of his own Corps. Both he and his Officers however persisted in believing the fidelity of their men; I must confess that from this time I looked on a mutiny at Futtehgurh as unavoidable.

8. On 23rd May Major Phillott and Licutenant Eckford, 10th N. I., sent off their wives by garree dâk to Allahabad; and Mr. Briant and family, I think, on the same day left for Allahabad by boat.

9. Towards the end of the month a good shower of rain fell, and the river rose. Most people then began to look to it as affording the best hopes of escape, and prepared boats accordingly. The idea of holding the Fort was then tacitly abandoned, and by the beginning of June every one had made some sort of an arrangement for a place in a boat if it became necessary to leave the Station.

10. After the mutiny of 9th N. I. at Allygurh, the Etah district became in a most disorganized state, and Mr. Phillips, the Joint Magistrate, was driven from his post. Mr. Bramley, who had been many years at Etah, and who knew the country and people well, happened to be at Futtehgurh. He volunteered to go to Ulleegunge, and try his best to establish order in that direction. I accordingly supplied him with ten or a dozen Irregular sowars, and he left Futtehgurh on 26th May. Mr. Bramley did much to re-establish order; he was joined by Mr. Phillips, and subsequently by Mr. Edwards, Mr. Gibson, and the Messrs. Donalds, fugitives from Budaon. Messrs. Bramley and Phillips were eventually obliged to retire on to Agra, and Mr. Edwards and the Messrs. Donalds found their way into Futtehgurh; but ofthat more hereafter.

11. On the morning of 27th May I received an express, dated 26th idem, from Mr. Gubbins, Financial Commissioner of Oudh, to the effect that Sir Henry Lawrence had sent a detachment of Irregular Cavalry and Oudh Irregular Infantry, with two guns, towards Cawnpoor, and had asked General Wheeler to let a party go to our aid, and that I was to send word what our necessities were. I at once replied that I thought the 10th N. I. might

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be depended on as long as no outsiders came, and that I trusted that the Force would be detained at or near Goorsahaigunje on the Grand Trunk Road. I wrote to General Wheeler, and to the Officer Commanding the Force, to the same effect. I also deputed Mr. Lowis to Goorsahaigunje to assist the troops with russud, &c., and to do his best in keeping that part of the District in order.

12. On the morning of 29th May the Force reached Goorsahaigunje. Captain Hayes, who accompanied it, at once rode into Futtehgurh, and consulted with me as to the most advantageous manner of employing it. We had then heard of the complete anarchy prevailing in the Etah district, and I recommended that the Force should move up in that direction along the Grand Trunk Road. Captain Hayes adopted my views, and sent out an express to Goorsahaigunje to order the Force on to Bewur; he himself joined it at that place in the afternoon. The following day he, with two other Officers, were most treacherously murdered by his men.

13. On the evening of the same day Lieutenant Henderson, Adjutant 10th N. I., came to me in a very agitated state, and said that the suspicion thrown on his Corps was enough to make it mutiny; that his sepoys had just heard that an Irregular Cavalry Corps was coming to disarm them, and that if the Regiment did break out it was not the Officers' fault, &c. I at once accompanied Lieutenant Henderson to the lines. I found the men standing in groups, and very excited. It appeared that one of their sepoys had just returned from leave, and that on passing through Goorsahaigunje that morning an Irregular sowar had told him that they (the Irregulars) were on their way to disarm the 10th N. I. I explained to the men that their Corps could not be spared from the Station, and that the Cavalry were going to punish some budmashes at Etah, and eventually I succeeded in pacifying them. The same night however they broke out again, seized their arms, and it was only Colonel Smith's great tact that induced the men to return to their duties.

14. On the morning of 30th May I received news from His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, that two squadrons of Regular Cavalry were coming from Lucknow viâ Mullaon to Futtehgurh. I immediately sent an express to the Officer Commanding to stop them, and I wrote to Mr. Lowis at Goorsahaigunje, begging him to forward an express to the same effect. Major Marryatt received the letter on 1st June, wrote to me that he would not cross the Ganges.

15. On 1st June I received information of the rising of the troops and of the massacre of the European inhabitants at Shahjehanpoor. The arrival in the District simultaneously of a number of escaped convicts, placed the matter beyond a doubt. Pergunnah Imrutpoor rose at the same time, and the Thannahdar was obliged to fly to the Station for his life. I at once had the bridge of boats opened, and sent out an express to Mr. Lowis at Goorsahaigunje, ordering him to return immediately. He arrived in the Station during the night.

16. On 2nd June news reached me of the arrival, at one of the Ghâts in Pergunnah Kunouj, of a Force of mutinous Oudh sepoys: the same evening, or the following morning, I heard of the sepoys having crossed the Ganges and having burnt and plundered the Tehseelee and Dâk Bungalow at Kunouj.

17. The mutinous Force, which consisted of part of two Oudh Irregular Infantry, and one Irregular Cavalry Corps, arrived at Goorsahaigunje on the morning of 3rd June, burnt the Dâk Bungalow and Thannah, and took several of the police prisoners: this news reached me before noon. During the course of the day an advance guard, eight or ten sowars, rode into the Station; they were feasted and well received by 10th N. I., and it was arranged between them that the Force should march into Futtehgurh the following morning, when there would be a general rising. I of course informed Colonel Smith of all this, but he stated that he had perfect confidence in the greater part of

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his Corps, and determined on throwing up a barricade on the road, and opposing the entrance of the mutinous sepoys. It now became necessary to determine, speedily and definitively, what course should be adopted. As noticed above, boats had been prepared, (in fact for some time past most of the residents had slept in them at night); it appeared certain that the mutineers would reach the Station by the morning, and it was equally certain that they would be joined by 10th N. I. If the boats did not get a good start before the rising took place, there was no hope of escape, as there were parts of the river within a few miles of the Station so narrow that half a dozen men with muskets hidden behind the high bank could have effectually prevented the progress of the boats. After due deliberation, it was determined that the boats should start about 9 or 10 at night. Arrangements were also made for fifty picked men belonging to Hurdeo Buksh, (an Oudh Zemindar) to accompany the fleet in a separate boat. For my own part I considered it my duty as Magistrate not to leave the Station until the troops actually mutinied; and with this view I settled with Hurdeo Buksh to remain until the murders actually commenced, when I could cross the Ganges in a dinghy, and with some of his men make the best of my way across country to his fort at Dhurrumpoor, about ten miles distant. Some of my friends had kindly shared their boat with my family, and had promised to take care of them as far as Allahabad. The party were ready to start before 10 o'clock, and of course I went down to the Ghât to see them off, when several of the gentlemen, including Colonel Tucker, Messrs. Thornhill, Lowis and Fisher, came forward and said that they were all Government servants, and that they would not leave unless I agreed to accompany them. I argued, but to no avail; and as I saw that, humanly speaking, the safety of the whole party depended on my accompanying them, as they would not start without me, I consented to go. I walked over to Colonel Smith's house to inform him of my intentions, but he was absent; I therefore contented myself with informing him by note. The whole party, consisting of about 140 Europeans, men, women and children, (vide Appendix) in ten or twelve boats, pushed off at 1 A. M., June 4th.

18. We anchored at 10 A. M. about twelve miles down the river, and were shortly afterwards joined by four Officers of the 10th N. I., *viz.* Captain Bignell, Lieut. Fitzgerald, Ensigns Eckford and Byrne; they reported that no mutineers had arrived at the Station, but that at a Parade held that morning a number of the sepoys had begun firing off their guns. One of the men had stepped out of the ranks and given his Commanding Officer the foulest abuse, while another had pointed a gun at him, but had been prevented firing by a native Officer; that the Colonel had then galloped off to the Fort (to which place the treasure was being taken), followed by a number of sepoys loading their muskets. The Officers had found it impossible to reach the Fort, but had succeeded in getting to their boat, but not without being fired at. The Officers further added, that they had not seen any one killed, but there was every reason to fear that not one had escaped.

19. We proceeded onwards in the evening, passed through a heavy fire at Koosumkhore, in which one of our party (Mr. Brierly) was wounded, and anchored the following day, (5th June) at 9 A. M., a few miles below the confluence of the Ganges and Ramgunga. We there heard that a party of sowars had that morning crossed the river, a few miles lower down. We sent off a man to ascertain the truth of this story, but he returned and reported that the river was quite clear. Hurdeo Buksh's head man at this time came forward and volunteered to give room to myself and a few people in his master's fort at Dhurrumpoor. The matter was well considered; it was argued that, by dividing the party, there was infinitely greater chance of some escaping, and that being so near to Futtehgurh we should be in a position to take advantage of and co-operate with any Force sent to our aid from the North West. It was eventually determined that about forty people, men, women, and children, should go up to the Fort. Several others wished also to go, but there would not have been room to accommodate any more inside the Fort, and their large boat could never have got up the Ramgunga. The names of the people who went up to Dhurrumpoor, will be found in the Appendix.

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20. On the morning of 8th June, the party arrived within a few miles of Dhurrumpoor, and then heard that the 10th N. I. after having seized the treasure had been induced to return to their duty. Lieutenant Fitzgerald, Ensign Eckford, and myself at once rode into the Station, twelve miles distant. The two Officers were on their arrival put under arrest by the Commanding Officer, and I was informed that the District was entirely under Martial Law, and that my services were no longer required.

21. It is necessary now to record what took place at the Station during our absence. On my informing Colonel Smith of the very great probability of the Oudh mutineers marching into the Station on the morning of 4th June, he, with the assistance of some of his best men, had a barricade thrown up across the road by which the mutineers must come; he also had the two guns put into position. A large party of the mutineers had turned off the Grand Trunk Road, and had reached Kumalgunje, eight miles from Futtehgurh, by midnight; they there heard the preparations that had been made to receive them, and said that the 10th N. I. was a Christian Corps, (it had been to Burmah), and was playing them false; that they had not leisure then to punish them. They then turned back and went off to Dehli. In the morning a Parade was held, and at the same time the treasure (amounting to about two lacs) was, with the Colonel's orders, being removed from the Treasury to the Fort: what happened on Parade is detailed in Para. 16. The Colonel with his Adjutant, Lieutenant Henderson, reached the Fort just as the treasure was being taken in; they were followed closely by a number of sepoys from the Parade; these men insisted on the treasure being taken to the lines. The Colonel and Adjutant came forward and remonstrated, but they were pushed back, kept against the wall by a party of sepoys with fixed bayonets, until the treasure had been removed out of the Fort to the Parade ground. The sepoys were eventually pacified by a present of two months' pay in advance, and a promise of six months' batta, and being allowed to retain all the treasure under their own guard on the Parade ground. In the evening Colonel Smith addressed the Regiment; told them how disgraceful their conduct had been, but that as he was sure the Recruits were the only men to blame, the misconduct should be forgiven. The Regiment was then pronounced faithful and staunch!

22. On my return to the Station, discovering how matters stood, I wrote to the gentlemen at Dhurrumpoor, informing them that in my opinion the Regiment could not possibly be kept together for more than a few days; that Hurdeo Buksh's Fort had better be at once put into a defensible state, and 500 good matchlock-men be entertained, and that I would be responsible for this measure. I urged the necessity for adopting these measures, several times, during the three days I remained in Futtehgurh.

23. On 9th June, Mr. Edwards, Magistrate of Budaon, accompanied by the Messrs. Donalds, Indigo Planters, arrived at Futtehgurh; they reported that they had left Budaon about a week before, and had with the greatest difficulty reached Futtehgurh; that one of their party, Mr. Gibson, Deputy Inspector of Customs, had been killed the day previously at Shumshabad in the Furruckabad district.

24. The following day, (10th June,) having heard of the great probability of an attack on the Fort at Dhurrumpoor by a band of Oudh mutineers, and finding myself worse than useless in the Station, I, with Messrs. Edwards and Donalds, rode across and joined the party at Hurdeo Buksh's. To our surprise when we arrived there, we found every one much dissatisfied with the place; it was pronounced most uncomfortable and insecure. Some hints were also thrown out as to the questionable fidelity of Hurdeo Buksh; some proposed returning to the Station and going by land to Agra, others again proceeding by boat to Cawnpoor. However, as I had by this time heard of the mutiny at that Station, the latter plan was abandoned.

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25. On 11th June, or the day after, letters were received from Colonel Smith, earnestly inviting every one into the Station. He stated that, happen what might, he had 150 men that he could depend on, and that if the worst came to the worst, he could with these men fight his way down the river to Allahabad. Almost every one jumped at the proposition. I was begged to accompany the party; but I maintained my old opinion, and said that I felt convinced that not half a dozen men in the Corps would remain staunch; that the party had principally by my advice come up to Hurdeo Buksh's; that I still thought it was the wisest plan, and would not move from the place. Mr. Edwards was of my way of thinking, and with the exception of that gentleman, myself and family, all the rest of the party left Hurdeo Buksh's for the Station at 2 A. M., June 13th. Every thing remained quiet in Futtehgurh, for several days. The Europeans all slept together in the Fort, and seventeen boats, which had been prepared, were kept ready to take down the residents with an escort of the 150 sepoys, whom all supposed would prove faithful. The idea of holding the Fort was never for one moment entertained.

26. On the morning of 18th June, the 10th N. I. broke out into open mutiny. A party went down to the City, and put the Nawaub on the Guddee, &c. He demanded the treasure; this they refused to give, and then went back to the Parade ground, divided the treasure amongst the Corps and dispersed, not one of them interfering in the slightest manner with the Europeans who were together in the Fort. Colonel Smith all this time expected the 150 men who had sworn to remain faithful, but he expected in vain: out of the whole Corps only one man, a sepoy named Kalay Khan, came forward and offered to remain with their Officers. The Europeans finding that they had no escort to accompany them to Allahabad, that the river was yet very low, and that they were in undisturbed possession of the Fort, began fortifying it and laying in provision.

27. The 41st N. I. from Seetapoor marched into the Station the same day. They found themselves disappointed of the treasure, and vented their rage by killing any man of the 10th on whom they could lay hands. I have since heard, from very fair native authority, that the 10th had invited the 41st N. I. to Futtehgurh, and that they on their arrival, finding themselves deceived, took the revenge I have related above. The story is likely enough to be true. A report has got about that the 41st attacked 10th N. I., on account of their fidelity to their Officers: there is not the slightest foundation for this.

28. The 41st N. I. appear for nearly a week not to have interfered with the Europeans. They however, before the end of the month, commenced the attack in earnest. The Garrison made a most gallant and successful resistance for seven days; but finding that the enemy took to mining, abandoned the Fort in three boats on the morning of 4th July. One of the boats was found to be very cumbersome, and the passengers were all taken on board Colonel Smith's boat; this one after having had several of its passengers killed, eventually reached Cawnpoor, where it was seized by the mutineers, and every European, man, woman and child, amounting to about 50 souls, were subsequently, on the approach of our victorious Troops from Futtehpoor, murdered by order of the incarnate Fiend, the Nana. The other boat was overtaken by the sepoys before it had proceeded ten miles down the river: most of the passengers were massacred or drowned, two or three were taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death by the Nawaub of Furruckabad, and four, *viz.* Messrs. Fisher, Jones, Churcher, and Major Robertson, after having been wounded, escaped by swimming down the river; the two former reached Colonel Smith's boat, Mr. Fisher fell a victim with the rest of the party at Cawnpoor, and Mr. Jones, who was left on shore by mistake, was kindly treated by the villagers, and eventually joined me at Hurdeo Buksh's. Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher landed at a village, where they were well taken care of; the former however died from the effects of his wound and exposure, about 10th September. Mr. Churcher was brought into the Station when it was re-occupied by our Forces.

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29. The large party that went down the river, alluded to in Para. 17, reached Nawaubgunje in perfect safety ; they remained there two days, (why it is not clear;) the third day they were attacked, made prisoners of by the mutineers, taken to the Parade ground, and there deliberately massacred.

30. Our party remained with Hurdeo Buksh till the end of August, when he sent us down to Cawnpoor, which place was by that time in the possession of our Troops. Hurdeo Buksh's noble conduct in protecting us at the risk of his own life, I have reported on separately.

31. Although in this Report I have entered fuller into detail on the points in which I was myself concerned, I have not thought it necessary to confine myself entirely to what I saw. I have obtained much information from an account which appeared in the Newspapers last October, written by Mr. Jones. I have also referred to a number of original letters, which I still retain, and which can be forwarded if you think proper. What I have written may, I dare say, be very incomplete; but it has the recommendation of being correct, and I have been most careful not to record any thing, the truth of which I am not in a position to prove. Being one of the few survivors of the ill-fated Futtehgurh residents, it behoved me to record minutely the feelings and conduct displayed by the Native Corps, as by it the measures adopted by the residents of the Station were, or ought to have been regulated. All honor to the departed heroes ! But while we cannot help admiring the stolid British pluck and determination, which most of the Officers of the 10th N. I. displayed in trusting to their men even when in an open state of mutiny, let us not throw a reproach on those who did not thus sacrifice themselves; they may have possessed equal courage, and certainly sounder judgment.

32. The Appendix is a list of the Europeans at Futtehgurh, and shows the names of those who went down at the commencement of the outbreak to Cawnpoor, those that remained in the Fort, &c.

W. G. PROBYN,

*Late Offg. Magistrate and Collector of Furruckabad.*

# APPENDIX.

*Showing the Names of the Europeans at Futtehgurh who went down at the commencement of the Outbreak to Cawnpoor; those that remained in the Fort, &c.*

Colonel and Mrs. Smith, (10th N. I.) D.
Colonel and Mrs. Goldie, and 3 daughters, (Military Auditor General.) D.
Colonel and Mrs. Tucker, and 4 children, (Clothing Agency.) BCD.
Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill, and 2 children, (Judge.) BCD.
Miss Nancy Lang, (maid servant.) BCD.
Mr. Probyn, Mrs. Probyn, and family, (Officiating Magistrate.) ABC.
Mr. Edwards, (Magistrate of Budaon.) A.
Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Lowis, and 2 children, (Joint Magistrate.) BCD.
Doctor and Mrs. Heathcote, and 2 children, (10th N. I.) D.
Doctor and Mrs. Maltby, (Civil Surgeon.) BCD.
Major and Mrs. Robertson, and child, (Gun Carriage Agency.) D.
Miss Thompson. D.
Mr. and Mrs. Fisher, and child, (Chaplain.) BCD.
Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, 3 daughters, and one boy, (Merchant.) D.
Mr. and Mrs. Jones, a brother-in-law, and 4 children, (Engr. G. C. A.) D.
Mr. and Mrs. Rohan, and 9 children, (Carpenter G. C. A.) D.
Mr. and Mrs. Roach, and 2 children, (Road Overseer.) BCD.
Mr. and Mrs. Ahem, (Clothing Agency.) BCD.
Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, and family, (Road Overseer.) D.
Serjeant Redman and family, (10th N. I.) D.

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Qr. Mr. Sergeant, and family, (10th N. I.) D.
Mr. Best, and family, (Bridge Darogah.) D.
Pensioner Bosco, and family. BCD.
Major Munro, (10th N. I.) D.
Captain Phillimore, (10th N. I.) D.
Major Phillot, (10th N. I.) D.
Lieut. Simpson, (10th N. I.) D.
Lieut. Swetenham, (10th N. I.) D.
Lieut. and Mrs. Fitzgerald, and child, (10th N. I.) BCD.
Ensign Henderson, (10th N. I.) D.
Ensign Eckford, (10th N. I.) BCD.
Captain Vibart, (2nd Cavalry.) D.
Mr. Jones and child. BCD.
Mr. Jones, Junior. ABCD. } (Planters and Merchants.)
Mr. Donald, Senior,
Mr. Donald, Junior, } (Planters.) D.
Mr. Churcher, Senior. BCD.
Mr. Churcher, Junior. ABCD. } (Merchants.)
Miss Start. BCD.
Mr. James, (Opium Department.) BCD.
Drummer Knowles and family, (10th N. I.) D.
Mr. Wrixen, Senr.
Mr. Wrixen, Jr. } (3and boys, 10th N. I.) D.
Lieut. and Mrs. Monckton, and child, (Executive Engineer.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, (Missionary.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, and 2 children, (Missionary.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Johnston, (Missionary.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. MacMullan, (Missionary.) B.
Mr. Alexander. B.
Mr. and Mrs. Ives, and daughter, (Merchant.) B.
Mr. and Miss Maclean, (Indigo Planter.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Guise. B.
Mr. and Mrs. Elliott, and 5 children. B.
Two Misses Ray. B.
Mr. and Mrs. Palmer, and 9 children, (Depy. Magistrate.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Macklin, and 8 children, (Head Clerk Collector's Office.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Joyce, and 4 children. B.
Mr. and Mrs. R. Brierly, and 1 child. B.
Mr. and Mrs. J. Brierly, and 2 children. B.
Two Misses Brierly. B.
Miss Finlay. B.
Mr. Finlay, and family, (Clothing Agency.) B.
Mrs. Shepherd, and family. B.
Mr. and Mrs. Madden, and family, (Clothing Agency.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Kew, and family, (Post Master.) B.
Miss Kew. B.
Mr. and Mrs. Catenea, (Inspector of Post Offices.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Sheils, and 2 children, (School Master.) B.
Mr. and Mrs. Cawood, and 2 children, (Clothing Agency.) B.
The Head Tailor and family, (Clothing Agency,) name unknown. B.
Ensign Byrne, (10th N. I.) B.
Mr. Bellington. B.
The Head Blacksmith and family, (G. C. A.) name unknown. B.
Pensioner Faulkner and family. B.
Mr. MacDonald and family. B.
Mrs. Stuart and 2 Messrs. Hines remained concealed in the District and escaped. B.

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A. Escaped.
B. Left Futtehgurh on 4th June.
C. Left Futtehgurh on 4th June, but returned to Hurdeo Buksh's.
D. In the Fort when attacked.

W. G. PROBYN,
*Magistrate.*

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# No. II.

## REPORT

BY

C. R. LINDSAY, Esquire,

*Now Officiating Magistrate and Collector of Furruckabad.*

DECEMBER 20TH, 1858.

The news of the outbreak at Meerut, on the 10th May, spread like wild fire. The most alarming rumours were rife throughout the District of Furruckabad, and much excitement prevailed amongst all classes. The residents of the Station of Futtehgurh proposed to make arrangements for their mutual safety and flight in the event of the mutiny of the 10th N. I., which was located at that Station. Some wished to go into the Fort at once, others to fortify some substantial buildings. The latter plan was partially carried into effect upon Colonel Smith's house; but it was soon abandoned, and all determined upon occupying the Fort. Colonel Smith had great confidence in his Regiment, and wished to take into the Fort some 200 of them. This arrangement not pleasing the residents at large, the plan of going to the Fort was abandoned, and each commenced providing for his own safety as best he could. Boats were obtained by degrees, and latterly, with great difficulty, boatmen too were not to be had for love or money, though large advances were given and promises made to the various Manjhees. Time wore on; excitement lulled, though there were frequent alarms.

About the 28th or 29th of May, the advance guard of some Cavalry, under Captain Fletcher Hayes, arrived at the Station. The sepoys of the 10th N. I. immediately intimated to Colonel Smith, that this proceeding was distasteful to them, and requested him to order it away at once: accordingly it was done. The advance guard rejoined the main body of Cavalry, which marched on and murdered their Officers at Kurowlee, in the Mynpoory district. On the 2nd June, a spy, a Bhât, with a Hindee letter from Rao Bhowanee Singh, uncle of the Rajah of Mynpoory, was seized and brought to Mr. Probyn, the Magistrate, by the sepoys of the 10th N. I. He was chained to a tree. This annoyed the sepoys; and at Colonel Smith's request, he was despatched to Mynpoory to be summarily dealt with by Mr. Power, the Magistrate. The man was confined in the Jail, and with the rest of the convicts escaped, when it was broken open.

On the above date, a Cavalry regiment entered the District from Oudh viâ Meora Ghât, and passed through Kunouj without doing much injury, and on to Goorsahaigunje and Chubramow. At these Police stations much havoc was committed; and at the latter, where there is also a Tehseeldaree, the treasury was plundered to the extent of Company's Rupees 8,456-12-0, which Mohummud Tukee, the Tehseeldar, had attempted to transport to Bishengurh, the Fort of a friendly landholder, Chowdry Jye Chund. The Tehseeldar himself was seized, but through the intervention of a friendly trooper, a fellow-town's man, he was released. The Thannahdar, or head Police officer, Mohummud Saeed, hid himself in a most unpleasant locality, and thus managed to escape. Both these Officials afterwards served the Ex-Nawaub; the former as his Mushee-Khas, or principal Counsellor, the latter as a Tehseeldar, or revenue Collector.

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The arrival of the Cavalry regiment, whose exploits have been narrated, caused dire alarm and confusion amongst the residents of Futtehgurh.

Previous to this many families had congregated together on the river bank to be near their boats, and to be ready for instant fight. Mr. Probyn had attempted, on the 28th May, to take the treasure to the Fort; but the sepoys of the 10th, especially one Shunker Misser, Soobadar, opposed the transfer. He had also called Hurdeo Buksh of Dhurrumpoor, a powerful land-holder, whose broad domains lie on the left bank of the Ganges, to his aid; and it was Mr. Probyn's intention to have reached Cawnpoor, through the means of this powerful Chieftain. "L'homme propose et Dieu dispose."

Towards evening, information was brought that the Cavalry were approaching. This was a false report. All now prepared to start, and soon after nightfall *most* of the residents of the Station had embarked on some 12 or 13 boats of various sorts and sizes. Hurdeo Buksh, with his men, accompanied the boats; and the fleet moved away. At daybreak of the 4th June, at Mouzah Dahlia, near Cheasur, it moored: refreshments were served, and shortly afterwards Hurdeo Buksh took leave, leaving his uncle with a strong body of armed retainers to guard the fleet.

It may be well to mention, at this point, the names of the parties on the various boats, as far as it can be ascertained.

1. *In Mr. Maclean's Boat were:—*

Mr. Maclean and two daughters.
Mr. and Mrs. Guise.
Lieut. Monckton, Executive Engineer.
Mrs. Monckton.
Lieut. Byrne, 10th Native Infantry.
The Revd. Mr. J. E. Freeman.
D. E. Campbell.
A. O. Johnson.
J. McMullin, with their families.
Mr. Palmer, Deputy Collector.

2. *In Mr. Ives's Boat were:—*

Mr., Mrs. and Miss Ives.

3. *In Mr. Brierly's Boat were:—*

Mr. and Mrs. Brierly, and child.
„ and Mrs. Elliott, and 3 or 4 children.
„ and Mrs. Cawood, and 3 or 4 children.
„ and Mrs. Macklin, 2 sons, and 5 or 6 daughters.
„ Joyce, a Merchant.
Mrs. MacDonald, and 2 children.
Mr. Faulkner, and 3 members of his family.
Mrs. Jennings and family, and some 5 persons.
Mr. and Mrs. Kew, and family.
„ and Mrs. Catania.
„ and Mrs. Madden, and 2 ladies and 3 children.

4. *In Mr. Probyn's Boat were:—*

Mr. and Mrs. Probyn.
„ and Mrs. Thornhill.
„ and Mrs. Jones, and child.
„ Jones, (Junior.)

5. *In Mr. Lowis's Boat were:—*

Mr. and Mrs. Lowis, and family.

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6. *In Colonel Tucker's Boat were:—*

Mr. and Mrs. Tucker, and 3 children.
Miss Tucker.
Miss Humphreys.
Mr. and Mrs. Abern.
The Revd. Mr. Fisher, his wife and child.

7. *In Mr. Churcher's Boat were:—*

Messrs. T. and D. Churcher, Indigo Planters.
Mr. Edward James, Assistant Opium Agent.
Lieutenant and Mrs. Fitzgerald, 10th N. I.
Ensign Eckford, ditto,
Captain Bignell, ditto.
Doctor and Mrs. Maltby, ditto.

8. *In Sergeant Roach's Boat were:—*

Sergeant Roach, wife and 2 children.
Mr. and Mrs. Boscow.

9.

Mrs. Stuart and daughter.

The other Boats were filled with guards, servants, &c. &c. It is certain that above 100 of the residents of Futtehgurh were on board this flotilla.

At this point of their course, the fugitives received an addition to their numbers in the persons of Lieutenants Eckford, Byrne, Fitzgerald, and Captain Bignell. It appears that these four Officers, in company with Captain Phillimore of the 10th, attempted on the 4th, to reach the Fort; but finding their way by the Parade ground opposed, they, at the instigation of some faithful Sikhs, under their Havildar Abael Singh, tried to reach the Fort by the river. Captain Phillimore had a small boat of his own, on which he managed to reach the Fort. The others being in a large unmanageable boat, could not make way against the stream, and consequently turning the boat's head, they dropped down the stream, and joined the fugitives of the preceding night.

At the close of the day of the 4th June, the flotilla moved on, and got on well as far as Khoosumkhore, distant some 26 miles, on the right bank of the Ganges. Here a heavy fire was poured in to them. The river too, at this point, was shallow, and Mr. Brierly's boat, a large heavy one, grounded on a sand bank, and it was only with the greatest difficulty, and by the most strenuous exertions of Hurdeo Buksh's guard, and the passengers, who worked amidst a perfect storm of bullets, that the boat was again launched into the main stream and joined the other boats, some two miles down. In this encounter, Mr. Brierly and a child were severely wounded.

On the morning of the 5th June, the fleet again moved a couple of miles from Meora Ghât. A consultation was held as to the expediency of going on, as tidings of the crossing of a large force of Cavalry just before them, had been received by the fugitives. Unanimity was wanting; some wished to pass on, others to take shelter in Hurdeo Buksh's Fort, some few miles to the rear. Finally the boats, containing the parties of Mr. Macklin, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Brierly, went on; the rest returned, and went up the Gumeree river to Amrowlee Jeithpoor, and the poor fugitives found a welcome shelter in the castle of Hurdeo Buksh, on or about the 7th or 8th June. At Amrowlee, a lady, who, fearing the dangers on ahead, had left Mr. Brierly's boat, and found her way back on foot to this place, was taken in.

The other boats,—sad to relate,—never reached Cawnpoor. To an island in the main stream, four miles above that Station, they managed to proceed,

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after having passed through many dangers, and being heavily mulcted by certain Zemindars, who promised assistance, but failed to render it. Here they remained three days, hoping to receive intelligence from Cawnpoor; but, alas! none came. During this time the roar of Artillery was almost incessant. On the morning of the fourth day, after reaching this island, a gun was brought to bear upon them, and its fire killed Mrs. Ives, her Ayah, and a child of Mr. Brierly's. On the afternoon of the same day the whole party were taken prisoners by a body of sepoys; and when asked what they intended to do to them, the reply was, "Take you to the Nana Sahib." Money was offered and refused; blood was required. The prisoners were tied two and two, and taken to Cawnpoor, where that incarnate Fiend, the Nana, had them despatched by a volley of musketry and with the sword. So ended the career of that little band of Christians, amounting to some 50 or 60 persons, who separated on the 5th June from the other fugitives from Futtehgurh.

On the morning of the 4th June, after the departure of *most* of the Civilians of the Station and some few of the Military, Colonel Smith thought it prudent to attempt the transfer of the treasure from the Collector's Cutcherry to the Fort. A portion of the 10th were ordered to escort it; but these loyal and faithful men considered the Parade ground a safer and more convenient position for the treasure, and it was accordingly located there, and a guard with two guns set over it. The amount of money in the Treasury amounted to Rs. 2,80,000. Maharajah Dhulleep Singh's jewels were also there.

The sepoys and the Collector's sowars received at this time from Colonel Smith two months' pay. This was to keep the men in good humour. Kulb Hossein Khan, Deputy Collector, proceeded to his Office as usual, and as far as lay in his power, carried on the current business, and restored confidence. The Thannahdars and Tehseeldars, who, with one or two exceptions, (Hossein Bux, Tehseeldar of Imrutpoor, Syud Mohummed, Tehseeldar of Kaemgunje) had left their posts, were ordered to return; and his exertions with the presence of Captain Vibart, who appeared to be the life and soul of all, in some degree allayed the rising storm.

On this day too arrived at Kanouj a mutinous body of Cavalry from the eastward. Girdharee Lall was Tehseeldar at that time. The mutineers pressed the old man sorely to give up the treasure; but the greater part, Rs. 4,000, he had previously buried, and the remainder he had hid and would not give up.

Abdool Kureem, Thannahdar, showed the spot where it was concealed; and the mutineers possessing themselves of Rs. 2,566, plundered whatever else they could lay hands on, and went on. The remnant of the treasure was finally seized by Abdool Kureem on the 5th June, who, having paid the Thannah officials, appropriated the balance; but this was afterwards plundered from him by other rebels.

The old Tehseeldar made his escape by night from confinement, where he had been placed by Abdool Kureem, to Gungdhurapoor.

The Nawaub of Furruckabad on this day issued a proclamation that any bad characters creating a disturbance, would be blown away from guns at his order. This excited the wrath of Colonel Smith, and he strongly protested with the Ex-Nawaub, who, in excusing himself, replied that Mr. Thornhill, the Judge, had told him so to do in the event of a disturbance.

The 5th and 6th June passed away. Nothing particular happened; an intrenchment was thrown up round the guns and the treasure. On the 7th June there was a disturbance in the Jail. The prisoners appointed four amongst themselves, Generals, Colonels, and Lieutenants. One Burriar Singh, a noted Dacoit, and a murderer, was of the latter grade; he was very active. Captain Vibart proceeded to the Jail, but was received with abuse, and stones flung at him. One hit him upon the forehead; he returned and informed Colonel Smith, who sent down a company of the 10th, to quell the disturbance.

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These sepoys fired upon the prisoners, killing seven of them, (amongst them Burriar Singh), and wounding eight others. Some of the prisoners jumped down wells. The disturbance was put down, and the 10th N. I. received great applause. Then Colonel Smith harangued them. They swore on their colors to be faithful to their salt; he swore to forgive all that was past. What a slender reed was he depending upon! But a few days afterwards these very men, on receipt of a letter from the Soobadar of the 41st N. I. calling upon them to murder their Officers, showed it to the Colonel, who dictated a reply. Instead of sending that reply, they wrote, "Come, we will not oppose you; you may kill our Officers; we have sworn not to do so, but no opposition will be given to you."

After the demonstration of loyal feeling shown by the 10th N. I. in the matter of the uproar at the Jail, Col. Smith wrote to Mr. Probyn at Dhurrumpoor, asking him and the other fugitives to return, stating his firm dependance in the sepoys of his Regiment. Mr. Probyn returned alone about the 8th or 10th June, and stayed a day or so; but distrusting the state of affairs, he returned to Dhurrumpoor, just in time to witness the departure of the whole body (with one exception) of fugitives, who had taken shelter in the Fort. Previous to Mr. Probyn's return to Dhurrumpoor, Lieutenants Eckford and Fizgerald and Captain Bignell returned to the Station, and after reporting themselves were put under arrest by Colonel Smith, who was highly displeased at their having left the Station. Captain Vibart and Kulb Hossein carried on the Civil duties as far as it was in their power. The last day, on which the Cutcherry was open, was the 16th June.

Colonel Smith's letter had unsettled the minds of the fugitives at Dhurrumpoor. They did not like the look of Hurdeo Buksh's Fort, and thought it untenable in the event of a siege, and there was a rumour of approaching mutineers. They consequently determined to return to the Station. Mr. Probyn strove to dissuade them. All started, some on ponies, some on carts, some on palanqueens, and so reached Futtehgurh in safety on the 12th June, and located themselves here and there.

Between the 6th and 9th June, Mr. Edwards, and Messrs. Donald, Indigo Planters, arrived from the Budaon district, disguised as natives. The story of their escape from Shumshabad is curious, showing as it does the variable turns in the disposition of Natives towards the English at the commencement of the mutiny and afterwards. There were four fugitives from Budaon, Mr. Edwards, C. S., Magistrate of Budaon, the 2 Messrs. Donald, and Mr. Gibson; they reached Kaemgunje, and were hospitably received, and forwarded on in safety to Shumshabad to the abode of the Jaffrey Begum, a lady of high birth, and married to a man of lower extraction but, from his connection with her, bearing the title of Nawaub Doolah. Arrived at Shumshabad, the fugitives were received by Punna Lall, the Karinda or Factor of the Jaffrey Begum, who fed and otherwise entertained them. The Nawaub Doolah did not show himself: the mob outside now became tumultuous, and Punna Lall advised the gentlemen to go off. Unfortunately, whilst refreshing themselves, they had laid aside their arms, which were not forthcoming at the time of departure.

Having passed out of the gates, which were shut behind them, the fugitives went on for a little distance, when they were opposed by a body of bad characters and rebels of all descriptions. The three mounted gentlemen rode right through their opponents, and escaped unscathed to Kaemgunje, when Ahmud Yar Khan again took them in. Their companion, Mr. Gibson, being mounted on a camel, was killed before the gate of the Jaffrey Begum's house, re-entrance having been refused to the fugitives. Mr. Edwards and Messrs. Donald were now attired in native clothes, and, thoroughly disguised, reached Futtehgurh, under the care of Mooltan Khan, in safety. Not so fortunate was another poor Lady, who was making for Futtehgurh. Mrs. Eckford had been sent by her husband to Allahabad when the Meerut mutiny occurred. For some reason unknown, she determined to return, but perished on the way. It

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is supposed that this was the Lady who is known to have been murdered by the Thakoors of Secunderpoor on the Grand Trunk Road. Soon after these events, Ahmud Yar Khan became Nazim under the Ex-Nawaub; and Mooltan Khan, a noted Rebel leader. Messrs. Edwards and the 2 Donalds proceeded to Dhurrumpoor; the former remained with Mr. Probyn at the Fort of Hurdeo Buksh, the latter returned to Futtehgurh, on the 12th June, with the other fugitives. Time wore on. The sepoys appeared loyal, but it was the stillness that precedes the storm. On the 16th June, a man was to be hung by order of the Sudder. Colonel Smith, who was invested with plenary powers, was to carry the sentence into effect. But there was a stronger power at hand,—the sepoys of the 10th. These loyal men considered it unsafe to hang a man at that period, and thought he had better be released, and he was released.

Between the 14th and 16th June, the mutineers from Seetapoor, the 41st N. I., Oude Local Cavalry, and 10th Oude Local Infantry, arrived at Allahgunje on the side of the Ramgunga, and were well received, feted, and feasted by one Likha Singh, a noted Rebel, and Zemindar of that village. These men it was who sent the Hindee letter, above refered to, to the native Officers of the 10th N. I. On the 17th June the Jemadar of the Collectory sowars, Azeem Khan, the two Duffadars, Dost Mohummud Khan, and Manzoor Alee, with all their sowars, with the exception of one man, went over to pay their compliments to the rising power. With them went Asghur Alee Khan, Ashuk Alee Khan, Hussun Mohummud, Wuzeer Khan, Shubratee Khan, on the part of the Ex-Nawaub of Furruckabad. On this day too, the native Officers of the 10th N. I., Dalail, Ahmud Khan, Girwur Singh, Ameer Khan, Imambux Khan, Sheikh Imambux, Mudarbux, Boo Alee Khan, intimated to their Officers that time was up, and that they had better retreat into the Fort. On that night all the residents, with few exceptions, went into the Fort. The mutiny had begun in earnest.

On the first tidings of the approach of the Seetapoor mutineers, Colonel Smith had broken the bridge of boats, and sunk as many boats as he could lay hands on, and this too through the instrumentality of the 10th N. I. The mutineers consequently had some difficulty in crossing, but Likha Singh of Allahgunje and Poolundur Singh of Bhowaneepoor, managed to procure boats and to convey them across the Ganges, a little to the north of the City of Furruckabad, on the morning of the 18th June. The rebels encamped that day at Bhirrah Bagh, not far from the City. The 10th N. I., aware that the Seetapoor mutineers would cross during the day of the 18th, very early in the morning sent two companies, the Grenadier and the Light Company, to the City to place the Nawaub upon the throne before the arrival of the Seetapoor men, and thus have the glory of having so done all to themselves.

These two companies installed the Nawaub under a royal salute; and having so done, returned to the Parade and saluted their own colors, with another royal salute. This done, they proceeded to the Jail, broke it open, released the prisoners, and plundered whatever was there. The Nujeebs and bad characters of the vicinity came in for the fag ends of the spoil. The Cantonment was now plundered and set on fire. The residents were all in the Fort, with the exception of Mr. D. Churcher, Mrs. Sturt, Mrs. Collins, and her daughter, and Messrs W. and A. Hine, Clerks in the Magistrate and Collector's Office.

Mr. Churcher, on the 18th, was concealed all day under a large heap of hides in a godown, which was broken open, and the hides tossed about; but there being many of them, he escaped detection. In the evening one Chotay, a Chumar, conveyed him to his village Mahroopoor, and secreted him five days. The Zemindars of that village, on the fifth night, managed to convey him into the Fort. Mrs. Sturt secreted herself in a stack of Jhow, (Tamarix Indica,) which was near her bungalow, and during the night of the 18th was conveyed across the Ganges by some mullahs (boatmen) to Kachwa Gara, where she remained.

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Mrs. Collins met with a sad fate: she was a rich old Lady, had much jewellery, and had secreted it with other valuables in her house. On the 13th the mutineers and bad characters quickly sought her out, and refusing to show her treasure, she was cruelly murdered, and her daughter taken off by a tailor. Next day the poor girl was brought back to the house, and her murdered mother shown to her. The Messrs. Hine escaped in disguise to different villages.

About 3 P. M. of the same day, two companies of the 41st and the 10th Oude Locals came over from Bhirrah Bagh to the Parade ground, and wished to share the treasure and the jewels with the 10th N. I.; these latter refused, and a skirmish ensued in which some sepoys on either side were killed. The 41st and the 10th Oude Locals retired; reinforcements came up to their aid, and a battle between the Regiments was very nearly taking place. Words took the place of blows, and it was agreed to share the treasure in the morning. The 10th gave up their colors, and their ammunition, as a pledge. During the night the 10th, faithless to their promise, plundered the treasure in the most indiscriminate manner: it was a regular rush to see who could get most. The guard of the 10th at the Fort now absconded, and joined in the plunder. The sepoys with their plunder separated here and there, the greater number crossed the Ganges. On this night too, Captain Bignell of the 10th, swam across the Ganges and joined Misr Shunker Soobadar, and the main body of the 10th. From their Camp he sent word by his bheesty, (water-carrier) that the Garrison had better follow his example, and that the 41st, under Misr Shunker, would protect them. How cruelly was he deceived! The presence of an Englishman, the treasure with the Regiment, drew upon it many enemies; the villagers attacked, and it was opposed on all sides, particularly by the men of Uncha Tela and the Gailwar Thakoors of Doorgagunje. The services of these latter villagers were purchased, and they conveyed the mutineers across the Ramgunga. Finally the remnant of this Corps recrossed the Ganges at Meora Ghât into the Doab. Here it was that finding Captain Bignell a burthen, he was pushed over the boat into the river, and had to swim to land in the limits of the village of Sireapoor. There he died from exhaustion; some say, sun-stroke.

On the 19th, the 41st and the 10th Oude Locals found that the 10th had outwitted them. Enraged at this, they set fire to every bungalow yet standing, plundered the bazars, and committed every iniquity. Likha Singh plundered Maharajah Dhuleep Singh's splendid house on his own account, taking boat-load after boat-load of valuables of all descriptions. It appears that two companies of the 10th remained behind in the Station. These men, early on the 19th, went to the Nawaub, and afterwards located themselves in one of the City gardens. The Seetapoor men now wished the Nawaub to compel the 10th N. I. to lead the assault on the Fort. The 10th did not like the task; a dispute ensued, and finally a severe fight took place, in which many or nearly all the 10th were killed; and on the 22nd June the Nawaub ordered them out of the City. The Seetapoor men were now urged to the attack, but they replied that the proper hour had not arrived, that the augurs had fixed the 25th for the commencement of the siege.

To return to the Garrison in the Fort:—Provisions, but in small quantities, had been laid in; every exertion was now made to collect grain, sheep, and every description of provision; very high prices were given for every thing: but the necessaries of life came in but slowly. Mulloo, durwan, (door-keeper) and Sheopurshad, Jemadar of Major Robertson, exerted themselves very greatly in this respect. Jaipal, too, a sepoy of the 11th N. I. at Meerut, and who was purchasing sheep for the Officers of his Regiment, made over to the Garrison all he had, some 40 or 50. This man, with Kalay Khan, and Soorut Singh of the 10th N. I., went into the Fort with the Garrison, and remained throughout the siege, doing good service. Jaipal left when the Fort was evacuated, but Kalay Khan and Sooruj Singh went with the boats. The Garrison had likewise a little beer and wine; so, with regard to provisions, they were not badly off.

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There were seven guns on the Fort walls, the largest an 18-pounder howitzer; ammunition was very scarce. Mulloo and Sheopurshad managed to bring in some 5 or 6,000 cartridges, which had been plundered from the 10th N. I., and a few round shots. In the Fort were found twelve boxes of ammunition, but half were blank cartridge; a few old shots were also found: the Garrison had perhaps thirty round shots in all. There were now in the Fort fully 120 Christians, and native servants in numbers. These all shrunk away by degrees, except one Ghureeb, a cook of Lieutenant Fitzgerald, who behaved nobly to the very last. Out of this large number of, almost, helpless persons, there were some 36 or 37 males, the rest were women and children. Of the males, only 32 were capable of bearing arms; but these were all brave men. Right gallantly did they fight till their ammunition failed them.

The Seetapoor mutineers now moved to the Sheeshum Bagh. The ground was cleared for action, and on the 25th, the day fixed by omens, the first gun was fired on the devoted Garrison. The besiegers appear to have had only two guns; one was placed opposite the gate of the Fort, at a distance of 4 or 500 yards, the other at Eesher Chunder's Kotee. Upon this house, too, marksmen were placed. The Nawaub exerted himself to the utmost in obtaining ammunition, ladders, and other munitions of war for the besiegers. The siege lasted nine days. The besieged made use of screws, hammers, and whatever could be found, wrapped up in gunny bags, in place of grape. The enemy's bullets came down into the Fort thick as hail. During the siege, Colonel Tucker, Mr. Jones, Sergeant Abern, were killed; wounded—Mr. Thornhill, Mr. Sutherland, Captain Phillimore, Major Robertson. Colonel Tucker and Mr. Jones were buried in one grave. The killed and wounded were generally shot whilst looking through the loop-holes at the effect of their own fire. There were 10 large bastions, and 2 smaller ones (the latter unoccupied) round the Fort. On these were placed 3 pickets, Colonel Tucker's, Colonel Smith's, Colonel Goldie's. The assaults, which were very frequent, were generally from the Hoseinpoor side. The first assault was on Colonel Goldie's picket, it was repulsed; but he was badly wounded. Mr. Thornhill, C. S., had wounded himself accidentally previous to this. Whilst loading, the gun went off, and the ball going into the palm of his hand passed up the arm, and out at the elbow; from that he was "hors de combat."

The next grand assault was on Colonel Smith's picket. The enemy here got possession of the unoccupied bastions, but were quickly turned out. Logs of wood and every description of missile being hurled at them. Finally the rebels tried what effect mining would have; but all the mines, but one, burst harmlessly. This explosion blew down a portion of the curtain wall, but did little serious damage to the besieged. This mine burst on the 1st July, about 4 or 5 A. M., and immediately the 3rd assault was made again on Colonel Smith's picket. The assailants were beaten off with loss. Another assault was made a day after without success. The besiegers now set to work to undermine Colonel Smith's bastion; the miners were hard at work close by. This bastion was the key of the Fort; if this was blown in, all would have been at the mercy of the besiegers. A Council of War was held, and it was determined to evacuate the Fort on the night of the 3rd July. The Garrison were divided into three parties; there being only three boats, for one of which (Major Robertson's) there were no boatmen. The boats were under the command of Colonel Smith, Colonel Goldie, and Major Robertson. Mr. Jones and Mr. Churcher acted as steersmen for the latter. At 2 A. M., on the morning of the 4th July, this brave Garrison, compelled to leave the Fort (which they had gallantly held nine days against two Regiments of Infantry, with two guns and a host of marksmen from amongst the surrounding villages,) for want of ammunition, embarked on their perilous and calamitous voyage.

Thus ended the second act of this dreadful tragedy.

In Appendix No. I. will be found a list of those who were in the Fort when the siege commenced. All these, excepting those who had been killed, including

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two families of Native Christians, (Enoch's and Dhowkul Purshad's,) crowded into three boats.

The fugitives reached Soondurpoor, about 8 A. M. of the 4th July. At this point of their course the rudder of Colonel Goldie's boat was damaged, and it was consequently abandoned, being unmanageable; whilst attempting to repair it, the villagers annoyed them much by a sharp fire. A most successful and brilliant charge was made on the assailants by Captain Vibart, Major Munro, Lieutenants Eckford, Swetenham, and Henderson, against some 300 of the enemy, who were beaten back to the village. In this attack Mungul Sein, of Ghyanpoor, a notorious Rebel, was wounded, and his nephew, Bhujjun Singh, of Soondurpoor, killed. Doolah Raie, of Suntokpoor, was also wounded.

The party on Colonel Goldie's boat now embarked on Colonel Smith's boat, and moved on. A gun was at this time brought to bear on the fugitives; it was placed at Bhojepoor, on the right bank of the river. The Mahomedans of this village were very inveterate. They, with the sepoys, now pushed off on boats, and a hot pursuit was kept up; the fugitives were fired upon from all sides, but principally from the left bank of the stream. The gun at Bhojepoor did no harm; it was too far off. At Soondurpoor, Enoch and his family, Native Christians, were left behind in the boat that was abandoned. Enoch eventually reached Lucknow safely, but was well plundered, ere he left Soondurpoor, by one Bankay Rohun, that is, Rohun the dandy. Not finding a resting place at that Station, he travelled to Cawnpoor and Allahabad, and finally was appointed to the Cavalry Police at that Station.

The chase was kept up, and a constant fire poured upon the fugitives.

Opposite Singeerampoor and close to Manpoor, Major Robertson's boat grounded on a sand bank; all hands jumped into the water, and strove to shove her off. All their efforts were unavailing. The pursuers rapidly approached in a large covered boat, the enemy from the bank keeping up a hot fire.

The enemy came nearer and nearer, firing volleys as they approached; on they came, their boats touching the stranded boat. A scene of horror followed. The sterner portion of the crew implore the weaker sex to jump over board with their children and infants, rather than fall into the hands of a ruthless, cruel foe. The call is obeyed:—men, women, and children are soon in the stream. Some are cut down in the water, some are drowned, some shot, some taken prisoners. Let us cast a veil over the dreadful tragedy. Suffice to say, that out of this party but three escaped—Major Robertson, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Churcher, the former two badly wounded.

In the meantime the other boat had gone on to Singeerampoor, to which place a bend of the river brought it. Here a severe fire from grape and musketry assailed them; the rudder of the boat was smashed; Mr. Roban, Miss Goldie, and a child were killed; Lieut. Swetenham, Dr. Maltby, and two others were wounded.

The stream, however, carried the boat on for some five or six miles, when it, too, grounded on a sand bank.

At this point Mr. Jones, who had swam and floated down the stream, was taken into the boat. After some time the rudder was partially repaired, and the boat got off the bank. Early on the morning of the 5th July a voice was heard from the left bank of the river; it was the Reverend Mr. Fisher's, who had escaped the massacre at Manpoor; he was taken in. Further down the river at Mouzah Tehra, the boat again grounded; there were no boatmen on board. Mr. Jones acted as steersman, badly wounded, though he was naked to the skin; he suffered much from the fierce rays of a July sun. The villagers of Tehra called out to them, to beware of the Koosumkhore men,—noted Rebels,—and offered them protection if they would accept it. It was accepted, and the party landed. Refreshments, such as the village could provide, were offered to the

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weary fugitives. Mr. Jones, perfectly exhausted, went to the village, and there fell asleep on a charpoy. Colonel Smith wished to engage boatmen to convey the boat to Cawnpoor, and offered Rs. 2,200, one-half to be paid at once, the remainder on reaching that Station. About 4 or 5 P. M., the villagers from Chouchpoor hardly came up. These appear to have been bad characters,—robbers and plunderers; and hearing that money had been given to the Tehra people, they determined to share it. A dispute arose; the money was divided, the Chouchpoor men obtaining the lion's share. Colonel Smith and party fearing for their lives, shoved the boat off, having only secured three boatmen. Mr. Jones was left behind, and that which appeared a great calamity to him, turned out, under God's Providence, to be the means of saving his life.

Colonel Smith managed to secure three boatmen, but these men afterwards deserted. At Bilhour the fugitives were fired upon, and one gentleman wounded. Opposite to Futtehpoor Chourasee, Jussa Singh, the Zemindar, fired heavily upon them: between this place and Bithoor all the passengers in that unfortunate boat were captured, and miserably perished in the general massacre at Cawnpoor on the 10th July.

Mr. Jones remained the night of the 5th July with Bhabootee Singh and Bummur Singh, Thakoors and residents of Tehra. On the morning of the 6th idem they made him over to the care of Balgobind, a shareholder in the village. This man took great care of him, fed him, and clothed him, (he was destitute of clothing,) and secreted him for a month, and finally conveyed him to Dhurrumpoor, and thence to Kussourah, where Mr. Probyn, C. S., was at the time concealed with his family and Mr. Edwards. The whole party were, comparatively speaking, comfortably lodged in Kussourah; they had servants, and a few books. The month of August was closing; the rebels had been defeated for the second time at Bithoor. Hurdeo Buksh now proposed to convey the whole party to Cawnpoor. Mr. and Mrs. Probyn and his children, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Jones, four servants and a Sikh Christian, embarked in one boat, with a strong guard, and reached Cawnpoor on or about the 1st September.

Mr. Churcher's escape was wonderful. He, with the others, when the massacre commenced at Singeerampoor, committed himself to the mercy of the waters, rather than fall into the hands of the blood-thirsty assailants. He managed to obtain an oar, and with the help of this he floated down the stream and overtook Major Robertson and Kalay Khan, who likewise had an oar. On his arrival Kalay Khan took the oar to himself and swam to land. He was made prisoner, and afterwards blown away from a gun. Major Robertson was very severely wounded. He and Mr. Churcher kept floating down the river till near midnight of the 4th July, when, utterly exhausted, they landed upon an island which belonged to the village of Kurhar; there they lay till the morning, when they were rescued by one *Balkishen*, a sepoy of the 4th N. I., Ramdeen, also a sepoy, and some few villagers. These men escorted them to Lulloo Singh, Zemindar of Kurhar, who, though he gave them protection, did not treat them very kindly. At this time he appeared uncertain how to act. The loyal conduct of Hurdeo Buksh most probably influenced him and his brethren. For a long time a feud had existed between the Kurhar people and Hurdeo Buksh. The former appear to have had an idea that the English would return, in which case Hurdeo Buksh being at feud with them, would doubtless expose their conduct if they acted unkindly or murdered the fugitives. Their estates might be confiscated and given to Hurdeo Buksh. This feeling prompted them to preserve the fugitives.

When first brought to Lulljoo Singh, they were placed in a sugarcane field, and after 24 hours removed to a Gurhee, (small fort) outside of Kurhar. Here they remained three days; but the position being exposed, Major Robertson was removed to Baramow, and Mr. Churcher took to the fields. The latter was naked, excepting a towel round his loins; the former had a pair of pantaloons. The reason of their being naked appears to have been that, during the passage down the river, they, as well as others, were constantly in the water,

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shoving forward the boat, and having no change of clothes, stripped when it came to their turn to labor. Mr. Churcher states that at first food was thrown to them, as it would be to a dog. Bhownrees, *i. e.* small unroasted cakes made of flour, were given them to eat, and sometimes milk to drink. Mr. Probyn heard of their state, and sent over Rs. 50, with a bottle of brandy, to Major Robertson, who was now at Baramow. This made a great difference. Lulljoo Singh appears to have been a very stingy character; he did not like the expense of keeping the fugitives. Servants were now appointed for Major Robertson, who attended him constantly. About the 15th July, Choonnee Lall, an old servant of Mr. Churcher's, found out his retreat, and brought Rs. 1,500 (£150) in gold, sewn up in his clothes. Out of this £20 was immediately given to Lulljoo Singh, and all his expences to that date paid. After this period Mr. Churcher got whatever could be procured, and was clothed. He generally remained in the fields, now and then resorting to the Gurhee when the country around was clear, but at the slightest alarm returned to the sugarcane fields, his home for many a month. A price, Rs. 500 (£50) had been set upon each of their heads; but the Kurhar people remained staunch, evading every enquiry and placing the bloodthirsty pursuers upon the wrong track. For this they deserve all praise. On the 17th September, Major Robertson died from the effects of his severe wound, and other causes; he was buried by Mr. Churcher at Baramow on the morning of the 18th September. The Thakoors of Baramow at first wished to throw the body into the Ganges, but at the earnest entreaties of Mr. Churcher they permitted him to be buried.

When Mr. Probyn was leaving for Cawnpoor, about the end of August, he sent word to Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, asking them to accompany him and his party. The state of Major Robertson's wound prevented his being moved, and he implored Mr. Churcher not to leave him. This gallant hearted, kindly feeling man could not make up his mind to leave him alone; so determined to share his fate. Mr. Churcher remained in the Gurhee of Karhar, and in the fields when danger was near, until January 1858, when Futtehgurh was re-occupied by the English troops. Mrs. Sturt who had escaped to Kuchwagara on the 18th June, had been brought at the instigation of Mr. Churcher by the Kurhar people to a village called Koondpoora; she too remained there till the above period. Thus closes the history of the fates of the many gallant hearts who went into the Fort of Futtehgurh on the 18th June. It will be seen that but seven persons (including two children) of pure European blood have escaped out of the many who were either residents of, or who had come into Futtehgurh in the beginning of June 1857.

In the Appendices will be found the Narratives of Messrs. Churcher and Jones.

Before noticing the events, which took place during the period that the rebel Nawaub of Furruckabad reigned, it will be well to narrate the fate of the unfortunates who were taken prisoners by the sepoys on the 4th July at Manpoor.

It will be remembered that the attack of the sepoys was fierce, that many were killed, many drowned, and some taken prisoners. Amongst the latter, were Mrs. and Miss Sutherland and a child, Mr. Jones's native family, a child of Conductor Jons. These were carried to the Nawaub; those who were wounded were attended by a native Doctor, by name Bukshoo; they were fed, and as far as can be learnt, did not suffer any great privations directly at the hands of the Nawaub. Besides these prisoners, other Christians from in and about the Station were also seized and confined. They were Mr. and Miss Gaumisse, Mr. and Miss Atkins, and a young boy. Mr. W. Russell, Mr. Kew, Mr. E. Tarton, and another young man, name unknown; Dhowkul Purshad, his wife, and four children, Native Christians. It does not seem to have been the wish of the Nawaub to kill these Christians; but there were certain evil spirits about him, who plotted their destruction in this wise:—A letter was written as if from the captives to the English; this was said to have

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been intercepted. Upon this there was a great clamour made by the sepoys, who insisted upon the death of the Christians. The Nawaub finally gave way, fearing that if he longer opposed their execution his brother Sukhawut Hossein would be installed by the sepoys in his place.

On the 19th or 23rd July, (the report of the date differs,) the unfortunates, some twenty in number, were drawn upon the Parade ground; the women separated from the men, and either blown away from guns or cut down with swords. One poor woman and two children, whom the cannon twice spared, having missed fire each time, were cut down by the ruthless ruffians. Their bodies were flung into a well hard by the place, where the fearful tragedy took place. There does not appear to have been a proclamation that the poor unfortunates were to be blown away. The day too was rainy, yet there was a very great assemblage of the people on the Parade ground to witness the dreadful spectacle. The administration of the Ex-Nawaub, Civil and Military, now demands attention.

Soon after the residents of the Station were shut up in the Fort, a noted Rebel, Ashrut Khan, in company with Ahmud Yar Khan and Mooltan Khan, came to Futtehgurh from Shumshabad, Kaemgunje, and Mhow. Ashrut Khan is a native of Dehli, and brother-in-law to Ahmud Yar Khan; both were pensioners of the British Government; the former, as a reward for his father's services in Lord Lake's time, was in receipt of Rs. 700 a month. Ashrut Khan was styled Nawaub; he laid claims to the Futtehgurh Musnud, (throne,) and was in some way related to the Bungush family. This man was the soul of the Mutiny. He with Bhigga Begum, the wife of the Nawaub, had great influence, and did what they pleased, was appointed Musheer Khas, (Principal Councillor) to the Nawaub.

The District was divided into two grand Divisions, the East and the West. To the former, which included Kumalgunje, Chubramow, Kunouj, Tirooa, Mohsun Alee, Zemindar of Sooltangunje Khareta, was appointed as Nazim. To the West, which comprised Kaemgunje, Shumshabad, Allygunje, Puttialee, Khassgunje, was appointed Ahmud Yar Khan. Both these men were unfit for the great position they filled. Mohsun Alee Khan was an habitual drunkard, and of a very common order of intellect; but he was apparently of less stern material than the Nazim Ahmud Yar Khan, who appears to have given great dissatisfaction by his ruthless acts, and decisions which were utterly devoid of sense and justice.

Besides these Nazims, there was a Council of Two, who appear to have exercised plenary powers, and to have had the power of reversing any decision and calling for any case. They formed a kind of Appellate Court, in which original suits of all kinds were also instituted.

This Court was composed of Captain Gunga Singh, a Soobadar of the 41st N. I., and Sheo Ghoolam Deechet, likewise a Soobadar of the Seetapoor Local Infantry. The latter had a Naib Deputy, one Pundit Peetumber Doss, in whom he placed great confidence, and from whom he received an opinion in all cases connected with the Hindoo law, which came before him. The accounts written at the time and since, describe these two men to have been invested with the same powers as the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces had under the British rule.

The next Court to this appears to have been that of the Mooftees, of whom there were three:—

Ahmud Alee, (before the outbreak,) Criminal Record-keeper, under the Magistrate of Futtehgurh.

Abdool Wahid, an Officer attached to the Dewanny Adawlut, for attaching property, (a Koork Ameen.)

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Cazee Ahmud Yar Khan. These men received a salary of Rs. 100 each, and fees to the amount of 10 per cent. on the amount decreed in any suit; also 1 anna in the rupee on every execution served out.

This Court was not composed of men of any talent; one alone Ahmud Alee, amongst them, was a man of average abilities. These men were the Civil and Sessions Judges of the City of Furruckabad.

The Nawaub Tuffuzool Hoosein Khan of Furruckabad was supposed to look down from his lofty throne, and watch and guide the proceedings of these various Courts; but in truth he had very little power shortly after the commencement of his reign. He was a man of quiet habits, more given to painting and gilding, and the society of immoral characters than fitted to rule, and direct a turbulent soldiery, and a rural population not over well inclined to his rule or to any system at all, except what their own ideas and wishes suggested.

The division of the District, with six Tehseels and ten Thannahs or Police stations, remained as under the British Government. The pay of the Tehseeldars was the same as previous to the outbreak, *viz.* Rs. 200 per mensem; that of the Thannahdars, ranged from Rs. 50 to 70, per mensem. The Burkundazes, (policemen,) received Rs. 5 a month, but were in much greater numbers.

On the accession to the throne, the Nawaub issued a Code of Procedure for the Criminal and Revenue Departments, which closely resembled that in force under the British Government. For the Government revenue he at first fixed eight instalments; it was afterwards reduced to five.

For the Khureef, four monthly instalments, commencing from beginning of the month of Kuwar, (September 5th) to the end of Poos, (January (10th.

For the Rubbee, four monthly instalments, commencing from 1st of Falgoon, (9th Febuary) to end of Jaet, (7th June).

If the revenue was not paid into the Tehseeldaree by the 15th of each month, the Tehseeldar was empowered to issue a dustuck (summons) by a piadha (footman) at 2 annas a day. After the lapse of a week if the instalment still remained unpaid, he was to issue another dustuck by a sowar, bearing a charge of 8 annas or 1 shilling a day, upon the defaulting party or parties. One quarter of this tulubana, that is daily pay, was to be entered in the accounts, when realized, to the credit of Government; the remainder was divided amongst the men who served the dustucks. If the amount due was still unpaid, he was to issue a proclamation to the effect that, if within one week the balance was not paid into the Government Treasury, the movable and immovable property, such as trees and gardens of the defaulter, with the exception of implements and cattle for agricultural purposes, would be attached and sold. If the demand still remained unpaid, a similar proclamation was to be issued, that the landed property of the Zemindar, or the share of the Putteedar, (shareholder) as the case might be, would be farmed to the highest bidder for three, seven, or twelve years. The papers in the case, with good security, and an account of receipts and balances, were then to be sent to the Nawaub for approval and sanction.

The Tehseeldar had it likewise in his power, after the issue of the two dustucks, to imprison the defaulter in the Tehseelee for fifteen days in lieu of attaching his property. After this if the demand was unpaid, he was to be sent to the Nawaub for further imprisonment.

In the event of the Assamees, or the cultivators, not paying their rents to their landlord, the Tehseeldar was empowered to go in person to the village, and before the Putwaree (village accountant,) and the head man to realize the Government portion of the rent from each cultivator separately.

Summary suits too were instituted, and the procedure was the same as in our Courts. The Tehseeldar however gave judgment in the case, keeping

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a copy of his decree in his own Office, and sending the Misl (proceedings) to the Nawaub, to whom an appeal was open; and for this purpose the Tehseeldars were forbidden to execute their decrees till one month after the date of decision, thus giving ample time for an appeal.

Petitions of all kinds were filed on plain paper, but a fee of 8 annnas was taken by the Court before whom the petition was filed.

Kharij Dakhil petitions, *i. e.* petitions for transfer of property, under every form, were to be presented to the Nawaub alone, who, having passed orders on them, sent them to be carried into effect by the Tehseeldars.

The procedure for the Criminal Courts was as follows:—

Tehseeldars were empowered to take petitions in trivial cases, and to pass final orders upon them, but a report was first to be written in the daily Register of occurrences by the plaintiff; he was then to file his plaint. In cases of assault, and wounding without bone fracture, or not very severe wounding, the Tehseeldar could imprison for one year, fine Rs. 200, and give another year in lieu of the fine if not paid; but was first, if possible, to realize the fine by attachment and sale of property.

In more severe cases, the Thannahdar was to investigate the case and send it direct with his opinion to the Nawaub.

Cases of burglary and theft, in which property to amount of not more than Rs. 100 was stolen, the Tehseeldars could decide and punish to the extent of their powers. Heavier cases were to be prepared by the Thannahdars and sent to the Huzzoor, that is, to the Mooftees.

In cases within the powers of Tehseeldars, and when the defendants had absconded, the Tehseeldars were empowered to attach, and after one month to sell the property, and to proclaim the offender; but if a reward was to be offered for his apprehension, the sanction of the Nawaub was required.

A monthly report from the Thannahdars was ordered to be sent in this Form:—

| Number of Case. | Name of Village. | Name of Parties. | Crime and Date of Occurrence. | Amount of Property stolen. | Amount of Property found. | Date of instituting of Case in Thannah. | Date of Despatch. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | |

From the Tehseeldars, as follows:—

| No. | Name of Parties. | Crime. | Date of Institution. | Date of seizure of Defaulter. | Order and Date. | Number of Persons under investigation. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | |

The Register of daily occurrences (Roznamcha) was to be despatched each evening from the Thannahs.

The Thannahdars were empowered to grant leave of absence for one month to all Chowkeedars, and Tehseeldars held the same power with reference to Chuprassees, Burkundazes, and Jemadars, whether in the Police or Revenue Department.

Such was the Code of Procedure ordered by the Nawaub; but how little it was attended to, how little carried into effect, the sequel will show.

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The conduct of the Officials serving the British Government at the time of the outbreak, was not praiseworthy. Out of the six Tehseeldars employed in this District at the period of the outbreak, three took service with the Nawaub.

Out of eleven head Police officers, (Thannahdars,) six accepted situations under the new Government.

Amongst the nine Peshkars, (an officer next in rank to the Tehseeldar,) five gave in their adherence to the Nawaub. The Canoongoes were all, save one, employed.

All the Collectory Sowars, with the exception of one, went over to the Nawaub *en masse*.

Of the other Officials, such as Record-keepers, Mohurrirs, Nazirs, &c., whether in the Revenue or Criminal Department, the Burkundazes and Chuprassees, all or nearly all, tendered their services to the Government of the time.

The Sheristadars of the Criminal and Revenue Departments, and the Nazir of the former, did not accept appointments. The latter official got rather severely handled by the rebels; he was fined and plundered of a portion of his property.

The following were among the chief Officials of the Nawaub's Court, such as it was:—

Mohummud Tuckee became Musheer Khas, or principal Councillor, in conjunction with Ashrut Khan; Hidayat Alee, formerly Tehseeldar of Mohumdabad, became Dewan.

Tarut Alee, a servant of the Nawaub's, before the outbreak, on Rs. 4 or 5 a month, became Sheristadar of both Departments; Bisharut Alee was his Naib, and Beharwadeen became Nazir; both these men had held responsible appointments under the British Government.

The men about the Nawaub tried to inculcate moderation and justice. In one case, the Thannahdar having reported that in a petty case of assault committed by a sepoy on a Buniya, he had sent a Duffadar and 30 Burkundazes to call the offender to the Thannah to be reprimanded,—the following order was passed on the report:—

"ORDER.

"Why did the Thannahdar interfere in such a case? If he wished only to reprimand the offender, he would not have sent such an army on an expedition to arrest him. It is hence clear that the Thannahdar had some covetous motive in sending so many men; for, according to the procedure of the present Government, he ought only to reprove in such a case, and prevent any further violence, so that plaintiff may obtain justice, and the offender be terrified from committing further evil. For the future he must be careful to act by these instructions, that the subjects of the Government may not be oppressed and ruined for nothing. Had he been as active in a serious case, he would have been all right."

The Nazims,—Mohsan Alee, of the Eastern Division, Ahmud Yar Khan, of the West, Moorad Alee Khan, of Etawah,—very soon upset the arrangements of the Nawaub for the administration of justice. Each man ruled as he liked; the Tehseeldars under them became nonentities; Police and Revenue matters they took into their own hands, and complete havoc they appear to have made. Criminal and Civil suits belonged especially to the Mooftee's Court.

The procedure in this Court was much the same as under the British Government. There was much writing; there was the Urzee-dawa, petition of plaint; Jawab-dawa, reply; Rudjawab, &c. &c., as in our Civil Courts.

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A copy of the decree was given to the party, in whose favor a decree was given. In lieu of the Stamp paper, varying according to the amount of the suit, fees at the rate of 10 per cent. upon the amount of the decree, were taken by the Mooftees as a portion of their emoluments; also one anna in the rupee, when execution of decree was served out.

One of the Mooftees, Abdool Wahid, did not decree any interest to the party in a case, in whose favor he gave a decree; the other two did so: the former paid more attention to the principles of the Mahommedan Law than his coadjutors.

Some of the decisions are curious enough. In one case of murder, the murderer was a Hindoo; he was released on promising to become a Mahommedan.

The Nawaub sometimes gave the final sentence. In a case of murder, he ordered the heads of the three murderers to be cut off, and stuck up over the Loll Mudar and Gunga Gates of the City, at the same time issuing a proclamation that such would be the fate of all murderers under his rule. In a case of rape, the defendant was fined Co.'s Rs. 2 and dismissed. This was the decision of Yakoob Alee Naib, for the time, to the Nawaub.

In a Civil case brought before this Court, the plaintiff was nonsuited because he could not shew the original decision of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. The Mooftee declaring that the decision of that Court would have caused a decree in his favor, but that they could not accept the unauthenticated copy. Many parts of their procedure were truly oriental in character; the following is a purwannah to the Thannahdar of Allygunge, in the case of Anoop, plaintiff, *versus* Lochun, &c. charged with murder of Mussumat Khushi.

"In this case you are ordered to go in person to the village where the event has occurred, and collecting fifty of the most respectable residents thereof, write their depositions in the following manner:—'We have not killed the deceased, nor are we aware who were her murderers.' Thus shall you take the depositions of those who profess ignorance of the affair; but if they know who the criminals are, you shall write their depositions thus:—'We have not killed the deceased, but certain other persons have killed her. We say this by our faith, and on our oath.' And when writing their depositions, you must administer the oath in the following manner:—'We swear by the God Almighty, who has made us and the universe.'"

"If there are not fifty such men in the village, then assemble all residents and other people you can get hold of, and write their depositions a second and a third time, on oath admininistered as above; have the depositions of full fifty men, and carry out this order and report within three days from the issue of this purwannah."

The Thannahdar, in his reply, reports having carried out these instructions completely.

The Civil suits instituted before the Mooftee were very few; criminal cases, other than petty thefts, and cases of ouster were numerous; for the stronger oppressed the weaker, and too frequently dispossessed him of his bit of land, of his shop, or other property.

The decisions of this Court in those descriptions of cases appear to have given satisfaction, more particularly after the Nazims of the two Divisions entered upon their functions.

Many of the decisions of the latter were upset by the Mooftees, when this was once known to the people at large. The cases instituted before the Nazims were but very few; but these Rulers did what they pleased, and had cases brought before them and decided, nolens volens, quoad the plaintiffs.

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The decisions of this Court in Criminal cases were very severe; the punishment of theft was the loss of the right hand. Cases of theft were, however, very few; thieves appear to have found the times too hard for small thefts, and much more favorable for plunderings on a grand scale, which were rife on the great lines of Road, and in the District. Kafilas were the order of the day, —single travellers, or travellers in single byelees, (a cart drawn by bullocks,) seldom attempting a journey.

In a case where the bundle of little value of a traveller was stolen from one of the garees in the City, the offender lost his hand. The petty thieves consequently left the City.

After the receipt of the Firman from the King of Dehli, in which he confirmed the Nawaub of Furruckabad upon the Musnud, and highly praised the sepoys to whose bravery so much was due, the pride and haughtiness of the sepoys became greater than ever. In a case of murder, in which a Koormee had murdered a Mahommedan, the Mooftee had given orders that the murderer was to give up his property to the plaintiff, or to be killed by him; if neither sentence was carried into the effect, that the Nawaub was to have him blown from a gun. The friends of the Koormee objected to this, appealed to Gunga Singh, and Sheoghoolam Deechet. These men made a great stir about the matter, and the Koormee, the murderer, got off. After this the Nawaub issued a proclamation that the Officers of the 41st were to be obeyed in every respect, seeing that they had expelled the English.

Verbal orders were frequently passed in matters of great import. The 41st N. I. prevented the killing of cows, and the lading of oxen with refuse, ordering that such matter was to be loaded and taken off on donkies. The rule of the sepoys became stronger than ever: the Nawaub was a puppet in their hands.

Soon after the evacuation, if not during the siege, of the Fort, the Nawaub established a system of "Octroi," upon every article going into or out of the City; the proceeds of this tax and of the Abkarree of the City went to his own private purse. Every article of food, with the exception of wheat and ghee, (and these were at first taxed, but the sepoys not approving of it, the tax was remitted,) and every description of merchandize had to pay a certain duty. On articles of small value, such as wood, ooplahs, (peat,) four cowries in the pice was charged; thus, if the load was worth a rupee, a duty of one anna was charged upon it at the Gate of the City. On articles of value, seven per cent. was taken. The trade in iron from Chandosee, sugar and cotton from Khasgunje, and Huldee from Shahjehanpoor, was very brisk.

The prices of every article doubled and trebled, except wheat, and the exportation of this was prohibited. At the time of the outbreak it is computed that there were 12 lakhs of cotton manufactures in the City; a good deal of this was sold at high prices in the District, and when the British reoccupied the country, and before the influx of fresh cotton manufactures, the large traders in these articles made immense fortunes by the sale of, and the high prices laid on, cotton cloths of all descriptions.

The average income from the duties imposed on all articles of trade averaged above Rs. 500 a day, or at the rate of 2 lakhs a year. The newspapers of the time show an income on some days above Rs. 1,700. Every thing was taxed. The vegetable market in the City was farmed out for Rs. 200 (£20) a year. The Octroi of Kumalgunje, a little town about ten miles east of the City, was farmed for Rs. 700 a year; the contractor realizing the duties at the same rate as that imposed on articles going into and out of Furruckabad. The same rule obtained throughout every town in the District.

The proceeds from all, except Furruckabad and Kumalgunje, went to the sepoys, who paid themselves arrears of pay, &c.

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This duty on articles appears not to have caused the slightest vexation or annoyance to the people at large; in fact it was taken, as a matter of course, as the most, in fact the only, equitable tax that could be imposed: it was little felt by the people, and brought a large revenue to the Government. Under the British Rule such a revenue would be doubled and trebled from the immense increase of trade of every description. Trade with foreign parts, with the exception of the trade mentioned above, was almost entirely closed: still this revenue amounted to a large sum.

The arrangement for the sale of spirituous liquors and drugs, appears to have failed.

The spirit shops were farmed out separately, but the profits realized were hardly one-half of those realized now. The City farmer certainly paid what he paid to the English Government, as likewise did the drug vendor; but both absconded after a time, and this part of the revenue, which was likewise allotted to the Nawaub, was of little value. Spirit shops there were throughout the District, but the profits from this branch of the revenue were nothing, compared to that realized by the British Government. The Nawaub obtained a large quantity of opium from the Government stores when they were plundered; this was sold for his benefit. The cultivation of the poppy was interdicted—why, is not exactly known, except that the Nawaub wished to sell to advantage the large stores he had obtained.

The Ferry arrangements appear to have been left out of consideration; nothing can be learnt respecting them further than that the soldiers exercised their own power, and did what they pleased at the Ghâts. As to the repairs of the roads, such a thing was not thought of.

The rule of the Nazims was, as has been stated, tyrannical. Mohsun Alee Khan was a great drunkard; he was a brave man in his way, but useless as a Governor. Common report stated that he was invaluable, and this was one of the reasons, if not the only reason, why he was appointed Nazim. A battle, which will be spoken of hereafter, and in which he was wounded, dissipated this vain delusion. Mohsun Alee was unable to collect the rents; neither the Ranee of Tirwa, or Chowdhry Jyechund would pay a fraction; he was consequently removed, and one Thakoor Panday, a Soobadar of the 41st, was appointed in his room, and that Division made over to him and to the soldiery, to realize the rents as best they could. Previous to the removal of the Nazim Mohsun Alee, he (the Nazim) had a pitched battle, with Chowdhry Jyechund, in which the latter came off victorious: this fight took place on the 15th October at Bishengurh, a very strong Fort belonging to the Chowdhry.

He had a second fight near Secunderpoor, on the Grand Trunk Road, with a party of sepoys returning from Dehli. He heard that they had much plunder with them, which he wished to possess. But he was defeated in his attack, and by a wound he received in the fight lost all the fair fame he had enjoyed of invulnerability.

The Nawaub appears to have received little or nothing from his Nazims in the way of revenue. These Governors either spent the same upon their troops, or nominally having done so, placed the proceeds in their own private coffers.

Ahmud Yar Khan realized his rents at the cannon's mouth. One Village, Rohilla, in the Mohomdabad District, would not pay up; he accordingly proceeded there, and fired three shots into the village. This brought the Zemindars to their senses, and they paid up; but in addition they paid a fine of Rs. 100 for each shot!

Now comes on the scene:—The Collector Thakoor Panday, an individual whose greatest forte was in drinking bhung, of which he took an immense quantity, and in eating *pehra*, (a native sweetmeat.) He was likewise big in words. His proclamation, when appointed "Collector," is worth recording:—

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"Let it be known that to-day Thakoor Panday is Collector. Let all the umlah, the rich and poor, come to me: if any one goes to any other Hakim, (*i. e.* Authority) than to me, he will be fined Rs. 100. If a man files a petition before me, he must pay a Nuzzur (present) of Rs. 5: if he will not pay it, he will be put in the Quarter Guard."

(The purwannah, which accompanied this, is in the Magistrate's Office, Futtehgurh.)

He had a seal: engraved on it was—"the seal of the Royal Collectory Court, by order of Hunnooman-jee."

This worthy heard that a Tehseeldar had turned out a Putwaree, (village accountant.) The Putwaree told his story plaintively, and the Tehseeldar was abused and fined.

It will be recollected that the "Collector" was placed in the room of Mohsun Alee Khan, at the desire of Captain Gunga Singh, and Sheoghoolam Deechet, in order that the Eastern Division might be made to pay up its revenue. Well, the Collector determined to be severe; so he issued a new system and rate for dustucks, (summons.) If a man would not pay, then were to be issued upon him these kinds of summons:—

| | |
|---|---|
| The dustuck of the Collector, ... ... ... ... | Rs. 100 |
| The dustuck of a Sowar, ... ... ... ... | „ 10 |
| Ditto of a foot Soldier, ... ... ... ... ... | „ 5 |

The City people began to fly: his tyranny was excessive, and he was an arrant knave, and a great fool.

An attempt has been made to give a general outline of the Civil administration of the Nawaub of Furruckabad after the departure of the English. Let us now take a short glance at the Military arrangements which obtained, and the feuds and fights which took place during the same period.

The Seetapoor mutineers, *viz.* the 41st N. I., and a Levy raised at that Station, styled "Ghalas," and to whom Feeroze Shah gave the designation of the "10th Regiment," because they had taken the standards of the 10th N. I. during the month of June, with some local Horse. Under Agha Hossein, were the regular Troops of the Nawaub.

*Besides these he had newly-raised Levies, as follows:—*

1st Regiment of Nujeebs, under Sheobratee Khan.
2nd Ditto ditto, „ Asghur Alee Khan, styled the "Hyderees," on account of their bravery.
3rd Ditto ditto, „ styled the "Bumarons," or skilful marksmen.
4th Ditto ditto, „ called the "Allee Ghol," composed of men of all classes, castes, and ages.
5th Ditto ditto, „ styled the "Shahabadee Regiment," principally raised with men from the town of Shahabad.
6th Ditto ditto, called "Mahomed Meer Khan's."

*Cavalry, as follows, newly raised:—*

1st Regiment, Shib Singh's.
2nd Ditto, Shah Noor Khan's.
3rd Ditto, Ahmud Yar Khan's.
4th Ditto, Wulleedad Khan's, (not the Malaghur man.)
5th Ditto, Mohsun Alee Khan's.

The pay of the sepoys of the Seetapoor Force was Rs. 12-8-0, and of the Sowars, Rs. 40 a month. Captain Gunga Singh, Sheoghoolam Deechet, and Agha Hossein, received Rs. 400,—1,000, and 500 a month, respectively.

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The nominal pay of the new Levies was Rs. 7 a month, but they seldom, if ever, got full pay; it was the general custom to give them two or three times a month, at the rate of one anna a day, for current expenses. These new Levies nominally numbered from 6 to 700 men, but one-half were never present on pay day; they presented themselves and clamoured for their rights.

Their Commandants got Rs. 150 a month; and the Captains, over 100 men, (Tumandars,) Rs. 30 per mensem. There was a third Grade of Officer, styled "Oolasdar," who received Rs. 15 a month.

The Seetapoor Force numbered, horse and foot, about 2,200; but Agha Hossein increased the number of his Cavalry very greatly.

The Seetapoor mutineers appeared to have kept up all the forms and customs established by their English Officers. Sunday, for instance, was always a holiday; they would have no parade on that day; they compelled the Nawaub to pay them, (that is to say, when he had the money; and when he had not, they paid themselves by imposing fines on this or that rich man, or village,) regularly, according to the dates fixed for issue of pay by the English Government.

The Nawaub had about 200 newly-raised Artillery men, who received per man Rs. 6 a month. His Artillery numbered some 24 guns, of large and small calibre; these were distributed between the Nazims and himself. It does not appear that he cast any guns, but he made a quantity of ammunition at the Workshops in the Fort.

His Levies appeared to have been well armed. A species of weapon, (a formidable instrument,) called a Gharrasah, was in much use; these were carried along with the musket and sword, which each man had.

The blunderbuss too was much in vogue; it was styled a "Shair-bachcha," (Child of the Tiger,) from its destructive properties. Though sufficiently armed, the new Levies appear to have been so badly paid and disciplined that not a man would move when ordered out on a foray, unless he got a certain sum for expenses by the way; thus a foot soldier always got, on these occasions, R. 1; a sowar, Rs. 2; and to each man were given 10 bullets and powder in proportion. As to a Magazine or Commissariat, the thing was not thought of, except when the regular Troops, *i. e.* the Seetapoor Force, marched out. The new Levies and the Artillery were continually exercised on Parade by the Officers of the Seetapoor Force. The Force was divided; a portion being located with each Nazim, and a portion in and about the City of Furruckabad.

When Bakht Khan arrived from Dehli after the capture of that City, he brought 4 Regiments of Infantry, a Regiment of Cavalry, and seven guns with him. He remained till the 25th December with the Nawaub; his men formed part of the Force sent against the British at Puttialee. There was a Zemindar in the District, who exercised much sway in the Eastern and Southern portions of the District;—Pokhur Singh. This large Zemindar had a splendid Castle at Thutteea; there he revelled in the delights of being lord of all he surveyed, and much more too. His power for the time was great; he dispossessed and usurped authority in every direction that he could; he had newly-raised Levies, each with a separate uniform; he had guns, at the outbreak, and made one, and bought two others for Rs. 900. Powder he made in quantities inside his fort. This man was the prince of robbers; he plundered on every direction, and was present at Cawnpoor during the fearful scenes enacted at that Station. Report says that he is dead. The Nawaub's Troops encountered the English Forces four times; first at Kunouj on the 23rd October, then at Khassgunje, and at Puttialee, and finally at Khodagunje on the 2nd January, where a part of the 41st, (the new Levy) and the troopers of Agha Hossein, disputed the passage of the Kalee Nuddee. At this last battle the renowned Thakoor Panday was killed, with some 300 of the Rebel army. The British Forces entered Futtehgurh on Sunday, the 3rd January 1858. It is a difficult task to discover what was the

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real feeling of the people at large during this rebel Nawaub's reign. To unveil their deeply-hidden thoughts is almost an impossibility. Every man is now a well-wisher to the British Government; but, perhaps, a short exposition of the behaviour and conduct of the people at large may enable us to form an appropriate opinion on this weighty subject. In the commencement of the Nawaub's reign, plunder, rapine, and every description of villainy was rife; but through the exertions of the Nawaub, who appears to have done his best to rule well, and by the severe punishment and exaction of the Nazirs, some sort of order was effected. Amongst the classes most conspicuous for their lawlessness and utter contempt of all authority, may be enumerated the Puthans of Kaemgunje, Shumshabad, Mhow, and the Gailwar and Gour Thakoors; the Jhojhas, (a caste of Hindoos converted, centuries ago, to Mahommedanism,) and Bhuttees, (Puthans,) immigrants from Bhutteeana. In June there was a tremendous battle between the Jhojhas, Bhuttees, on one side, and the Gailwars, Gours, and Nykombs, Thakoors, on the other. The former possess some 24 villages in the Pergunnah of Bhojepoor; but being men of predatory and lawless natures, attempted to oust the Koormees, and to usurp all authority in the Pergunnah. In this squabble a Gailwar Thakoor was killed; upon this the great Thakoor clans of Gour, Gailwar, and the Nykomb, collected an immense force, and plundered and burnt the property and villages of their opponents. This was a very renowned affair, and is much spoken of by all classes at the present moment. The Nawaub was powerless in the matter. After this the Gailwar and Gour Thakoors plundered on their own account.

About the close of July, these intestine fights were brought to an end, that is, they did not take place on such a grand scale as formerly. Affrays and plundering were rife during the whole period of the administration of the Nawaub.

On the Grand Trunk Road, no traveller could travel with safety, particularly near Chubramow and Jagnua-ka-Talab, (or the Tank of Jagnua.) The latter place has a very wide celebrity, as being the gathering place of all the bad characters and lawless spirits of this and other Districts. The Futtehgurh and Shahjehanpoor Road too was particularly unsafe. The strong oppressed the weak; and who were the strong?—the Thakoors and the Puthan of Kaemgunje. Pokhur Singh alone forcibly possessed himself of 64 villages.

It will thus be seen that fiery spirits were not displeased at the turn which affairs had taken. They were gainers by the change; but the great traders in cloth, grain, the vendors of English manufactures of every description, the indigo planters, and traders in indigo seed, all the small traders, except perhaps the makers of fire-arms and other munitions of war, and the Sonars, (silversmiths,) were decidedly losers by, and deplored the change of Government. There were certain classes, such as small retailers of grain and other stores, (Purchunias,) vendors of vegetables, fruit; carpenters, druggists, tobaccoo vendors, and the like, who cared little what was the Government; Mahommedan, Hindoo, or English, so long as they sold their commodities, and were not disturbed. There is little doubt that the change was unfavorable, and against the wishes of many of the quieter classes of landholders. They were frequently ousted; their lands were left uncultivated. Why?—because the cultivators not being able to get the necessary advances for seed, &c. from the money-lenders, took to the road, a very profitable living. The Khureef harvest of 1857 was good, in so far as the produce from each acre was plentiful; but many broad acres were left uncultivated. The same may be said for the Rubbee, or Spring harvest. There was one class of men who, doubtless, cursed the change of Government;—the cultivators of potatoes. This article of food is very largely produced in this District, but during 1857 the potato crop was a complete failure. One great reason for this was the great demand for cattle by the sepoys for the transport of their ill-gotten gains to their various homes.

The demand was so great at one time, and the distress so wide spread, that the news-writers of the day mention the fact; but perhaps in this matter they were not much worse off than now, when the demand for carriage is

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certainly as great if not greater, but then each sepoy seized for himself: there was no redress—the sepoy was the real "master."

It may be inferred that the people at large were not desirous of the subversion of the British Power. All or most of the customs and laws in force under the English Government were upheld by the Nawaub. Instance the Civil Courts: the system in force under his reign differed not in the slightest from that which now obtains. Executions of decrees were served in the same manner: the procedure in the Revenue and Criminal Department was the same. Stamps were abolished, it is true; but there was a good reason: they had been destroyed and plundered, but a fee of 8 annas (one shilling) was charged on every plaint. The 10 per cent. for fees taken by the Mooftees upon their decrees, and one anna in the rupee upon the execution of the same, were heavier taxes than that imposed by the British Government by the compulsory purchase of Stamped paper. One great difference under the Nawaub's rule, and that of the British Government, was the difference in the position of the Tehseeldars: under the former, he was a Judge as well as an administrative Officer; under the latter, he is merely an administrative Officer, and cannot decide any case upon his own authority.

If there had been any great grievance to the people from our rule, surely during the seven months that the Nawaub held the reins of Government, or at all events nominally held them, changes would have been made on these points which pressed heavily on the people. But such was not the case; and previous to the fall of Dehli, there were not many who believed that the English would return to this country with redoubled power. The fall of that stronghold made a great change in men's mind, and particularly in the Nawaub's: but as it was more the rule of the rough, lawless Soldier than of the Statesman, it may not be fair to infer that our rules and ordinances, and general routine, are good, because the Nawaub followed them. They may have been taken, as no others could be devised, on account of the exigency of the times, and the little administrative faculties possessed by the Nawaub himself or his advisers.

The Octroi duties, however, shew that a large Revenue may be realized from this District, and probably in the same way throughout India, without the slightest murmur from the people, and without apparently the slightest trouble. The newspapers of the time do not contain a single line of animadversion on its introduction, and it is spoken of at the present time as a very equitable tax.

During the reign of the Nawaub, some notable personages arrived and remained at Futtehgurh. Amongst the first, came Bukht Khan from Dehli. This man exercised a good deal of power, and was cordially detested by all classes; he was styled "Kum-bukht," (the Unfortunate,) and wherever he stirred out, he was abused by the lower classes. He appears to have been a great boaster, and fond of big words. After him, Khooshak Sooltan came flying from the scene of his hopes, and fears, and joys. Then arrived Feroze Shah, another Prince of the Dehli line. After him Wulleedad Khan, and the Rajah of Mynpoory. The Princes Khooshak Sooltan and Feroze Shah remained at Futtehgurh, till the 2nd January 1858, when they fled with the Nawaub at the approach of the British Forces after the battle of Khodagunje. Appa Sahib likewise visited Futtehgurh before the fall of Dehli; but a dispute on matters of ceremony having arisen between him and the Nawaub, he left the place abruptly for Dehli.

The 3rd of January 1858 saw the restoration of the British Supremacy on the Western side of the Ganges. Tranquillity was not restored to the Eastward for some time afterwards. The English Troops were to have marched to Lucknow across the Ramgunga viâ Sandee, but their progress was opposed at that river at a place called Bichpooreea. They returned and went viâ Cawnpoor. On the 17th or 18th January, the rebels having come down from Bareilly and Budaon, and having crossed the Ganges at Soorajpoor, encamped at Thannah Khar. Their leader was the Nazim Neeaz Alee Khan of Budaon.

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Brigadier Hope was sent against them, and fought them before Shumshabad. The defeat was complete ; their baggage, guns, &c., all taken.

The enemy later took up a strong position at Kankur on the borders of the Shahjehanpoor District, counterminous with this District.

On the 7th April the British Forces again marched out under Brigadier Seaton, and gave the rebels a most complete defeat at Bangaon, near Kankur.

The Tehseelee of Imrutpoor, one of the Divisions of this District, was now nominally re-occupied; but it was not till May that the native Officials could reside there with safety, there being constant raids on the part of the enemy. On the 28th May a large body of rebels, numbering 3,000, of all sorts and kinds, moved quietly through this District from South to North ; they came from Shairgurh on the Jumna.

After plundering and burning what they could, and after having laid siege to the Kaemgunje Tehseelee for some three hours, they moved off, and crossed the Ganges at Soorajpoor Ghât. Appendices are attached, showing the names of Europeans and others who lost their lives during the outbreak at this Station, or during their flight from it; also the names of those who behaved well and nobly towards the English in the time of their distress.

This Narrative has been written during an exciting time, and under a heavy pressure of current official work: it is hoped, that errors in style or composition, will be overlooked.

C. R. LINDSAY,

*Offg. Magistrate.*

*December 20th*, 1858.

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*Names of Persons in the Fort at the commencement of the Siege.*

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| Colonel and Mrs. Smith, (10th N. I.,)... | Massacred at Cawnpoor. |
| Colonel Goldie, and 3 daughters, ... | Ditto ditto, and one daughter killed at Singeerampoor. |
| Colonel T. Tucker, 3 children, Miss Tucker and Humphreys, ... | Colonel Tucker killed in the Fort, the rest massacred at Cawnpoor. |
| Major and Mrs. Robertson, and child, and Miss Thompson, ... | All killed at Singeerampoor, excepting Major Robertson, who died of his wound at Khurar. |
| Major Munro, (10th N. I.,) ... | Killed by a round shot, near Bithoor. |
| Major Phillott, (ditto,) ... | Killed at Singeerampoor. |
| Captain Phillimore, (ditto,) ... | Ditto at Cawnpoor. |
| Captain Vibart, (2nd Cavalry,) ... | Ditto ditto. |
| Lieutenant Simpson, (10th N. I.,) ... | Ditto at Singeerampoor. |
| Lieutenant Fitzgerald, and child, (10th N. I.,) ... | Ditto ditto. |
| Lieutenant Swetenham, (10th N. I.,) ... | Ditto at Cawnpoor; wounded severely at Singeerampoor. |
| Lieutenant Henderson, (ditto,) ... | Ditto at Cawnpoor. |
| Ensign Eckford, (ditto,) ... | Ditto at Singeerampoor. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill, 2 children, and maid servant, ... | Ditto at Cawnpoor. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Lowis, and 3 children, ... | Ditto ditto. But Lowis drowned near Bithoor. |
| Doctor and Mrs. Heathcote, and two children, ... | Killed at Cawnpoor. |
| Doctor and Mrs. Maltby, ... | Ditto ditto. |
| Mr. E. James, (Asst. Opium Agent,) ... | Ditto ditto. |
| Mr. T. H. Churcher, (Indigo Planter,) | Ditto at Singeerampoor. |
| Mr. D. G. Churcher, (Ditto,) ... | Escaped, with Major Robertson, to Kurhar. |
| Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Jones, and child, (Planter,) ... | Mr. J. killed in Fort; the others taken prisoners from Singeerampoor, and blown from guns by the Nawaub of Futtehgurh. |
| Mr. G. S. Jones, (Planter;) ... | Escaped to Tehra. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland, 2 daughters, and a boy, (Merchant,) ... | Mr. S. and one daughter killed at Singeerampoor; Mrs. S., one daughter, and son, taken prisoners and blown from guns. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Jons, and 4 children, (Engineer,) ... | Killed at Singeerampoor. |
| Mr. Jim, his son-in-law, ... | Ditto ditto. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Fisher, and child, (Chaplain,) ... | Two latter drowned at Singeerampoor; and former killed at Cawnpoor, having escaped from Singeerampoor to Colonel Smith's boat. |
| Conductor and Mrs. Ahern, (Clothing Agency,) ... | Former killed in the Fort, latter at Cawnpoor. |
| Conductor and Mrs. Rohan, and 9 children, (G. C. Agency,) ... | Former killed at Singeerampoor, the rest at Cawnpoor. |
| Sergeant Roach, wife, and 2 children, (Road Overseer,) ... | Killed at Cawnpoor. |

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| | |
|---|---|
| Sergeant and Mrs. Redman, and 2 children, (10th N. I.,) ... | Killed at Singeerampoor. |
| Sergeant and Mrs. Best, and 3 children, | Ditto at Cawnpoor. |
| Mr. Donald, Senior, Mr. Donald, Junior, (Planters, from Budaon, ...) | Ditto ditto. |
| Mr. Anderson, and Mother, (Clothing Agency,) ... | Ditto at Singeerampoor. |
| Mr. Wixer, Senior, Mr. Wixer, Junior, (Band, 10th N. I.) | Ditto at Cawnpoor. |
| Drum Major Knowles, and son, (10th N. I.,) ... | Escaped. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Boxoi, (Pensioner,) ... | Killed at Cawnpoor. |
| Miss Sturt, ... | Ditto ditto. |
| Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, and 2 children,... | Ditto ditto. |
| 5 Enoch Burge, and family, (Native Christians,) | Escaped; behaved excellently. |
| 6 Dhowkulpurshad, ditto, (Native Christians,) | Taken prisoners and blown from guns. |

C. R. LINDSAY,
*Magistrate.*

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To

C. R. LINDSAY, Esquire,
*Futtehgurh.*

Sir,

According to your request, herewith I beg to hand you a brief Statement of what I know of the Manjees and boatmen, who were engaged by the Europeans of Futtehgurh previous to the Mutiny. I have also mentioned the names of a few men, who are deserving of rewards for their valuable services and good conduct.

With a few exceptions, most of the boats provided had been seized by Colonel Smith, (10th N. I.) and others, and the Manjees and boatmen secured from whereever they could be found; and, as far as I recollect, I believe upwards of 20 boats had been collected, provisioned, and anchored under the Fort walls, and along the village of Hooseinpoor. Most, in fact all, the boatmen were advanced very largely, and still larger sums of money were promised them as rewards, with a view to prevent their deserting; but this had not the desired effect, for no sooner was the Fort attacked, the boats began gradually to disappear, till only three remained. No. 1, belonging to a native of Bareilly of "Ramghât," name unknown to me, who, with his son, was killed opposite Singeerampoor. No. 2 was owned by "Satawan," a tailor by profession, but the boatmen were from the village of Nowkhurra, six or eight miles down the river, on the opposite shore. I am sorry to say, I am not acquainted with the names of the owner, nor the boatmen of Boat No. 3, for all had left some days before us.

The two men of Boat No. 2 left us on our approaching their village, under pretence of getting others to assist them. We were consequently obliged to abandon the boat, and take all who were on board into Boat No. 1. Considerable delay was thus caused, which enabled the rebels to bring up a gun to bear on us, and several round shots were fired, but without effect. Two ferry boats full of sepoys were also sent after us, but ere they could come up we had got the start of them. But from the shallowness of the channel, and want of good management, we were constantly sticking, which the sepoys observing, they determined to follow us up, and after being reinforced by two more boat-loads of men, they continued their pursuit by land; but finding we gained ground, they got into two large boats and kept up the chase.

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The rudder of Boat No. 1 having been damaged, we were unable to proceed; so were obliged to put to shore to repair it. Here the villagers annoyed us much with their matchlocks, killing the son of the Manjee of Boat No. 1. However we succeeded in repairing the rudder, and started again at about 3 P. M., but we had scarcely proceeded ¼ of a mile, when Boat No. 3 run aground, and the two boats above referred to, with the sepoys masked by the Chupper, were observed approaching. Every haste was made to get off, but our efforts were in vain, the boats coming within 20 yards of us brought to our view a multitude of bristling bayonets; a heavy fire was instantly opened upon us. Several of our party were killed at once, or mortally wounded. Major Robertson, who had command of the boat, seeing no hope of escape left, begged the ladies to come into the water, rather than fall into the hands of the sepoys. They, one and all, leaped into the river, with their helpless children and babes; some were instantly shot, and others were carried down by the strength of the current, and drowned. The boat was boarded, and the unfortunate wounded and old, who were unable to move, were cut to pieces; and the few who were left in the water, after the boat was captured, were carried prisoners to the Nawaub of Furruckabad, who, sad to relate, after having kept them under close confinement for a time, gave them up to the blood-thirsty sepoys, for an ungrounded suspicion of their having invited the Europeans to rescue them. They were in all about 30 Europeans and Native Christians, who were taken and most barbarously murdered on the Parade ground, and their bodies thrown in a dry well within a few yards of the spot, where the bloody deed had been done.

Boat No. 1, having cleared the bank, escaped; but in passing under Singeerampoor, a heavy fire of grape and musketry from two guns were poured into her. The only Manjee and three Europeans were killed, and several others wounded severely. I, having escaped with a slight wound from Boat No. 3, managed to swim down the river, and reached Boat No. 1, which had run aground seven or eight miles below the place of attack, at about 9 P. M., and found, as above stated, the Manjee and three Europeans, (*viz.* Mr. Rohan, Miss Goldie, and a child,) had been killed, and several others wounded. The tiller of the rudder had also been smashed; we repaired it tolerably, and continued our voyage, and on the following day, (4th July 1857,) reached the village of Tehra, opposite Koosumkhore, where we grounded, and were unable to extricate ourselves from the sand bank. The villagers of Tehra observing our distressing position, came forward, assisted us out, previously swearing by the Ganges, not to molest us. Colonel Smith, finding the men well disposed, and friendly, determined to take advantage of the opportunity of engaging a crew for the boat, and a guard. The sum of Rs. 2,200 was agreed to be paid for six boatmen, and eight or ten matchlock-men, and it was proposed to stop there for the night, and to leave early next day. The boat being excessively crowded, there was little room for rest; I therefore left it, and went up to the village to rest, and get some food, invited by Bheema Singh, and Bhabootee Singh, Thakoors. During my absence the inhabitants of Chouchpoor, a neighbouring village, becoming aware of the presence of our party, collected towards it, and observing our helpless condition and the inability of the Tehra men to afford us much assistance, conspired to plunder us. Colonel Smith, however, saw their intentions, and frustrated their plans by ordering an immediate start, previously sending for me; but being perfectly exhausted, and in great suffering from the wound, and the previous prolonged exposure, I was unable to rejoin, and the boat went off, leaving me in the village.

The Tehra people had received Rupees 1,100, in part payment of the amount agreed upon; but the sudden start in consequence of the arrival and designs of the Chouchpoor villagers, only three of the boatmen and none of the matchlock-men were in time to go on board. The Tehra people were deprived of upwards of Rs. 600 of the money advanced. I was concealed in Tehra for upwards of a month by Balgobind, Brahmin, who on several occasions saved me from being murdered, and supplied me daily with food, and such clothing as his means admitted of, and attended me most assiduously, never

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varying in his kindly manner to me in the slightest degree, during the time I was under his protection. Subsequently he assisted me in escaping with safety to Dhurrumpoor, where Mr. Probyn and his family and Mr. Edwards were concealed by Hurdeo Buksh, and along with whom I escaped to Cawnpoor, where on our arrival we learnt the sad fate of Colonel Smith and his unfortunate party, who had been taken prisoners by the Nana, and most barbarously massacred.

The following is a list of the Villages who fired upon the fugitives on their way down the river:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Arjoonpoor, | Subbasee, | Singeerampoor, |
| Gurreeah, | Gianpoor, | Guddunpoor, |
| Soonderpoor, | Seetapoor, | Boosowrah, |

Manpoor, Koosumkhore, and a few others, the names of which are unknown to me.

I have, &c.

GAVIN S. JONES.

FUTTEHGURH:
*The 19th May* 1858.

FUTTEHGURH, 18TH MARCH 1858.

To

GEO. B. ROBERTSON, ESQUIRE,
*Edinburgh.*

DEAR SIR,

Your kind letter, dated the 7th January, has been duly received through Messrs. Gilmore, Mackilligin and Co., Calcutta; and I will now narrate all that befel your poor Brother, and our weak Garrison that were compelled to abandon the Fort of Futtehgurh.

After having held the Fort for ten days, during which many of our assailants were killed, our weakened band were compelled to evacuate it on the 4th of July, at about 2 A. M., when our party, consisting of about 30 able men, were told off to three boats. My Brother and self being the party, of which Major Robertson had charge. We had not however proceeded far down the river, when the villagers commenced annoying us with their matchlocks, and assembled in vast numbers on the shore. When so engaged the rudder of Colonel Smith's boat was injured by its accidentally falling on a sand bank, whence we were obliged to push in for shore for the purpose of getting it repaired. Shortly after our landing, the villagers threatened us with a charge; but before they could carry their design into execution, a small party from each of our boats joining in one column, made a desperate rush against their great numbers, and drove them back to their very habitations, whence we thought it most prudent to return to our boats. As we had no boatmen to manage them, Colonel Smith considered it advisable, if possible, to procure some, and accordingly sent a servant on shore for that purpose, which caused considerable delay. Nothing of much consequence just at this time took place, and it being now several hours since the servant was despatched, and he had not returned, it was deemed the best course to start without him. While we were arranging to do so, we were surprised at hearing the report of two guns, which had been brought to bear upon us from the opposite shore, and now continued to keep up a brisk fire upon our devoted

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band; but when we had got fairly out of their reach, they next continued to approach us by filling a large boat with armed men, and floating down the stream: before leaving, we were obliged to abandon Colonel Smith's boat, and got into the other two. At this time a very strong wind was blowing, and having no boatmen to assist us, our boat ran upon a sand bank, about 20 or 30 yards from the shore, and all our endeavours to get her out of this dangerous situation proved fruitless. The enemy taking advantage of our perilous position, soon assembled in considerable numbers on the adjacent shore, and commenced a sharp fire of musketry, being assisted by the villagers in perpetrating this cowardly massacre. Against such an overwhelming force as we now had to contend with, our little band, not now numbering more than 13, having by this time had to mourn the loss of several, (amongst whom was my elder Brother, who was killed by a musket shot in his chest,) it was impossible to resist longer, and we were under the necessity of exposing ourselves to their heavy fire while trying to extricate the boat. It was here that your poor Brother was wounded whilst assisting to get her off, and disabled from further exertion; he floated down the stream, and managed to keep swimming till I overtook him. Soon after this every soul threw themselves overboard: when nearly all were drowned, and I grieve much to say that I saw poor Mrs. Robertson, her little girl, and Miss Thompson amongst the number, who shared the same fate, as the rest of our unfortunate countrymen and countrywomen, of whom there were several amongst the victims. There were three women and a child from our boat taken prisoners to the Nawaub of Furruckabad, who, it is said, treated them kindly for a short time, but ultimately had them blown away from guns, along with a great many Native Christians, who had also been seized at Futtehgurh and in its neighbourhood.

I had fortunately secured an oar, which enabled me to come up with Major Robertson while he was in the river, and which helped to sustain us while swimming for so long a time, (from 4 o'clock P. M. till near midnight,) when being quite exhausted, we made for the shore, where we lay till morning, when we were discovered by some villagers, who took us to their homes and treated us very kindly.

When Mr. Probyn left for Cawnpoor, we might have gone with his party, as we were not above six miles from the place where he was secreted; but all attempts to get your poor Brother to accompany them were unavailing, and when he heard of Mr. Probyn's intention to leave, he would grasp my hand, saying, "Churcher, will you leave me? I cannot blame you, if you do." I might possibly have persuaded him to go, but that his wound was so painful to him that he would not allow himself to be touched. The ball had passed through his thigh joint, and shattered the bone. Shortly before his death he suffered a good deal from dysentery, or some disease that resembled it. He died late in the evening of the 17th September, and his remains were interred by me the following morning, and a small mound of earth raised over them. I recollect his having once told me, before his decease, that he had Government paper to the amount of Rs. 70,000, which had been destroyed. I saved his ring, a likeness of himself, and one of Miss Thompson's, all which I made over to Captain W. Tod Browne, and Mr. Power, the Magistrate of Futtehgurh; and hope, in due time, to hear that they have reached you safely. I did, what little lay in my power, to alleviate your poor Brother's sufferings, and got such simple remedies for him as the villagers are in the habit of using; but he seemed quite broken-hearted, and considering the bodily pain he was also constantly suffering, I think his death was a merciful release to him, for if he had continued to live on in the state he had been for some time, he could never have escaped by any thing short of a miracle: for a month or so, after his decease, the mutineers form Futtehgurh were constantly going about the villages on the Oude side of the river to collect the land revenue for the Nawaub of Furruckabad, and many solitary days and weeks did I pass in sugar-cane fields, which, if even the villagers had found out, I could hardly have escaped, for the Nuwab offered a

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reward for my head: but I defied him, and looked up to a Greater than him as my Guardian and Protector.

With much sympathy, I remain,
My dear Sir,
Yours most faithfully,

DAVID G. CHURCHER.

P. S. It was not until the 4th January 1858, that I joined the Commander-in-Chief's Camp at Futtehgurh; first six months after our escape from the Fort, that I was out of danger.

D. G. C.

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After our abandoning the Fort of Futtehgurh, the villagers that first commenced the attack on our boats, were Urjoonpoor, Gianpoor, and Soonderpoor, villages across the river.

The people of these three villages mustered 4 to 500 armed men, and kept a sharp fire on our boats. It was here that Mungul Singh, one of the leaders of this gang, was wounded; besides him many other Zemindars of the above named villages had lent an hand in this cowardly massacre.

After being delayed opposite these villages for three to four hours, we again managed to get all our boats together, and made a second start, and left unmolested for a short distance when the attack commenced again, joined with a number of other villages.

*Sixteen Villages across the River that had assisted in the Massacre.*

Urjoonpoor, Gianpoor, } Sandee.
Soonderpoor.
Chutapoor.
Russoolpoor.
Suntookpoor.

Thirrak Purwah.
Bhoosoura.
Surrica Kuttiaree.
Bosickpoor.
Nurrowta Kuttiaree.
Suya Kuttiaree.

Muttapoor, of Urjunpoor.
Manpoor.
Guddunpoor.
Gurreea, of Bhoosoura.

Mungul Singh, of Gianpoor.
Chutoo Singh, of Subbulpoor.
Thirra, and his sons, of Thirrah Purwah.
Banka, of Tillia.
Marajaha, of Guddunpoor.
Mahurman, of Surrica.

Chutoo Singh, of Subbulpoor, a village on our side of the river, received a reward of Rs. 200 for taking, as a show, all the Europeans' heads he could bring together to the Nawaub of Furruckabad.

Banka, of Tillia, received from Colonel Smith, in the Fort of Futtehgurh, Rs. 500 to take to Hurdeo Buksh to send him 200 armed men, which either one or the other never did.

Thirra Singh, and his sons, are said to have taken a great deal of plunder from our boat.

Mahurman, of Surrica, is reported to have done the same.

Singeerampoor, a village on our side of the river, was crowded with sepoys, and the Nawaub's followers, who had placed their guns to bear upon our boat on the opposite side, from which it appears they are not so much to blame.

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Kasarie, Bohun, and Bhabootee, Zemindars of Manpoor, are said to have dad nothing to do with the plunder and massacre of our boat, and had tried their best to prevent the people of their village, Manpoor, not to have hand in the plunder or aid in the attack; but they refused to listen to the proposal of their Zemindars.

D. G. CHURCHER.

FUTTEHGURH:
14*th July* 1858.

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*List prepared by Messrs. Churcher and Jones.*

*Sheopershad, Jemadar; Mooloo, Durwan;* assisted in provisioning the Fort, and brought in a small supply of ammunition, and were very useful during the siege.

*Sookh Loll, and Munsee, Majees;* assisted in providing us with provisions.

*Gurreeb, Cook;* was most useful and attentive in preparing our food, and serving it to us at the several Bastions, thereby risking his life.

*Jyepal, Sepoy of the* 11*th N. I.;* brought in a supply of sheep, and continued with us till the Fort was evacuated.

*Bhyro Kuhar, (since dead,) of Dawoodnuggur, in the Arrah District;* behaved excellently throughout the rebellion, rendering great assistance in loading our muskets: had two bullets pass through his *pugree.* Accompanied us in our boat, and was last seen trying to save Mr. Jones's child when he was taken prisoner; he subsequently escaped and fell a victim to cholera, the very day he had made arrangements to cross to my assistance, having heard of my escape.

*Choonnee Loll, Brahmin, Jemadar of Mr. Churcher;* was very active throughout the rebellion in assisting us, and was instrumental in providing for the safety of Major Robertson and Churcher, who had escaped to Kurhar from Singeerampoor. Advancing large sums of money to Luljew Singh, Zemindar of Kurhar, and provided them with servants, arms, and clothing.

*Luljew Singh, and other Shareholders of Kurhur;* provided Messrs. Robertson and Churcher, sheltered after they had escaped from Singeerampoor, and protected them till our Troops re-occupied Futtehgurh.

*Balgobind, Brahmin of Tehra;* protected me at the imminent risk of his life for upwards of a month, and was instrumental in preventing the plunder of Colonel Smith's boat by the Chouchpoor villagers when anchored opposite Tehra. I was well fed and clothed during the time I was at Tehra.

*Bhabootee Singh, and Bhana Singh, Thakoors of Tehra;* were the people who took me to Tehra and made me over to Balgobind, by whom I was concealed and protected.

*Gunesh Kuhar, Bearer of Mr. Churcher;* was the first to carry the intelligence of the escape of Mr. Churcher to Agra, to his brother and parents, and ever after was useful in keeping up a regular communication, carrying letters backwards and forwards, thus risking his life.

*Choteh, Chumar, Maroopoor;* concealed Mr. D. Churcher for five days in his house, and conveyed him in safety to the Fort.

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*Hyder Khan, Syce of the late Mr. J. M. Jones;* was very useful in the Fort during the siege, from whence he escaped after it was abandoned. He subsequently fell in the battle of Bangaon whilst in attendance on Mr. Power in the field, leaving an aged widow and an adopted child quite unprovided.

*Laik, Manjee;* at imminent risk to himself conveyed Probyn and family, Edwards and Jones, to Cawnpoor in August 1857. Boat sunk by order of the Authorities, and no compensation given. Besides those enumerated above, there are others worthy of mention.

*Hurdeo Buksh;* the saviour of Messrs. Probyn and Edwards.

*Sheo Buksh Singh, uncle of Hurdeo Buksh;* whose fidelity equals that of his relative.

*Chowdry Jye Chund;* who defeated Mohsun Alee.

*Ranee Gourun, of Tirooa;* whose influence exerted for Government, has been most beneficial for the interests of Government.

C. R. LINDSAY,
*Offg. Magistrate.*

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*List of Government Servants who rendered distinguished service to Government during the Mutiny.*

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There is no one who has borne any active part in this District.

Usghur Hossein, Deputy Inspector of Schools, has been rewarded for saving his records, and the zeal with which he sent news to Agra. Others thus rendered service in the same way as Dabee Purshad, Deputy Collector, Mohummud Saeed, Head Clerk Judge's Office; and Eeshun Chunder Deb, tried to send assistance to Major Robertson, endangered his life by refusing to serve the Nawaub. Kulb Hossein Khan's (Deputy Collector) services have been noticed in the Narrative at length.

C. R. LINDSAY,
*Offg. Magistrate.*

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# APPENDIX.

*The following Decisions, by* Mr. H. D. Robertson, *Deputy Commissioner, for the trial of Rebels, are added as illustrative of the progress of events at Furruckabad.*

No. I.

| *Date of Order.* | *Names of Parties.* | *Nature of Offence.* | *Nature of Punishment.* | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6th November 1858. | Golam Alee Khan, Rebel, Cotwal of Furruckabad. | 1st, Rebellion; 2nd, As being a principal in the murder of the Europeans and Native Christians at Futtehgurh; 3rd, Permitting and encouraging the infliction of indignities on the European Ladies. | To be hung, with confiscation of all his property. | Golam Alee Khan, prior to the outbreak, was Thanadar of Mohumdabad, Zillah Furruckabad. By the Magistrate's orders, in conjunction with the Peshkar, he escorted treasure from the Tehseelee to the Sudder Station, early in June, and was then sent back to his Thanah; when the Europeans retired into the Fort, abandoning his Thanah, he made his appearance in Furruckabad. About the 19th of June, in the Nawaub's name, he was appointed Cotwal of the City, on a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem, by the sepoys of the 41st N. I. The sepoys did not commence their attack on the Fort till the 24th of June, from which date Golam Alee Khan was unremitting in his endeavours to supply the besieging Force with provisions and other necessaries, such as sulphur and ladders for the assault. Every thing that could possibly be done in furthering the views of the Mutineers, was carried out by him. On the 3rd of July, the Europeans abandoned the Fort, and Golam Alee Khan had a considerable share in organizing the pursuit. The Europeans proceeded at first in three boats, but one becoming unmanageable, all were divided between two boats, about 8 A. M. on the 4th July. During this operation the pursuing party kept up a constant fire; some 200 men in boats, now also joined in pursuit. Colonel Smith's boat happened to be considerably ahead of Major Robertson's, when the latter stuck opposite Singhee Rampore, about mid-day on the 4th July; making up to this boat, the sepoys managed to kill or capture all, except three, who escaped by swimming. This pursuing party, accompanied by Golam Alee Khan, consisted of two companies of the 41st, two of the Gulla, (new Levy,) and two |

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guns, with about 150 coolies. Amongst those taken prisoners were Mrs. and Miss Sutherland, with a child; Mrs. Jones, wife of an Indigo Planter, and a child; European child, and native family of Mr. Jones of the Gun Carriage Agency, and apparently one other lady. After the capture of the boat, all the prisoners were at once marched back by the direct road from Singhee Rampore to Furruckabad. During the night, they seem to have halted a short time at a village on the road; Mrs. Sutherland, and Mrs. Jones and child, being wounded and unable to walk, were carried on a charpoy. The heat of an Indian July, must have rendered a march of 14 miles a hard task to delicate ladies, who seem to have been treated harshly by the sepoys when pressing them on. Alee Jan, a sepoy of the 41st Native Infantry, was permitted to separate one lady from the party, and he did not bring her into Futtehgurh till long after the others had arrived. Golam Alee Khan, being present, was responsible for this conduct. The ladies on arriving at the Parade ground, when the 41st were encamped, were detained about two hours, and thence Golam Alee Khan took them to the Nawaub's house in Furruckabad, distant about three miles, which they reached about 11 A. M. on the 5th July. On arriving they were placed in a small out-house ordinarily used for horses, but they do not seem to have been in any way bound. They daily received from the Nawaub's *Zananah* an allowance of gram and barley. Their arrival gave rise to a more pleasing feature in the case. A Native Doctor was sent for to attend the wounded ladies. He was the only person, except Golam Alee Khan and the guard, that ever obtained admittance, and according to his own account was placed under a separate guard to prevent his becoming a medium of correspondence. This may have been the case, for though he was a servant of Tuffuzool Hoosein, Hidayut Aee, Golam Alee Khan, and the sepoys seem to have acted much as they liked. This Native Doctor was last February seized and tried by me, but released in consideration of the attention he had doubtless shown to the wounded ladies. Mrs. Sutherland was wounded by a musket shot; the bullet entered one thigh, passing out through the other. With Mrs. Jones a bullet entering just under the ribs, passed through her body without injuring any vital spot; the same bullet broke her child's arm. Golam Alee Khan through his police had ever since his appointment been very active in apprehending Eurasians and Native Christians. In one house he secured three Eurasians; being a father, mother, and daughter; the last was some 12 to 14 years of age, and being good-looking was taken possession of by the Nawaub. The Eurasians and Native Christians, thus seized, constituted the major portion of those executed on the Parade ground. About a fortnight after the Singhee Rampoor affair, Golam Alee Khan, who had been in constant attendance on the Nawaub, and in conjunction with Hidayut Alee, was still supreme, introduced an English letter into the place where the ladies were confined. This he brought to the Nawaub, and insisted that the execution of the ladies alone would put an end to such correspondence. He is reported to have been in the habit of informing the ladies of their impending fate, when one remarked, "that by killing them, England would not be cleared of Englishmen." At any rate this letter formed the ostensible justification for an execution that had already been determined upon. Some of the witnesses refer to the general impression existing at the time regarding the conduct of the sepoys to the ladies while under their charge. But it is clear that, with the exception of Golam Alee Khan, and occasionally the Native Doctor, the guard most jealously excluded even from the vicinity of the out-house all not of their own number. It is impossible therefore to place much confidence in this stamp of evidence whatever probabilities might exist in its favor, as Indian sepoys under the control of their own impulses alone would hardly be superior to an European soldiery similarly circumstanced. Mrs. Sutherland's wound was much better, when on the morning of the 23rd of July the ladies were placed in a *keranchee* and taken to the Parade ground. Alee Jan, sepoy of the 41st, here interfered, and wished to save the life of the lady he had taken possession of on the march, but was not permitted to do so. The men amongst the prisoners, who consisted entirely of Eurasians and Native Christians, had been confined in a separate portion of the Nawaub's out-houses, and were now

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marched up from another direction. On arriving at the Parade ground, the male prisoners were taken inside the late Mr. Mden's close to the huts, and cut down with tulwars. The women and children were then assembled under the huts, and shot down with grape. All were killed, except Miss Sutherland, who said, "That as the Almighty had protected her, they might do the same." Several witnesses now heard Golam Alee Khan give the order to cut her down, which was accordingly done with tulwars. The bodies, according to some, remained on the spot till 3 P. M.; others state till next morning, when they were thrown into a well, a little behind the huts. Altogether about 22 men, women, and children were killed on this occasion. Amongst these were Dhoukul Pershad, Native Christian, with his family, and a native woman who, though a Mahomedan, was killed in consequence of her son, a Mr. Anderson, being a Christian. Ten days after, this Golam Alee Khan, as Cotwal, attended at a brick-kiln, the execution of Kalay Khan, a loyal sepoy of the 10th N. I., who had accompanied the Europeans. On both occasions, particularly the first, the assemblage of people from the city and surrounding villages is described as having been very great, but no public proclamation on the subject seems to have been issued. All the evidence speaks of these executions as if the prisoners had been blown from guns. But this was not the case. They were killed by discharges of grape. This mode of expression doubtless originates in a false impression, as to the manner in which such executions are carried out; of the sepoys even, none had probably ever actually seen a man blown from a gun, though they had often heard of it, and when they came to try their hands at it themselves the effect of powder alone was probably unknown to them. From this date executions of men supposed to be in correspondence with the English were of frequent occurrence, but Golam Alee Khan's influence now gradually diminished, and in about four months after his first appointment he was imprisoned. On being released he went to his father-in-law's house at Attaeepore, and on the advance of the English Forces fled to Allygurh and Shahabad. The documentary evidence in this case consists chiefly of replies to references in the ordinary decision of disputes during Golam Alee Khan's tenure of office. In this respect the old English-office routine seems to have been maintained. There are a few of the prisoners' notes to the Nawaub, mentioning the successful collection of sulphur and the sums realized by sales of English property; also under his signature a proclamation, levying a tax on butchers with the evident view of winning the good-will of the Hindoos. Notifications to the Nawaub, intimating appointment; and one peculiar order, dated the 19th July, to a certain Ahmed Hoosein Khan in charge of the Mow Gate of the city, commanding him not to admit the fugitive Sowars from Cawnpoor, who had fled in this direction after General Havelock's occupation of that place. These documents are of some importance, as assisting to illustrate the extent of power and influence possessed by Golam Alee Khan. Golam Alee Khan in defence denies all the charge, and states that he was forcibly placed in the Cotwalship under a guard of sepoys. To prove this he rather overreaches himself. In spite of imprisonment, flight, and wanderings, he kept by him what he evidently considers an important document. It is a request made to Tuffuzul Hossein to be relieved of the Cotwalship. It is dated the 25th June 1857, or the day after theFort of Futtehgurh was invested by the sepoys; not till the 16th of July 1857, is it returned to him with an order refusing to grant the request. Had there not been ample proof in other directions, this paper would simply be valuable in shewing the rapidity with which Golam Alee Khan abandoned his Thanah at Mahomdabad to accept the Cotwalship in the city, and that he was supreme Police Officer of the District, when some of the worst features of the rebellion at Futtehgurh were developed. The prisoner, when Cotwal, was decidedly popular with the wealthy Mahajuns and Buniahs. He evidently in an underhand-way tried to protect from the plundering expeditions of the sepoys; when the sepoys, through whose influence he had been appointed, discovered this fact: he was imprisoned. In his defence he has taken advantage of the good-will of many of this wealthy class, whose gratitude enables them to view the rest of his conduct with exemplary charitableness. They all admit that Golam Alee

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Khan was Cotwal of the City. Of such trifling irregularities, however, of the execution of a few English ladies, children, and Native Christians, they know nothing. Probably many of them were present at the time on the Parade ground. But this might be expected, as the natural recognition of a substantial service, the preservation in fact of all their wealth which, had Golam Alee Khan not been Cotwal, they would have been unble to secrete and secure.

The charges against Golam Alee Khan being clearly proved, and the prisoner being "convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects," under atrocious circumstances, I sentence him to be hung by the neck until he be dead, with confiscation of all his property to the State. Golam Alee Khan surrendered himself to the Magistrate of Shahjehanpoor, and was sent here for trial; but not being a "political prisoner," the class referred to in Circular No. 1752 of 1858, I order the sentence to be carried into execution at once. Though in all important points this case is very clear, yet the treatment of the minor details has been beset with more than ordinary difficulties. Satisfactory evidence of any kind is very difficult to procure. The wealthier classes, many of whom are well acquainted with all that occurred, look on this man as a patriot;—nothing will induce them to implicate him. Men of the class of servants employed by Natives are never very intelligible in their definition of time, distance, or numbers; and where all was actually confusion, their contradictions are almost insolvable: still as much information on these points has been gradually collected in the cases tried by me since February last, the Narrative and dates here given are probably correct.

## No. II.

GOVERNMENT

*versus*

GUNGOO AND CHUTTER SINGH.

CHARGES.—1st. As being leaders and instigators of revolt.

2nd. As being leaders in an attack on the English boats at Belowee.

3rd. As being leaders in an attack on Kunouj, when several British subjects were killed.

Towards the end of May 1857, no dependance being placed on the 10th N. I. at Futtehgurh, it was determined to send down in boats to Allahabad, the majority of the women and children, a few gentlemen forming the escort.

Very early on the 4th of June, upwards of 150 men, women, and children left Futtehgurh in some 12 to 14 boats. This party met with no opposition till they neared the junction of the Ramgunga with the Ganges, when they were fired on by the villagers of Koosumkhore. Mr. Brierly's boy was here slightly wounded in the thigh. At the suggestion of Hurdeo Buksh's followers, the boats halted at the mouth of the Ramgunga. Hurdeo Buksh now appeared and offered protection to the whole party. Mr. Probyn, with a small number, alone accepted it, and at once proceeded up the Ramgunga to Hurdeo Buksh's fort at Dhurrumpoor. The majority, some 125 in number, distrusting Hurdeo Buksh, continued their voyage down the river, on the night of the 6th of June. As they approached Belowee and Putora Ghât, the river being shallow, the boats were surrounded from all directions by the Thakoors of Belowee and Mahadewa, under the command of Gungoo, and Chuttur Singh of Mahadewa, and Aman Singh of Belowee. Shots were fired during the night by the Thakoors, but more it would seem with the view of intimidation than of inflicting injury. All the boats now halted at one spot till daylight. In the morning, messengers were sent to the Thakoors to ascertain their intentions.

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After much discussion, terms were agreed to. The Europeans were to be furnished with a safe escort as far as Cawnpoor, on the receipt of a thousand Rupees in cash, and the promise of another thousand on arriving at Cawnpoor. The thousand Rupees were given to the Thakoors, about 4 P. M., on the 7th of June, when all dispersed. A few Thakoors only, forming a portion of the promised guard, remained with the boats, but these men also left during the night. Of the six boats possessed by this party, on their arrival at Belowee, one had been wrecked and plundered by the Thakoors, and one was abandoned during the night of the 7th.

Of the remaining four, the one belonging to Mr. Brierly, was large; to it almost all the party removed for mutual protection. The second and third boats were small, and were each occupied by two or three gentlemen only. The fourth boat contained the provisions and property of the party. Thus distributed, the party proceeded down the river in the four boats, leaving Belowee early on the morning of the 8th June. The Thakoors kept their promise, and the boats were not again molested, till passing Bithoor. They arrived at this place early on the morning of the 10th of June, when the Nana's followers opened fire on them, but none in the boats were injured, though the return fire from the Europeans killed several of the enemy. The boats continued their course till about 8 A. M. the same morning, when they all halted at a small island, partially covered by the river in the rains, and situated considerably above the old Cawnpoor Magazine. From this point they saw the bungalows in the station on fire, and heard heavy firing. It was thought the bridge of boats might be in the possession of the enemy, and their further progress impracticable: to halt and obtain information was consequently necessary. Mr. Brierly's chowkeedar and khitmutgar, with Kashee a boatman, were now sent to procure information, the last being entrusted with a letter. The chowkeedar and khitmutgar returned unsuccessful, having found it impossible to pass the sentries. Kashee was seized, and imprisoned for some time in the compound of the house from which the Nana was superintending the attack on Colonel Wheeler's intrenchment. On the 11th of June, a party of rebels crossed over in boats with guns to the left bank of the Ganges, and opened fire on the boats. Each of the first three shots struck the largest boat, one round shot killing an ayah and child. All now abandoned the boats, and took shelter under a bank of sand. Some ten or twelve shots were fired by the Europeans, but all intention of resistance seems soon to have been abandoned as hopeless, and only endangering the lives of the ladies, and children. This party had apparently little idea that all would share the same fate. The native servants, who up to this period seem to have behaved well, now scattered over the sands, or took to the river. Shortly after, a large force, both Cavalry and Infantry, landed on the island. The Europeans gave themselves up, were bound, transferred to the right bank of the river, and marched to Cawnpoor during the night. The next day, the 12th of June, all were executed on the Parade ground. Of this execution I have been unable to procure any eye-witnesses. The native witnesses are totally ignorant of dates; but the narrative of each day's events being given with clearness, has supplied this deficiency, as the starting point,—the 4th of June is known.

The success attending Gungoo and Chutter Singh's attack on the English boats, induced more extended efforts.

After plundering their own neighbourhood, they attacked Kunouj with a considerable force, towards the end of June 1857. Kunouj defended itself successfully, inflicting a rather severe loss upon its assailants. Several of the town's people were however killed.

Both in the attack on the boats and at Kunouj, Gungoo was the most prominent, though both prisoners were leaders of their respective clans on those occasions. These attacks were the more rebellious, in consequence of

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their having taken place whilst British authority was still represented in the person of Colonel Smith, then in Civil and Military charge of the District of Furruckabad.

In defence, the prisoners deny all the charges; but their notoriety seems to over-reach even the plastic consciences of their own witnesses, who acknowledge the presence of both in the attack on Kunouj, excusing that unfortunate move, by insisting that, a certain Ajeet Singh of Oude had forcibly made the prisoners accompany him.

Convicting the prisoners on all the charges, I sentence Gungoo to twenty-one, and Chutter Singh to fourteen years' transportation, with confiscation of all their property to the State. The good faith evinced by the prisoners to the party in the boats, at a time when treachery was supreme, has been taken into consideration in passing this mitigated sentence.

Gungoo, transportation for 21 years.
Chutter Singh, ditto for 14 years.

H. D. ROBERTSON,
*Deputy Commissioner.*

FUTTEHGURH:
*The 11th December* 1858.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

# RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# MOZUFFERNUGGUR,

IN 1857-58.

The 9th and 10th May 1857 being holidays, Mr. Berford, Magistrate and Collector of Mozuffernuggur, went over to Saharunpoor to visit Mr. Spankie. At 5 P. M. on the 11th, an express sowar, sent by the late Mr. Johnstone, Officiating Magistrate of Meerut, arrived, giving intelligence of the mutiny at that place on the previous day.

Mr. Berford left for Mozuffernuggur that night; and on arrival was, as far as I can discover, told by the native officials the most exaggerated, indeed false, reports of the approach of the mutinous Regiments, and of the immediate presence on the outskirts of the City of large bands of dacoits.

Mr. Berford at once ordered that all the public Offices should be closed for three days. They were never again opened.

I cannot tell Mr. Berford's reason for issuing this order. I can imagine none more likely to produce what as a District Officer he must have been most anxious to prevent. It could only tend to unsettle men's minds, to produce doubt, confusion and suspicion, make the people believe that we felt ourselves unable to cope with the outbreak, even at that early stage. The reports from Meerut were of course incessant, and of the most ridiculously exaggerated nature, and were eagerly swallowed by the hangers-on about the public Offices. The Cutcherry is the usual place of gossip; all who want news go there to seek for it, and the numbers crowding to learn the latest intelligence from Meerut were that day great. Plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and idlers of all classes were told, not only of the mutiny at Meerut, but of the total destruction of the Europeans there, and the overthrow of the Government. They were assembled from all parts of the District, and went to their homes, telling, in addition to the Meerut tales, the fact of all the Government Offices at Mozuffernuggur being closed, which produced a general impression that the Government rule was suspended throughout the District.

This impression, which had been industriously circulated by escaped convicts and other disaffected persons from Meerut, was very generally echoed by the people at Mozuffernuggur.

Rumours of the rapid approach of mutineer Regiments gathered ground, and in the absence of all letters, official or private from Meerut, appear to have been pretty generally believed.

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On the evening of the 12th Mr. Berford received information, which he considered accurate, that the convicts in the Jail would rise that night, and the Town be plundered. Everything was, however, at the time perfectly quiet. He repaired to the bungalow of Mr. J. Dalby, head Clerk, and from there went out in the jungle towards the village of Surwut, where he remained till morning. Nothing occurred that night.

On the 13th Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, who had been in Camp at Shamlee, arrived, having been called in by Mr. Berford.

In the course of the day, Mr. Grant informs me, Sergeants O'Farrell and Taylor were sent for, and plans for the future discussed; the result of which was that the whole party, accompanied by Mrs. O'Farrell and her sister Mrs. Hussey, and the Office Clerks and their families, went to the Tehseel. This movement was hurriedly carried out, in consequence of the gentlemen hearing from Mr. Butterfield, Jail Darogah, that the Jail guard were in collusion with the prisoners, and both intended to attack the bungalow. This turned out to be utterly without foundation.

The removal into the Tehseel, Mr. Grant now sees, was unnecessary, and only gave confidence to the evil-disposed.

That night, Mr. Grant's and Sergeant Stewart's bungalows were burnt by the villagers, and Mr. Berford's attacked; but the assailants were easily kept off by the Magistrate's guard.

Mr. Grant is of opinion, that the impoverished Syud Zemindars of Mozuffernuggur instigated the villagers to commit these excesses.

Property to a trifling amount was plundered in the City during the night. There was also a slight disturbance in the Jail among the prisoners, but successfully repressed by the guard. Mr. Berford, for their conduct that night, gave the Jail guard a present of a month's pay. The party next morning returned to Mr. Berford's bungalow.

The Tehseeldar asserts, that the disturbances in the City might have been prevented, but that he and all the rest of the Government servants were strictly prohibited by Mr. Berford from leaving the Tehseel.

Between 10 and 11 A. M. the party, I know not for what reason, again left the bungalow and returned to the Tehseel.

The Tehseeldar, Imdad Hossein, also states, that his intention was, if possible, to get the treasure into the Tehseel, and that both Mr. Berford and he spoke to the Havildar of the guard on the subject, who agreed to its being taken at 2 P. M. that day, (May 14th). This, when the time came, the sepoys refused to do, broke into the Treasure chests, and extracted as much as they could remove, having at first placed sentries all round the premises to prevent any person arriving and interfering with them when thus employed. The Soobedar, who commanded the party, which was composed of 35 sepoys of the 20th Native Infantry, sent an abusive message to the Tehseeldar, saying that he had believed him to be a Mahomedan, but that he had proved himself a kaffir, had eaten pig, &c., and that he and his men intended paying him a visit and squaring accounts with him.

The plunder of the Treasury and the report sedulously spread that a large party of the 20th from Meerut had joined their comrades, and that a body of dacoits was rapidly advancing on the Town, caused considerable consternation to those collected in the Tehseel, and to the Government officials generally. They were persuaded that the Tehseel was no longer safe, and Mr. Berford and Mr. Grant proposed proceeding to Jowlie, the residence of the Tehseeldar's cousin, Casim Alee; and Mr. and Mrs. O'Farrell were on the point of starting for Roorkee, but abandoned their intention on hearing that the

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road was closed about Chupp'r. Mr. Grant had actually started for Jowlie, accompanied by the Tehseeldar; but Mr. Berford not joining them, they returned and found that Officer had left the Tehseel by a back entrance, and gone to the residence of some Syuds in Aboopoorah, a suburb of the City, where Mr. Grant states they were treated respectfully and well. They slept there that night, guarded by half the Jail sepoys, 30 in number, and returned to the Tehseel next morning, (the 15th).

The amount of money plundered from the Treasury was 85,000 Rupees. The Treasury guard amounted to only 35 men. It is clear that they, wholly unprovided with carriage, and encumbered with their arms and ammunition, could not have removed much more than one-third of the whole, as not a single sepoy of their Regiment had arrived, nor were there any villagers present to assist them. They took away as much as they could carry, and the remainder was plundered by the town's people and Mr. Berford's private servants. The latter lived in the adjoining out-houses, saw what was going on, and immediately on the departure of the sepoys commenced on their own account. The sepoys left quietly and unmolested. I am of opinion that they might have been successfully attacked, when straggling in small parties along the road, encumbered with their plunder; and it is reported that Daood Khan, Duffadar of sowars, volunteered to charge them with his men, but was prevented by his superior Officer, the Jemadar.

The remainder of the Government money was just as quietly plundered. The people were allowed to pour into the Treasury and help themselves. Nobody raised a finger to prevent them; everybody seems to have been paralysed. This indiscriminate plundering might, I think, undoubtedly have been prevented. Had the Kotwalee burkundazes, Tehseel chuprassees, or the 35 District sowars been taken or sent to the Treasury, they would have proved ample for its protection, or the safe removal of the money, stamps, &c.

It is very generally reported that the native officials received their share of the spoil, and benefitted largely by the robbery of the Treasury. Their utter supineness and non-interference gives colour to the story, but I have been able to prove it against only three individuals, a sepoy of the Jail guard, the compounder of the Jail, and a Tehseel chuprassee.

Towards evening on the 14th, Mr. Berford, considering that his force, which was solely composed of his own and the Joint Magistrate's guard, numbering twelve men, armed with muskets and bayonets, and the Thanah and Tehseel burkundazes, amounting to about 70 men, was insufficient, determined on drawing off the Jail guard, and letting the prisoners loose. Rughonath Singh, Jemadar of the Tehseel, was sent to the Jail with orders to the native Officer Commanding the guard, to at once release the prisoners, bring away all the sepoys for the protection of Mr. Berford and the other Europeans : this was at once done, and the men marched to the Tehseel, where 30 were retained, and 30 sent to Aboopoorah to Mr. Berford. The villagers subsequently came in and destroyed the Jail barracks, carying off the doors, shutters, and iron rails.

This measure, Mr. Grant at the time considered a grave mistake, though he says he may not have sufficiently opposed it. If anything had been wanting to convince the people that the Government rule at Mozuffernuggur had ceased to exist, this release of the convicts supplied it. The inhabitants saw that they could with impunity commit any excesses, that nobody interfered or meddled with them, and that even the few individuals who had been captured by the sowars in the City on the night of the 13th, had been sent free with the others.

The Civil, Criminal, and Collectorate Dufturs were burnt by the people that night, (May 14th,) and Mr. Grant is decidedly of opinion that the destruction of the records was brought about by the Syuds, and that these individuals had spread the false tales of approaching mutineers and dacoits, and

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had induced them to take shelter in Aboopoorah, with the sole object of getting them out of the way, and burning the Office papers in their absence. Mr. Grant also suspects the Tehseeldar, Imdad Hossein, himself a Syud, and Achmud Hossein, Kotwal, of conniving at such destruction.

The Syud Zemindars are almost universally accused of having procured the destruction, by the villagers, of the Government Offices and Bungalows: they are still under trial on these charges before Mr. Grant. I cannot however agree in the idea that the Syuds' object in inducing the Magistrate and Joint Magistrate to take shelter in their houses, was with the sole view of getting them out of the way, and burning the records in their absence. Such object would have been far more simply attained by these gentlemen carrying out their intention of leaving the station, which they were on the point of doing, when the Syuds offered to shelter them. Moreover they could have burnt the Government Offices equally well, with the Authorities in the Tehseel as at Aboopoorah, the Tehseel being a considerable distance from the Cutcherries.

The burning of the Cutcherries at Mozuffernuggur is not a solitary instance. On the contrary, we see that throughout the rebellion the first thing the budmashes have done on getting a footing in a station has been to burn the Government Offices.

On the 15th or following day, information was received that the people of the neighbouring villages were collecting in great numbers round the City, and proposed attacking and plundering it. On this, the Kotwal, the Duffadar of sowars, whose conduct throughout these disturbances shows in a very favorable light, went with a party of District sowars, attacked and completely dispersed the dacoits, bringing in some 15 or 20 prisoners, several of whom were wounded.

In the absence of a Jail, these dacoits were ordered to be flogged and released; but as far as I can learn even this very lenient sentence was not carried out: in this instance, I am unable to perceive the necessity for a jail. The prisoners were caught with arms in their hands, in open resistance to Government authority, and should one and all have been hung on the spot. When we see how effectually a few District sowars without the presence of a single European drove back and thoroughly dispersed this large body of dacoits, one cannot help regretting that the plunder of the main portion of the Government treasure by the town's people, far fewer in number, and at the time unarmed, was not attempted to be prevented.

From this time to the mutiny of the 4th Irregulars on the 21st June, no attack or dacoity was committed or attempted on the Town, though reports of intended attack were frequent.

About this period letters containing instructions were received from the Commissioner, which appear to have been wholly carried out by Mr. Grant; indeed all the arrangements for the District seem to have been made by that Officer. These arrangements were the establishment of Chowkees on the main lines of communication, the enrolment of sowars and burkundazes, and the despatch of letters of encouragement to the extensive landholders and native gentlemen throughout the Zillah. These measures, which were well and carefully carried out by the Joint Magistrate, would have proved far more successful than they did, had it not been for the utter supineness of the Police, who throughout did literally nothing. They appear to have come to an understanding with the people, that neither should interfere with the other. That if the villagers permitted the Police to remain quietly at their stations and draw their pay, the villagers might commit what crimes they pleased without any attempt at prevention on their part. The natural result was, that violent crimes of all kinds were daily, almost hourly committed throughout the District, not secretly or by night, but openly and at noon day.

It is needless naming the chief crimes: it is sufficient to remark that here, as in other parts of the country, the Bunyahs and Mahajuns were, in the

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majority of cases, the victims, and fearfully have many of them been made to suffer for their previous rapacity and avarice.

On the 18th or 19th, a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry under a native Officer arrived from Meerut, and at first caused no slight consternation, as it was not known whether they were friends or enemies. On the day of their arrival one of the troopers shot a Bunyah of the town, with whom he had a quarrel. Mr. Berford seems to have been satisfied with the trooper's explanation, and no investigation to have been made.

Nothing particular seems to have taken place for several days, but towards the end of the month it was deemed advisable to send Mrs. O'Farrell and her sister Mrs. Hussey into Meerut. Arrangements were made for their departure, and Mr. Berford determined to accompany them, which he did, taking the whole of the Cavalry with him, and leaving Mr. Grant who refused to quit the District with Mr. Dalby, head Clerk, his family, and that of Mr. Butterfield, Jail Darogah. Mr. Berford after proceeding some miles returned to the station, and the Cavalry were the next day reinforced by a party of the same Regiment under Lieutenant Clarke. Arrangements were now made for patrolling the roads, and some of the most refractory villages were visited and punished.

On the 29th Lieutenant Smith arrived with 80 troopers of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, and relieved Lieutenant Clarke.

Mr. Grant received orders from the Commissioner to proceed to Shamlee, and make arrangements for keeping open the dâk communication between Meerut and Kurnaul. In accordance with these instructions, Mr. Grant after the lapse of a few days went to Shamlee, and having effected the object of his journey returned two days after to the station, having written a full account to the Commissioner of the arrangements made by him, and the state of the country about Shamlee.

Mr. Grant received in reply a communication from the late Commissioner, Mr. Greathed, transferring him to Boolundshuhur, because he had in the first instance delayed to carry out the instructions, and secondly, because he had left Shamlee without his, the Commissioner's orders. I have not seen Mr. Greathed's letter, which has been lost, but such, Mr. Grant informs me, was its purport. Though there certainly appears to have been unnecessary delay in proceeding to Shamlee, neither Mr. Berford or Mr. Grant seem to have understood the Commissioner to intend the latter to remain after the dâk arrangements had been completed. Had he done so his life would assuredly have been sacrificed.

Mr. Grant reports that he found the state of affairs at Shamlee most satisfactory, owing to the exertions of Ibraheem Khan, Tehseeldar, since murdered by the insurgents of Thanah Bhowun under Enayut Alee Khan.

Shortly after the Joint Magistrate's return from Shamlee, the villages of Puraee and Bijopoorah were visited and punished. Matters were improving, and a little revenue was being collected in the Huzoor and Khatowlee Tehseels, when on the 21st June the troopers of the 4th Irregular Cavalry mutinied, and murdered their Officer, Lieutenant Smith.

Several days previous to the mutiny of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, I had been informed at Saharunpoor, of which place I was the Joint Magistrate, by Doolychund, an extensive landholder in that and the Mozuffernuggur district, that the Irregulars were in a disaffected state, and not to be depended on. I wrote to Mr. Grant, informing him of what I had heard; who replied, that similar rumours had reached him, but that Lieutenant Smith to whom he had communicated them was satisfied of the staunchness of his men. The event proved the rumours only too well founded.

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Daood Khan is a wholly uneducated and illiterate man. This conduct of Daood Khan, I consider, specially worthy of notice. He had himself been a trooper in that very Regiment; he not only did not join them when they mutinied, but used all his influence to get them away from the Tehseel, and when he failed declared he would defend his Officer to the last. The whole body of District sowars resolutely refused to have any thing to say to the mutineers, though many were old Irregular Cavalry men, and from first to last in these disturbances not one man has deserted.

The Jail guard were, it is said, prepared to resist the mutineers, and Mr. Dalby assures me that not a single man of their number in any way responded to the call of the troopers when summoned in the name of the Prophet. It is indeed reported that they offered to fire on the sowars; but they were prevented, as the Authorities did not think they could be fully trusted, and as it was thought probable that the town's people might rise and side with the troopers, and attack the Tehseel in the rear. They however remained perfectly quiet, and, save three or four known budmashes, none of the city people left with the troopers.

About 9, next morning, (the 22nd) the villagers collected in very large numbers round the Town, but were completely dispersed by a party of District sowars under Daood Khan, and Jail guard sepoys, sent against them.

On the 26th Lieutenant Clarke arrived with a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry, after which no event of any importance occurred at the station, and on the morning of the 1st July I marched in with 130 Goorkhas of the Nusseeree Battalion under command of Lieutenant Chester. Lieutenant Chester with 80 of the Goorkhas was next day recalled by Major Bagot, thus leaving me with only 50 men.

My appointment to the Mozuffernuggur district occurred thus:—

On the 24th June Mr. Spankie, Magistrate and Collector of Saharunpoor, received orders from General Hewitt, Commanding the Meerut Division, to take charge of the District of Mozuffernuggur in addition to his own, and send a party of the Goorkhas there. Mr. Spankie, on the receipt of further orders from the late Commissioner, Mr. Greathed, on the 28th, directed me to proceed to Mozuffernuggur, and take charge in the event of Mr. Berford leaving the District; but should that Officer continue at his post to examine into the state of affairs and report thereon, Mr. Berford on my arrival determined to bow to the orders of the General, and left on the night of the 3rd July. I therefore, agreeably to the instructions I had received, assumed charge of the District in both Departments.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement, that my predecessor had great difficulties to contend with, and no real force to aid him in preserving the peace of the Station and District. The total absence of any authentic intelligence from Meerut during the first few days of the outbreak caused confusion and anxiety, and gave a colour of truth to the greatly exaggerated accounts circulated by the natives as to what had taken place in Cantonments. It did worse;—it prevented their being satisfactorily refuted.

It is a matter of surprise and regret, that no force was sent from Meerut to assist in the maintenance of order. Had this been done the great loss to Government and to private individuals might have been prevented.

On my arrival I found Messrs. Berford and Grant located in the Tehseel. All the houses, with the exception of the head Clerk's bungalow, had been utterly destroyed; but on examining the Cutcherry, I discovered that the roofs of four of the rooms, though considerably charred, were still safe. I therefore removed into them, retaining two, and making over two to the Goorkhas. Mr. Grant joined me on the departure of Mr. Berford.

On my arrival I found the District much disorganized, all work seemed to have been long suspended, and even Government servants with whom had

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been found large sums of money plundered from the Treasury, were not only unpunished but had been permitted to remain in Government employ. The Tehseels were certainly in existence, but not the least attempt was made to collect the Government Revenue. The Thanahs were also nominally at work, but the occupants, as in the Tehseels, did nothing, but clamour for their pay; and there was no money wherewith to settle their claims.

My first efforts were principally directed:—1st, to the restoration of confidence in the town of Mozuffernuggur; 2nd, the re-establishment of the jail; 3rd, keeping open the communication along the several lines of road, and insisting on the police posted at the several chowkees, regularly patrolling along their several beats; 4th, the security of the Government and District dâks in their progress through the District; and 5th, the realization of the public instalments. Of these the latter was, as might be supposed, by far the most difficult. I insisted on the collections being at once renewed, and on the Tehseeldars and Peishkars ceasing to shut themselves up on their Tehseels, but proceeding to the villages, and in person collecting the revenue, providing at the same time for the prompt punishment of those who dared to show resistance or contumacy.

Knowing that the people generally regarded the payment of the Government demand as a decided proof of allegiance, I fostered the idea and worked upon it. They were unable, I was well aware, to borrow in this as in former years from the mahajuns; but had to make their own arrangements for settling the claims against them. Though the money was not so rapidly paid, yet I felt that the security for good conduct subsequent to payment would be greatly enhanced, and the result showed that I was not mistaken.

It was necessary to watch closely and constantly the work of the revenue officials, to make them report daily, the villages visited, and the arrangements made in each, and to pass immediate orders thereon, stringent where there were but vague promises of payment at some future day, encouraging where the village "*Baach*" was started, and the people showed themselves willing to meet their engagements. Payments commenced at once in the Mozuffernuggur, Khatowlie and Thanah Bhowun Tehseels, and after a few days in Puar; but not a pice was collected in Shamlee, till a considerably later date.

The city of Mozuffernuggur was when I arrived in a greatly perturbed state;—the shops were all closed, the town's people were accustomed to fly on hearing reports of an intended attack by dacoits. These reports, as well as their stating that our forces at Dehli had been driven from their position, that the ships conveying European troops from England had been wrecked, and others of a similar nature were so frequent, and so evidently spread with the view of doing mischief, and unsettling men's minds, that deeming it necessary to put a stop to them at once, I proclaimed through the city by beat of drum, my intention of hanging there and then the first person caught propagating such falsehoods. This had the desired effect, and I found that by visiting the town myself, a few times by night as well as by day, that the patrolling which I had started immediately on my arrival was well carried out, and confidence restored among the people.

The District appeared to me to be in a sad state, and European supervision very lax. This struck me most forcibly coming as I did direct from Saharunpoor, so well and energetically kept in hand by Mr. Spankie. All officials and people were watching the progress of events before Dehli; and I found it most difficult at first to make all employe's understand that *I would have my orders implicitly and unhesitatingly obeyed.*

The Tehseeldars declared that it was useless attempting to collect the revenue until the fate of Dehli was decided. I was determined to get it in *at once*, and seeing that they must exert themselves or make way for others, they set to work, and the result was, that after paying all district expenses, as well as several thousand rupees borrowed for pay of establishment by my

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predecessor, I was enabled to send a large remittance of treasure to Meerut, on the 2nd of August, and another of 96,000 towards the close of the same month.

It was a very difficult matter starting the office afresh with every official, a total stranger, and every thing in such a disorganized state, not a paper or record left to show how matters stood when the outbreak took place or subsequent to its occurrence;—verbal information was alone available, it was most contradictory, and it was impossible to know whom to trust.

Mr. George Palmer arrived on the 19th of July as an Extra Joint Magistrate, and Mr. Grant, who had been transferred to Boolundshuhur, was at my request permitted to remain, as his knowledge of the District, in the absence of all records, was likely to be very valuable.

On the 14th of July, I sent Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate to Shamlee, with the detachment of the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Lieutenant Clarke. My object was to get in the revenue of that part of the District, and to repress any small emeutes, as the Tehseeldar reported the people to be in a restless unsatisfactory state of mind, and ready to break out into disturbance on slight pretence. The presence of a regular force was therefore likely to prove of use. After the lapse of a fortnight, Messrs. Grant and Clarke returned, having accomplished satisfactorily the object desired, and bringing in Rs. 1,400 of Revenue.

Mr. Palmer shortly after moved down into the Pergunahs bordering on the Ganges, being accompanied by 25 Troopers out of 50 of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry sent as a reinforcement from Saharunpoor. His object was more closely connected with Bijnour than with this District, but he exerted himself successfully in the collection of the revenue, and his presence was of great and permanent advantage. The depredations and excesses of the Goojurs were checked, and life and property rendered more secure.

Things went on very quietly for some time. I had to visit a few recusant villages in person with a few Goorkhas, but only in one instance met with any thing like opposition. By the end of August, I had after paying all District expenses amounting to about Rs. 25,000 per mensem, remitted Rs. 2,70,535 to Meerut, the whole of which was collected without the sacrifice of a single life, without maltreating in any way a single soul, and consequently without inciting the feelings of the people against the Government.

On the 27th of August I was reinforced by the arrival of 50 Goorkhas of the Nusseeree Battalion, under Lieutenants Cayler and Horsford, and on the morning of that day I sent Mr. Grant again to Shamlee, with the detachment of the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Captain Galloway, who had succeeded Lieutenant Clarke.

This visit of the troops to Shamlee was called for by the Tehseeldar and the chief Zemindar of that place having quarrelled. The former accused the latter of being at heart a rebel, and preventing the people paying their revenue; he had deprived him and his people of their arms, and Mohur Singh was said to be bent on revenge, and to be exciting the people to revolt.

Mohur Singh, who was a man of great influence, had undoubtedly done good service in keeping order in the town of Shamlee, but the Tehseeldar declared his firm belief that he was disaffected and doing mischief. Mr. Grant was to enquire into, and, if possible, settle the matter or report to me.

The result of the investigation was at the time inconclusive; but the end proved that the Tehseeldar was right, and that Mohur Singh was at the time in correspondence with Dehli, and using his utmost to get some of the Royal troops sent to Shamlee, his petitions to that effect to the King were found in the palace on our taking the place.

About this time disturbances recommenced. I received information to the effect that the people had, at the instigation of the King's emissaries, agreed to

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waive private and family feuds, and no longer prey upon one another, but that all their energies should be levelled against the Government, in the persons of its servants. The Revenue collections, which had been progressing very favorably, were suddenly checked by the people ejecting from their villages the men sent to collect, depriving them of their horses, weapons, &c., and, in some instances, severely wounding them. The scenes of these outrages were too distant from the station to admit of my at once visiting the places and punishing the people, as half my Goorkhas had been sent into Meerut with treasure.

On the 2nd September, Mr. Grant, Joint Magistrate, with a party of the 3rd Cavalry, under Captain Galloway, proceeded from Shamlee to the village of Purasowlee, in the Kandhlah Pergunah, with the object of apprehending Khyratee Khan, Pindaree, a shareholder in the village and a man of considerable influence.

Khyratee Khan was reported to have gone to Dehli to obtain aid in troops from the King and to have returned, having failed in his object.

This information was, however, conveyed by Khyratee Khan's avowed enemy, and was not to be certainly relied on. He had it, should also be mentioned, sent on the previous day to the Tehseeldar saying that his revenue was ready and would be paid to any person the Tehseeldar should send. The truth of such intention to pay was discredited, and the party already mentioned, accompanied by the Tehseeldar and a possé of Tehseel and Thanah people, went to the village. They met with resistance. The Cavalry were of course useless against walls, and the party retired on Shamlee, having altogether failed in their object.

The movement on Purasowlee was an unfortunate one. It was hurriedly determined on, and was carried out without my sanction or knowledge, was indeed in opposition to my previous instructions not to engage in any rash attack on villages with Cavalry alone, where if the least resistance is offered the force is perfectly helpless and must retire.

The consequence of this successful opposition to Government troops was, as might have been expected, general disturbance, through that and the neighbouring Pergunah. Purasowlee made common cause with Jowlah, a royal village adjoining. The forces of Khyratee Khan being rapidly joined by the disaffected not only of this District, but from Burout, and Bijroul in that of Meerut, proceeded to Boorhanah, where they ousted the Government Police and took possession of the Fort.

I was particulary anxious to move out against these insurgents at once, as each day's delay served but to strengthen their hands and render them bolder, but I was unable to do so, as more than half the Goorkhas (the only Infantry I had) were on their way to Meerut with treasure. Previous to their return, Mr. Grant's representations were so strong, as to the almost certainty of an immediate attack on Shamlee, that I detached to that place every man of the Punjaub Cavalry then in Mozuffernugger, recalled Mr. Palmer and the 25 troopers with him from Meeranpoor, and 15 whom I had placed with the Tehseeldar of Puar; and as Mr. Grant's request for reinforcements became each time more urgent, I on the arrival of the party from Meerut with two mountain train guns moved out direct to Shamlee.

My wish was to have gone round by Boorhanah, taken possession of the Fort, and replaced the Government Police, to have then punished Jowlah and Purasowlee, (these villages being on the road,) re-opened the dâk route between Meerut and Kurnaul which these disturbances had again closed, and proceeded to Shamlee; but my original purpose was necessarily abandoned on the receipt of Mr. Grant's letters, and as I dared not risk the loss of Shamlee, I was obliged to repair there without an hour's delay.

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On arriving at Shamlee the report of the Jâts' gatherings were constant, and there is no doubt that Khyratee Khan with Sujjah and Buktah, son and nephew of the famous Sah Mull of Bijroul, purposed attacking in force the party there. They met, however, with an unexpected difficulty in the Goojurs, who assembled to oppose their passage through their villages.

This and the fact of their discovering that the force at Shamlee had been strengthened, made them retire on Jowlah.

I experienced great difficulty in procuring any thing like certain information regarding the movements and intentions of the insurgents. The statements of the men employed by myself and the Tehseeldars of Thanahs Bhowun and Shamlee were contradictory.

I had no sooner learnt of a party of the rebels being collected in a village and had arranged to go and disperse them, than other intelligence was brought that there was a still larger gathering in another direction.

The truth I believe to have been that there were considerable bodies of men collected in several villages, whose intention was to concentrate their force at a stated time at one common rendezvous, and from there resume the offensive. Their designs were however temporarily abandoned by the retirement of Khyratee Khan, and his allies as already mentioned.

Taking advantage of my position at Shamlee, I determined to punish the Rangurh village of Hurhur, lying directly on the road between that place and Thanah Bhowun.

The people of this village had since the commencement of the disturbances waged war against all comers, and from robbing and murdering every traveller that passed along, had succeeded in completely closing the road.

We met with no opposition though such was probably at first intended, as we found loaded matchlocks with the matches lighted.

All arms found in the village were secured and the cattle driven away.

I was anxious to secure the person of Gyndah, Lumberdar, the instigator and leader in most of the crimes committed by the inhabitants, but failed in doing so.

Large quantities of plundered property, consisting of Sugar, Gum, Dyes, Birch, Bark, &c., amounting to about 40 cart loads, were found. These had formed consignments from firms in Bewanny, in the Rohtuck district, to mercantile houses in Shamlee, and had been robbed when passing the village. As much of this property as could be removed was taken to Shamlee, and one of the captured Zemindars released on security for the purpose of bringing on the remainder, which, want of carriage, obliged us to leave behind. The village was not burnt.

When the force was about to return, a man arrived from Thanah Bhowun, and reported a Mahomedan rising in that Town, headed by Enayut Alee, nephew of Cazee Myhboob Alee Khan, and brother of Rehman Alee Khan, who had been shortly before executed at Saharunpoor by Mr. Spankie.

As the men had then been out twelve hours and required rest and food, it was deemed advisable to return to Shamlee instead of proceeding at once to Thanah Bhowun as recommended by the Tehseeldar. It was fortunate we did so, for with our small and fatigued force we should certainly have failed in getting into the Town, and the inevitable result would have been the loss of our Camp at Shamlee, which had been left with a very small and, in my opinion, wholly inadequate guard.

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As risings were reported all round us, and matters were getting hourly more serious, I addressed a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Dawes, whose troop of Horse Artillery was then passing through the District, and requested that Officer to detach two of his guns and a small party from Mozuffernuggur to Boorhanah, drive Khyratee Khan's men out of the Fort, and thus enable my Police to take repossession, then destroy the adjoining village of Jowlah which had joined Khyratee Khan, and crossing over the Nugwah Ghât, the detachment would arrive in Meerut only one day after the troop.

Colonel Dawes' instructions to proceed without delay to Meerut precluded him from complying with my request.

Had it been granted I intended to have remained at Shamlee, watched the Thanah Bhowun people and encountered them had they left their walls, have prevented as far as possible any spreading of disaffection through the Ranghur villages, and by my presence have secured from all risk the Town and Tehseel of Shamlee.

From information received during the 12th, I learnt that my sowars, chuprassees, &c., collecting the revenue in Pergunah Jhinjanah, had been expelled from the villages, while some of those employed on a like duty in Pergunah Kandhlah had been robbed of every thing they possessed, and barely escaped with their lives.

Disaffection generally prevailed from the line of the Hindun going westward, including portions of the Pergunahs of Boorhanah, Shikarpoor, Bughrat, and Churthawut, with the entire Pergunah of Thanah Bhowun and the Jat villages of Shamlee; while the Kandhlah Pergunah, as far as the Jumna Canal, and part of Jhinjanah was also disturbed. Bodies of insurgents were collected at certain places throughout all these Pergunahs.

The Tehseeldars of Thanah Bhowun and Shamlee were decidely of opinion that the main danger to be apprehended was from this combination of the Jats. Both were satisfied that, for 4 or 5 days at least, the Cazee and his people would not move out of their town, but confine themselves to levying men and making preparations. As their knowledge of the people, and the state of this part of the country, was far greater than mine, it being the first time I had visited it, and their means of information also better, I went a good deal by what they advanced, and as the Jats were on all sides regarded as the main difficulty, and as their main body was undoubtedly at Jowlah, and Purasowlee it seemed advisable to strike a blow there, and return to Shamlee. That blow, if successful, would in all probability be the means of breaking up the combination, and removing our chief difficulty, would enable us to replace the Government Police in Boorhanah, and return to Shamlee, to keep in check the Thanah Bhowun insurgents. By this means also I should be enabled to reopen the direct communication between Kurnaul and Meerut, one of the main objects for which I had been directed to proceed to Shamlee. This movement was determined on; we were to be back at Shamlee, the second day.

The severe illness of Lieutenant Cuyler, Commanding the detachment, prevented our marching on the 13th, as I proposed, and we started at 2 A. M. on the 14th.

Our intention was to proceed direct to Boorhanah, and having taken possession of the Fort, said to be garrisoned by about 150 men, leave our baggage there,—and after the men had taken their food proceed against Jowlah and Purrasowlee. Our original plan was, however, prevented by our being attacked on the line of march by the men assembed at the former place.

They were at once driven back, with great loss, and the village entered at the point of the bayonet. The main body escaped among the high khets, but the number of dead outside, and in the village, were estimated at 200.

This little affair took so much time that we determined to go on at once to Boorhanah, as we might there meet with serious resistance from the men in the Fort.

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The Fort, which is of considerable size and strength, was evacuated on our approach. Some time elapsed before we got inside, as the gates were closed, and had to be blown in, which was effected by Mr. Palmer, with the Mountain Train Guns.

We did not reach our Camp till 5½ P. M., the whole party being thoroughly exhausted from fatigue and exposure to the sun.

In the course of the night, I received an arzee from Mohur Singh, Zemindar of Shamlee, already alluded to, telling me that the Tehseel was attacked. This arzee was, I have reason to believe, written some time after the massacre had taken place. No report was received from any of the Thanah, or Tehseel people. On the morning of the 15th, I received a note from Lieutenant Fraser, reporting his arrival at Muleerah on the Hindun, with 2 Horse Artillery Guns and 100 Sikhs.

This was the first intimation I received of any reinforcements being sent.

Lieutenant Fraser arrived with his detachment at 7 P. M., and we marched back to Shamlee that night.

Not until our arrival there did I learn the full extent of the massacre; even those who had escaped had been rendered so helpless from fear, that they had not even sent me notice of the outrage which had been committed.

The Tehseel was a place of considerable strength, and previous to my departure, both Tehseeldars declared their conviction that it could be held against all comers, that there was not the least danger to be apprehended, and that the garrison left in it was well able to resist successfully any attack.

The garrison consisted of the following;—ten Punjaub Cavalry armed with Carbines, nine troopers, and a duffadar; twenty-eight Jail Guard sepoys armed with muskets and bayonets; upwards of fifty Rampoor men entertained by the Tehseeldar, and all well armed.

The whole of the Tehseel and Thanah establishment, Sowars, and new levies upwards of fifty men.

Almost every man had fire-arms, and just before leaving, I made over 500 rounds of *spare ball* cartridges. Had the ammunition been properly used, it would have proved more than sufficient.

Ibraheem Khan, Tehseeldar, fought so gallantly in defence of his charge, that I should regret saying anything which could detract from the credit he undoubtedly deserves; but I only echo the general opinion in saying that, had he, instead of cooping up every one in the Tehseel, acted on the advice repeatedly tendered by the troopers of the Punjaub Cavalry, the result would have been very different.

I proposed immediately after the above tragedy, that the estates of the Cazee of Thanah Bhowun should be presented to Ibraheem Khan's son. The reward would at the time have had the very best effect, and would have proved to the people that the Government could and would reward those who served it faithfully. The Tehseeldar's family however begged that lands in Rohilkund might be bestowed instead, and that Province was then in the hands of the rebels.

Bukhtawur Singh, Tehseeldar of Thanah Bhowun, who had requested permission to remain at Shamlee, his Tehseel having been taken possession of by Enayut Alee Khan, was also killed. He has left no family, and his widow died shortly after; I therefore have proposed that his aged parents should be pensioned handsomely.

Bhowany Suhai, Thanahdar of Shamlee, was also killed. His son has been rewarded by the grant of a village, near his home, in the Meerut district.

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The heirs of those killed on lower grades, and those wounded at Shamlee, have been recommended for pension.

One hundred and thirteen men were killed at Shamlee when defending the Tehseel and Thanah. The ferocity of the Mahomedans especially against Government servants was shown by their slaughtering all who, on the place being taken by assault, fled for refuge into the Musjid and Shewallah, which have always hitherto been regarded as sanctuaries. They were there to a man cut to pieces, even little children slaughtered.

The inner walls of both Musjid and Shewallah, which are within the Tehseel compound, were crimsoned with blood.

I would prominently notice the conduct of Sundul Khan, Sais, and nine troopers of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry, who had been left as an additional guard at the Tehseel. These men, one and all, did their duty nobly, and in doing so submitted to every species of insult from those of their own faith among the assailants. The Mahomedan flag was waved before them, and when others deserted and found safety underneath its folds, they shot the standard bearer dead.

Of the ten men of the 1st Punjaub Cavalry left at Shamlee, nine were killed, and one is missing.

I intended proceeding at once to Thanah Bhowun and attacking the insurgents in their stronghold, but receiving repeated letters from Mr. Grant, who had returned to the Station on my going to Shamlee, that Mozuffernuggur was threatened, and hearing also that vast crowds of Mahomedans had joined the Cazee's party, I deemed it advisable, after consulting with Captain Smith, who now commanded the detachments, to fall back on Mozuffernuggur, as in the event of our receiving any check at Thanah Bhowun, the almost certain result would have been an attack by the rebels on the Sudder Station, where as if we advanced on Thanah Bhowun from Mozuffernuggur, the Station would be secure from any such danger.

After receiving the reinforcements from Meerut and Saharunpoor, we marched against the rebel Town. I laid the best information I could procure before the Military Officers, and left it with them to decide whether we had a sufficient force to attack the place, declaring at the same time my own belief that it would be keenly defended.

Captain Smith determined to attack it; we did so, and failed to do more than get a very small way into the Town.

On our approaching the place, large bodies of men were seen drawn out in the Bâghs, and behind the high standing khets; the Artillery opened fire and speedily dispersed them. The guns however could not do much, owing to the view being obstructed by the gardens and trees up to the very walls.

Some Goorkhas and Sikhs were next sent out as skirmishers to clear the cultivation, which they effected. It was at this period that Lieutenant Johnstone, Commanding the Sikhs, was wounded by a musket ball in the arm, and obliged to go to the rear.

After a time, finding that the skirmishers were unable to keep down the fire of the Town, the rebels firing from behind walls, the skirmishers were directed to be withdrawn, the force then moved more to the left where the ground was clearer, and the Horse Artillery again opened fire, but finding after a few rounds that little or no effect was produced, the rebels keeping under cover, the guns were withdrawn.

A storming party of the Sikhs and Goorkhas, the former under Captain Smith the latter under Lieutenant Cuyler, were directed to advance and storm the Town. The party did as directed under a smart fire of musketry, and after clearing and taking possession of several detached buildings which were

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keenly contested, charged over the wall into the Town, and got possession of two guns, which they held for some time, but losing a number of men, and the supports failing to come to their aid, they were at length obliged to retire, leaving the captured guns behind as there were no means of removing them. The Artillery fired a few shots into the Town which were not replied to, and we then retired.

As the conduct of the Infantry in this affair has been already reported to the Military Authorities, it will be unnecessary for me to say more than that they failed to display that gallantry and daring, for which the names of Goorkha and Sikh have lately been so justly famous. The Officers did all that men could do, but they were not supported by the majority of their men; it may however be remarked that the greater portion of both the detachments were composed of young and untried soldiers who have never before been under fire.

The musketry fire from the walls of the Town and loop-holed houses was very heavy, and our men dropping all around, shot by enemies whom they could not even see, became dispirted; we were engaged for nearly seven hours and the men thoroughly exhausted. The Town which was surrounded by a wall and ditch and has eight gates, is naturally a strong one, and the great number of its defenders elated with their late success at Shamlee, rendered all our efforts vain.

Our loss was heavy—17 killed and 25 wounded, including Captain Smith and Lieutenant Johnstone.

An act of gallantry on the part of Lieutenant Cuyler, Commanding the detachment of the Nusseeree Goorkhas deserves prominent notice. One of his men when crossing an open space was knocked over, and so badly wounded, that he could not rise; Lieutenant Cuyler called on his men to go and bring him off, but as the enemy opened an excessively heavy musketry fire on the spot, all declined. He then said he would go himself if they would follow him, a few did so, including an old Sikh Jemadar with Captain Smith's detachment.

When they came to the open space which was completely commanded by the fire from the Town, all deserted him, save the old Sikh, and they two alone and unassisted, succeeded in bringing off the wounded Goorkha.

The Sikh was shot dead shortly afterwards. Lieutenant Cuyler was unwounded, though more than one bullet passed through his coat.

The line of baggage when we were retiring was attacked by a large party of horse and foot near the village of Kheoree, they were at once charged in gallant style by two detachments of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, one led on by S. S. Melville Esquire, and the other by M. Low Esquire, who was severely wounded, receiving three sword cuts, while his horse was also much cut. The insurgents fled in utter disorder and were cut up by the Cavalry to the number of about 100, the rest escaped through the high khets.

We met with no further opposition on the road.

A letter from the Commissioner telling me on no account to attack Thanah Bhowun, as it was far too strong for our small force, reached me just as we retired. Had it arrived earlier in the day, as it certainly should have done, the orders would have been acted up to, but my previous instruction had directed me to proceed at once and crush the rebels, if after the arrival of reinforcements we considered ourselves strong enough.

The question of sufficient strength was one for the military to determine, it was settled in the affirmative, and we did our best, but failed.

From what I have seen since of the strength of the place and the means of defence, I cannot but consider that our being driven out of the Town at first

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and before getting entangled in the narrow streets was a fortunate thing. Had it been otherwise and we had got well into the City, the numbers of the defenders were so great, and the place so extensive, and so well prepared by barricades, &c., for defence, that I verily believe our small force would have been annihilated.

On the arrival of the Column from Meerut under Major Sawyer, we marched at once against Thanah Bhowun, and found it evacuated by the insurgents.

I was anxions to destroy the place, but this could not be done, owing to its great extent, and the artillery being unable to spare any gunpowder.

The force after a halt of one day which was employed in taking grain out of the City, moved on to Shamlee, and destroyed on the road the villages of Hurhur, Herudh and Sikkah, which had been the leaders in the attack on the Shamlee Tehseel.

At the request of Major Sawyer, who from information received, considered it probable that we might meet with opposition at Bijroul, and was consequently indisposed to divide the force; we accompanied that Officer to that village and Burouth and from there returned to Kandhlah, where we halted for three days, and succeeded in collecting a large amount of Revenue.

On the 3rd and 4th October the camp remained at Kyranah where more revenue was obtained, and on the 5th marched to Jhinjanah where the force halted during the 6th, and on the 7th moved again to Thanah Bhowun. The City was deserted by every Mahomedan, and so great was the fear with which the Sheikhzadahs are regarded, and so general the Mahomedan disaffection, that nobody would come forward to give evidence. I got however ample proofs against the head of the rebellion. The wall of the Town and the eight gates have been destroyed, a work of great time and labour.

To prevent the Sheikhzadahs returning to the City and revenging themselves on the Government servants, and as it was necessary to at once re-establish Tehseel and Thanah:—I appointed Mahomed Alee Khan, son of Munsoor Alee Khan, the chief Raees of Jellalabad, Tehseeldar. His family's power and influence in that part of the District is great, and throughout the rebellion they maintained their good name, and remained faithful to the British Government.

Mahomed Alee Khan having been before in the Government employ in the Revenue Department, was by knowledge and experience fitted for the position.

Having fitted up the vacancy at Shamlee by the appointment of Mahomed Wuzeer Khan as Tehseeldar, who for distinguished ability and loyalty, had just been appointed Cotwal of Dehli, by Colonel Burn, the Military Governor, and having made all necessary arrangements for the peace and order of the western Pergunahs I turned my attention eastwards, and moved out with all the available force towards the Ganges, the left bank of which was held by the rebel troops of the Nawaub of Nujeebabad.

Lieutenant Fraser's two Horse Artillery Guns (European) had been recalled to Meerut and had been succeeded by two Horse Artillery (Native) under command of Lieutenant Evans.

Although disaffection had, I am well aware, for months existed at Thanah Bhowun, yet there is no doubt that the immediate cause of its breaking out into open rebellion was the execution of the Cazee's nephew at Saharunpoor. Had it not been for that, I am decidedly of opinion that no recourse to arms would have been made, especially as a few day after, the news of the fall of Dehli and the utter discomfiture of the mutineer army of the King would have reached Thanah Bhowun.

It would render this statement far too lengthy and tedious were I to detail our daily movements, during the months of November and December 1857, and January, February and March 1858.

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It will be sufficient to say that we were continually kept on the move, marching and countermarching up and down the river, by the rapid movements of the masses of rebels on the opposite bank. Their numbers were so greatly superior to our's that we were obliged to be constantly on the watch, as the Ganges had become so low that fords were very numerous, and the river line was so extensive that our forces had to be divided into very small detachments.

Our chowkies and outlying posts were several times attacked and destroyed, but the rebels so rapidly recrossed the river that we never could catch them, though every exertion was made to do so. These attacks became so frequent, that I removed all the Police posts out of the Kadir, withdrawing them to the high land. The jungle in the Kadir was burnt by order of Colonel Brind, who had been appointed to command in the District. This deprived the enemy of the power, of approaching our posts in any numbers without being perceived.

Not a week passed that I did not obtain intelligence of the intention of the enemy to cross and make a night attack, and large numbers of them would frequently assemble on the river bank, but either their courage failed them or these were mere demonstrations got up with the view of harassing and annoying us.

On the night of the 4th February they crossed in force with guns, and, before daylight appeared at the town of Meeranpoor, attacked and burnt the thanah, murdered an Affghan trooper and killed two men, supposing them to be burkundauzes. Our Camp was then at Jowlee, 12 miles north of Meeranpoor, while Colonel Brind with the Horse Artilery guns and 1st Punjaub Cavalry were at Toghulpoor, 16 miles further up the Ganges canal.

The town of Meeranpoor had been, in my opinion, all along the place which the rebels in the event of their crossing would attack, but contrary to my repeated objections the place was left with only 10 Affghans under a Duffadar. I hastened down from Jowlee with Captain Sage's detachment, but the rebels, though greatly outnumbering us, fled in the greatest haste on our approach, their retreat being covered by 250 Cavalry mutineers, as one could see by their steel scabbards and saddles. A little skirmishing took place, but with only one man wounded on our side, and three of the rebels killed and two taken prisoners. We never got near their Infantry. They never again crossed in any force, though several night raids were made by them, with more or less success against our outlying posts.

They expected the Syud Zemeendars to join them, but not a man of any importance did so. The conduct of the Syud Raees was all along most creditable. They would have nothing to say to the rebels and were ready to oppose them in arms.

During these five months the troops were so constantly changed, that it would only cause confusion were I to detail them. From the Officers one and all I ever received cordial assistance, and though the duties were harassing and movements necessarily sudden and frequent, I never heard a murmur from the men.

In March I disarmed the District, and in the middle of the following month, the Meeranpoor detachment crossed into Rohilkund, and from that time all has remained in profound peace.

The Civil Officers attached to the District were Messrs. C. Grant and J. Palmer. The former had charge of the Sudder Station, where a Civil Officer was necessary, and Mr. Palmer's services were required in the District, as he had charge of the two Mountain Train Guns, also Kour Doorga Pershad, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate. Mr. Grant relieved me of by far the greater portion of the criminal work, which became very heavy as order was restored, and which I could not have possibly got through, moving about as

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I was obliged to do with the troops. The amount of District work performed by that Officer is highly creditable to him. He was here from the first breaking out of disturbances, and refused to leave his post when Mr. Berford started for Meerut. Mr. Grant's information regarding the District and people was very valuable and of great assistance to me, and it was always most cordially afforded.

Mr. Palmer as already mentioned did good service in the eastern Pergunahs in August, in the collection of the Revenue and in the repression of crime. His presence at and in the neighbourhood of Meeranpoor proved of great benefit, it encouraged the good and restrained the bad. From the time of his return from there until his departure to his old District of Bijnour, he was so taken up with the Mountain Train Guns and their arrangements, drilling Goorkhas and Sikhs as artillerymen, &c., &c., that his time thus occupied, prevented his getting through much work in his Civil capacity. My wishes were always cordially responded to by Mr. Palmer, who invariably carried them out ably and well. Nothing could exceed the interest he took in the Mountain Train Guns, which on their arrival from Meerut I made over to him, he being the only individual who understood anything about Artillery practice. He instructed a party of Goorkhas in gun drill, and was indefatigable in rendering them efficient. Having served in the Artillery Division of the West Essex Yeomanry and studied gunnery, he thoroughly understood the work and was able to instruct others. His Guns were at Thanah Bhowun and made some capital practice.

Kour Doorga Pershad is an old and faithful Government servant thoroughly acquainted with the District, and very hardworking. During the disturbances he was always anxious to do his utmost, and exerted himself in procuring information. After order was restored he set to work with his usual zeal and energy, and I have to acknowledge valuable assistance received from him, chiefly in Revenue work.

Saadoollah Khan of Sahareo, Syud Goolam Hossein of Jowlee, Talib Alee of Sumbulherah, Khoorshyd Alee of Jansuth, Ummur Singh of Boorhanah, Syud Tofuzool Hossein of Meeranpoor, Munsoor Alee Khan of Jellalabad, all extensive Landholders, and Chundah Chowhan (shikaree) were in their several degrees very useful;—the Raees in keeping order and showing an example of loyalty to their people, in assisting in the collection of the Revenue and in supplying information. Chundah, though a poor shikaree, was from first to last indefatigable in watching the Ghâts, and in bringing intelligence of the enemy's movements.

He had a chain of Chowhan's at certain points along the river bank, who night and day watched the rebels.

A large sum was set on his head, and several attempts made to seize him, but he and his men were so familar with the jungle, that they invariably escaped. All the above have been already reported for loyalty, and recommended for reward.

R. M. EDWARDS,
*Magistrate.*

MOZUFFERNUGGUR
MAGISTRACY,
*The 16th November* 1858.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

# RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# MORADABAD,

IN 1857-58.

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FROM

J. C. WILSON, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner on Special Duty,*

To

G. F. EDMONSTONE, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government, Allahabad.*

DATED CAMP CALCUTTA, THE 24TH DECEMBER, 1858.

SIR,

In compliance with the express commands of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, I beg to submit the following narrative of the events, which came under my personal cognizance during the mutiny and rebellion.

2. You are aware that during the commencement of the year 1857, I held the position of Judge and Sessions Judge of Moradabad, and that consequently I had nothing to do with the executive of either the province or the district itself. But shortly after the outbreak at Meerut, seeing that a fearful mutiny and revolution were imminent, that the Magistrate and Joint Magistrate had only been recently appointed to their respective posts, (Mr. C. B. Saunders had joined, I think, in February, and Mr. J. S. Campbell, in March 1857,) and feeling that my standing in the service, my long incumbency at Moradabad, and the regard which all the really good citizens bore me, might benefit the state, and be the means of saving the shedding of Christian blood, I applied to the Officiating Secretary to Government N. W. Provinces, Agra, begging, in the event of my services being required, for an expression of implicit confidence and *carte blanche* to do as I liked. An answer having been received by electric telegraph in the affirmative, I did my utmost,—with what result, will be unfolded in the following pages.

3. Having premised thus much, I proceed with my narrative. Carefully collating oral information with facts as they occurred, I am convinced that Sunday, 31st May 1857, was the day fixed for the mutiny to commence throughout the Bengal Army; that there were committees* of about three members in each regiment, which conducted the duties, if I may so speak, of

* NOTE.—I have reasons for believing that most of these committee men, being leading spirits, were killed at Dehli. Bhola Singh, pay havildar of the 5th company, 29th regiment, was assuredly one of the committee, and I know that he was killed at Dehli.

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the mutiny; that the sipahees, as a body, knew nothing of the plans arranged; and that the only compact entered into by regiments, as a body, was that their particular regiment would do as the other regiments did. The committee conducted the correspondence and arranged the plan of operations, viz., that on the 31st May, parties should be told off to murder all European functionaries, most of whom would be engaged at church, seize the treasure, which would then be augmented by the first instalment of the rubbee harvest, and release the prisoners, of which an army existed in the North Western Provinces alone, of upwards of twenty-five thousand men. The regiments in Dehli, and its immediate vicinity, were instructed to seize the magazine and fortifications; but the massacre being complete and thoroughly carried out, and all opposition being thus rendered impossible, it was arranged that all other brigades and out-posts should remain at their respective stations.

4. From this combined and simultaneous massacre on the 31st May 1857, we were, humanly speaking, saved by Lieutenant Colonel Smyth, commanding the 3rd Regiment of Bengal Light Cavalry, and the frail ones of the Meerut bazar. Colonel Smyth had been engaged at the Hurdwar fair as president of a committee for passing remounts into the public service. On his return to the head-quarters of his regiment, he found that some dissatisfaction had been expressed by some of the troopers as to taking the same pistol cartridges which had been served out to the regiment for the two previous years. He insisted upon their being served out to, and taken by the men. His order was obeyed. The men refused. A court-martial was convened. Eighty-five men of the 3rd Light Cavalry were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and, having been put in fetters, were escorted to the Meerut jail, which is situated on the road to Dehli. And now the frail ones' taunts were heard far and wide, and the rest of the regiment was assailed with words like these:— "Your brethren have been ornamented with these anklets and incarcerated; "and for what? Because they would not swerve from their creed; and you, "cowards as your are, sit still indifferent to their fate. If you have an atom of "manhood in you, go and release them." The mine had been prepared and the train had been laid, but it was not intended to light the slow-match for another three weeks. The spark which fell from female lips ignited it at once. Meerut was in a blaze, and the night of the 10th May 1857 saw the commencement of a tragedy, never before witnessed since India passed under British sway.

5. Rumours, that not an Englishman was left alive in Meerut, reached Moradabad, which is 71 miles west of Meerut, on the 12th; but on the morning of the 13th, positive and authentic information of the massacre and outbreak was received. That day, with the consent of the officers, I went into the lines, and conversed freely with the native officers and men of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry. They listened attentively, and it was easy to see that there was a great majority of the regiment in favor of peace and order. Notice was served to all soldiers on leave to come in, and do duty with the Moradabad authorities. The next difficulty was the Rampoor jageer. You are aware that 16 miles east of Moradabad, there is a colony of Puthans, the head of which is the Nawab of Rampoor, who holds a jageer, the rental of which varies accordingly as it is managed, from 6,00,000 to 8,00,000 rupees per annum. In 1794, while Rohilkund belonged to the Nawab Vuzeer, these Puthans assassinated the Nawab Mohomud Alee Khan, and placed his younger brother, Gholam Mohomud Khan, on the guddee. The Nawab Vuzeer called upon the British for aid, and a desperate battle was fought with the Rampoor Puthans at Futtehgunj, 12 miles west of Bareilly, in which a Queen's regiment of Foot was almost annihilated, and Ramsay, the Cavalry Commandant, was never seen, till he was discovered years afterwards in America. One or two companies of the Queen's regiment however stood firm,—victory sided with the British, and Ahmud Alee, the infant son of the murdered Nawab, was installed in the jageer, but its area was considerably diminished. This Ahmud Alee died without male heirs in 1841, leaving a daughter, whose mother

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was a sweeperess; and the British Government placed on the guddee Mohomud Saeed Khan, the eldest son of Gholam Mohomud Khan, the murderer of Ahmud Alee's father in 1794. Mohomud Saeed Khan had been educated with his brothers at Benares, under the care of the chief civil authorities of the time, and in 1841 he was Deputy Collector of Budaon, a district in Rohilkund, bordering upon Moradabad. He was a thorough well-wisher of the British, and bringing his education and the administrative experience acquired in our service, to bear upon the jageer, he soon brought it into exceedingly good order. Mohomud Saeed Khan died in 1855, and he was succeeded by his eldest son, Yoosuf Alee Khan, the present Nawab. He too has a younger brother, Kazim Alee Khan, and it struck me as being highly probable that the scenes of 1794 might be enacted over again. Then there was Ahmud Alee's daughter by the sweeperess, and her husband, for Mohomud Saeed Khan had caused her to be married to his nephew, Mehndee Alee Khan, who is consequently first cousin to Yoosuf Alee Khan. This youth had frequently claimed the jageer in virtue of his wife being the daughter of Ahmud Alee Khan, and he was at the time of the outbreak in London with the party from Oudh, having gone to England, ostensibly with a view to induce the home Government to interfere in his case. Accordingly at 3 o'clock A. M. of the 14th, I rode over to Rampoor, and had separate interviews with the Nawab Yoosuf Alee Khan, and his brother Kazim Alee Khan. Both appeared loyal and true, and, as far as they were personally concerned, I was under no apprehension; but the well known villainy of the whole Puthan race, as a body, utterly destitute as it is of any religious principle, was a source of the greatest anxiety. To try and give confidence, on my return from Rampoor I went to Court and held a sessions trial.

6. On the 15th, the Meerut dâk of the 13th did not arrive, and the cause assigned was, that the Goojurs of the Meerut district had closed the high road between Meerut and Gurhmooktaisur. On the same date pressing letters were received from the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, Agra, to the effect, that 300 Irregular Cavalry kept up by the Rampoor Nawab, solely to please the British Government, had been ordered over to clear the road between Boolundshuhur and Meerut, and begging that a party should be sent from Moradabad to clear the road between Gurhmooktaisur and Meerut.

7. On Saturday, 16th, a letter from Bareilly, addressed by the Commissioner of Revenue to the Magistrate, was received, stating that *he* had ordered the Nawab of Rampoor's 300 Irregular Cavalry, and also the 66th Goorkhas from Almorah to Bareilly, and that all the ladies and women at Bareilly had been sent off to the sanatarium of Nainee Tal. We also resolved that a party should go and clear the road between Gurhmooktaisur and Meerut, and it was first agreed that the Magistrate and myself should lead the party. Subsequently the Magistrate represented to me, that he did not like leaving the district under the sole care of the Joint Magistrate, and I consented to remain in Moradabad. Detailed accounts of the Meerut massacre and intimation of the murder of Mr. Simon Fraser, and of the appointment of Mr. Fleetwood Williams, Judge of Meerut, to succeed him, were also received.

8. Sunday, the 17th. The Meerut mails of the 14th and 15th arrived, and intelligence was received through the police that a party of sipahees had crossed the Ganges and were marching for Moradabad.

9. Monday, the 18th. The party for clearing the road between Gurhmooktaisur and Meerut, consisting of Irregular Cavalry leave men, men of the Jail guard, and new levies, having been organized, it was resolved that the Magistrate and Civil Assistant Surgeon should head the party, starting at 9 o'clock P. M. At 8 o'clock P. M., when the party was assembled, news was brought that the party of sipahees alluded to above, had encamped for the night on the banks of the river Ganggun, distant four miles from Moradabad, on the Meerut road. Deeming it absolutely necessary that these men should

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be arrested, I proposed that the party, prepared for the duty on the Meerut road, should be strengthened by a detachment of the 29th Native Infantry, and that after the sipahees had been secured, the party should proceed on its way towards Meerut. Accordingly a detachment, under Captain Faddy and Lieutenant Clifford, two very superior officers, was placed at our disposal, and we marched for the spot. En route we were warned by the cotwal, who had been sent on to reconnoitre, that the men of the 29th Regiment would not fire at the sipahees. This caused us to alter our line of march, and to make the detachment bring up the rear, while the sowars were placed in front. On reaching the spot, the sowars were spread out so as to surround the sipahees on three sides, and I went up to them. I demanded to be informed, who commanded the party. Upon this a jemadar sprung to his feet, and saluted me, saying that he and his party were on detachment duty. I called for his command certificate, upon which he fumbled among his baggage, and I then observed that he quietly awakened the sipahees, who were sleeping. In a few seconds he put a piece of paper into my hands, which, in consequence of the darkness of the night, (it was starlight,) I could not read. By this time the sipahees were thoroughly aroused, and considering that there ought to be no further delay in seizing them, I called upon Captain Faddy, who had halted about 100 yards off, to advance. He did so, and a scuffle ensued; I think the sipahees fired two shots only; one of them was shot dead, while running away, by a sowar, and eight or ten of them were seized with, to the best of my belief, Rs. 13,000 in bags of Rs. 1,000 each. The men of the 29th then behaved exceedingly ill; and ever and anon, to create confusion, they untied in the dark the string of a bag of rupees, and then a general scramble for the money took place among them. At length the prisoners and the cash were placed upon elephants and made over to the Magistrate and the Civil Assistant Surgeon, with a view to their being taken to Meerut. About 1 o'clock A. M., the party destined for Meerut, proceeded towards Rujjubpoor; and Captain Faddy, Lieutenant Clifford, and myself returned to Moradabad with the corpse of the mutineer who had been shot. The corpse was deposited in the dispensary for the night, the jail, for obvious reasons, not being deemed a proper place for it. On reading the command certificate, it appeared that the mutinous sipahees consisted of a party of 1 jemadar, 2 havildars, 2 naiks, and 24 sipahees of the 20th Regiment Native Infantry, which had been ordered to relieve at the Mozuffernugger treasury a similar party of the 15th Regiment Native Infantry. Hence it was clear that the cash found upon them had been plundered by them from the Mozuffernugger treasury.

10. Tuesday, May 19th. At the following dawn, five more of the mutineers of the above party, who had escaped us over night, entered cantonments. Three were seized by a Sikh sipahee of Captain Davidson's night guard, and some two or three hundred rupees were found upon them. The remaining two entered the lines direct; one of them was shot by a Sikh sipahee of the 29th, and the other was arrested, after receiving a slight scratch from a bayonet in the thigh. Unfortunately while I was asleep, these four men and the corpse of the man shot, were sent by the Adjutant to the criminal jail. Shortly after this occurrence it might have been 7 o'clock A. M. Sirdar Buhadur Deen Mohomud Khan, Commandant of the Rampoor Irregular Cavalry Regiment, came to my house, and I was awakened to receive him. He had come on in advance of 200 men of his regiment, and he begged me to point out to him the best grove for him to encamp, adding, "I wish to reach Boolundshuhur by forced marches." I directed him to proceed to the grove west of cantonments, on the road leading to Meerut and Hussunpoor. He accordingly left me for that purpose, attended by three or four orderlies. I then visited the jail and the lines, and having returned to my house, I was engaged in bathing, when all the officers of the 29th Regiment rode up and called me outside. It appears that the sipahee of the 20th Regiment, shot that morning in the lines, was the brother of the wife of one Soonsar Singh, a sipahee of No. 7 company of the 29th Regiment, and he having collected together about 160 or 170 men of the Light, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th companies, rushed to the jail; and as the

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jail guard, under a villain named Surrubsookh, jemadar, fraternized* with the sipahees, they released not only the men of the 20th Regiment, but every prisoner; and it was to inform me of this circumstance that the officers had come to my house. I got upon my horse and accompanied the officers, taking the road to the Jail. About 100 yards short of the Jail, we found that the prisoners were running around us in all directions; and as the mischief had been done, it appeared madness to proceed to the Jail, incurring the most deadly risk, without the slightest chance of doing any good; and remembering that the Sirdar Buhadur's Rampoor Cavalry must be in the vicinity, I galloped off in the direction of the Ram Gunga. In about ten minutes I found them, and I offered to lead them in a charge against the sipahees who had released the prisoners. I was met with insolence, and something worse than a positive refusal. I then returned to the lines, and finding that the Adjutant had gone with a number of good sipahees to the westward in search of the runaway prisoners, I entreated some of the men of the 29th to accompany me also. Upon this Buldeo Singh, pay havildar of the Grenadier company, induced eight or ten men of his company to join me. With these men, and aided by three men of the Rampoor Irregulars, I managed to arrest a considerable number of convicts; but at one time having out-ridden the sowars, and finding myself alone among a batch of twelve prisoners, who had armed themselves with sticks, I was compelled to shoot three of them. The report of my revolver restoring confidence to the inhabitants of an adjacent village, they came to my assistance, and the nine surviving convicts were secured on the spot. By the exertions of the Adjutant, including the prisoners secured by me, some 150 men were re-captured and lodged in jail. That day all the ladies from cantonments, save two, and the wife of one Civilian, took refuge at the court-house; the other ladies and the Joint Magistrate went to the house of the Nawab of Rampoor, situated in the town of Moradabad, and to his honor Jawad Alee,† the pensioned serishtadar of the Collectorate, stood sentry with his sword under his arm at the door of the room in which they remained. I ought to mention, that it is currently believed that the Rampoor Irregular Cavalry proposed to the Infantry and Artillery guard over the treasury to share the treasure with them; but the latter declined the offer, saying that they were quite strong enough to take the treasure whenever they thought fit. Be this as it may, when I visited the Sirdar Buhadur Deen Mohomud Khan in the afternoon at his encamping ground, with a view to insure his marching at 4 o'clock P. M., in reply to a question from me, he admitted that the whole of his men were in a state of mutiny, and that he had no control over them. It was about 1 o'clock P. M. when I returned from the pursuit of the convicts and reached the lines: not a soul was to be seen. All the bazar people and the menials had quitted the lines, and an ominous silence proclaimed that a crisis was at hand. Not an atom of food was that day cooked in the lines. I first proceeded to the court-house, and proposed to Captain Whish, the Officer commanding the 29th, that the corps should be paraded, and that I should address the men at 5 o'clock P. M. This proposal having been agreed to, and an undress parade ordered, I went off to the Rampoor Nawab's house in the city. I found the ladies and the Joint Magistrate uninjured; but a panic prevailed throughout the town, and every shop was shut. At a little before the appointed hour I went from my own residence towards the court-house, escorted by two or three sowars, with a view to pick up the officers of the 29th Regiment. As I approached, the Artillery men rushed to the guns, which were loaded with grape, and laid towards me, with a lighted slow-match prepared to fire. I waved my hat and rode straight up to them, and they then slunk back into their former positions. The officers joined me, and we rode to the quarter-guard. Not a man of the 29th had turned out, and on the Commanding Officer informing me that the men, suspecting treachery, would not come out of their huts, I suggested that balled cartridge should be served out, and that the men should assemble armed. This was done, and the men appeared on parade. A hollow square was formed, and I addressed the regi-

* I subsequently learnt that the sipahees of the 29th fired four shots in the air, and that the jail guard did the same. Surrubsookh is still at large. It was well known that he was in the Rampoor Nawab's service, and the moment my list of offenders was placed in the hands of the Nawab's brother, notice was given to Surrubsookh.

† Still unrewarded.

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ment. I spoke of the enormity of the offence which had been committed that morning; that I knew it had been committed by about 150 young scamps of the corps; and that it was not just that men like myself, who had been at work 30 years, and had grown grey in the service, should be ruined, because a set of young boys ("*loundahs*,") had perpetrated a gross crime; that if every man in the corps would swear upon salt and water, that they would behave well in future, I would on my part solicit the Governor General not to call the corps to account for an offence committed by less than one-fourth of their whole number. The native officers then asked, if I would swear on the Bible to perform what I had promised. I agreed, and the corps and myself mutually took the oath as pledged. The shops in the town were opened, the ladies came forth from their place of refuge, and all of us, I believe, were relieved of a weight of care, such as few would like to undergo again. As for myself, I felt sure that we were safe until the Bareilly brigade should mutiny. That same night the Magistrate and the Civil Assistant Surgeon hearing at Rajubpoor, a spot distant 25 miles, where they had halted for the day, that the Jail had been broken open, and that the 29th had mutinied, having made over the treasure and the prisoners of the 20th Regiment Native Infantry to the Tehseeldar of Amroha, returned to Moradabad. Every ill-disposed person (*budmash*) however, seeing that the only means which we possessed for keeping them in order, viz. the troops of the line, had themselves turned against us, thought their harvest was at hand, and the Goojurs of Loodoulee, &c., distant 8 miles, on the Bijnore road, stopped the Bijnore dâk, and opened the ball by plundering a number of carts laden with sugar. At length this trying day came to an end.

11. The following day, (Wednesday, May 20th,) the 29th Regiment was in a very feverish state, and the majority were anxious to go off to Dehli. The native officers however restrained them. The Adjutant advanced money to the bunneeahs of the city to enable them to send supplies into the lines. Food was cooked, the menials of the bazar returned to their occupations, and every thing assumed its wonted appearance, so much so, that in the evening Lieutenant Clifford went with a party of sipahees, aided by sowars, to attack the Loodoulee Goojurs. This party returned the following morning with 80 Goojur prisoners, having burnt that village and one adjacent. I observed that many of the sipahees' havresacks were full of the plundered sugar.

12. Thursday, May 21st. Moulvee Munnoo, a noted blackguard of Moradabad, had written over to Rampoor to Aboo Khan (par mobile) to bring over the Rampoor mob to Moradabad, raise the green flag, and plunder the town. All this was duly reported to us, but they did not approach Moradabad till about 11 o'clock A. M. A company of the 29th Native Infantry was ordered out under Captain Faddy, and I accompanied it with some sowars. We crossed the river Ram Gunga at the Bareilly ghât, and seeing a man dressed in green on foot, I advanced towards him. While speaking to him I knocked up the pan of his blunderbuss; he put it down. I then laid hold of the muzzle of the blunderbuss, and held it firmly, pointing upwards. The fellow then drew a pistol from his belt, when a sipahee, by name Kalka Singh,* of the 5th company, who had followed me unperceived, knocked him down, and then the darogah of the bridge of boats, by name Taj-ood-deen,† gave him two sword cuts across the back of the neck. Ten or twelve more leaders were then seized by the sowars, the martyr mob fled, and the prisoners and the wounded man were escorted to the quarter-guard.

13. The wounded leader was named Khan Buhadur, and he was a burkundaz in the Rampoor cotwalee. I must do the Nawab the justice to say, that although he did not report to us the plans of his mob, (they had resolved to come down upon us in two columns of 1,000 men each,) he induced one of the leaders (Imam) by bribes to return, and thus his column was broken up; and it is said that he offered to raise Khan Buhadur's pay one rupee per mensem,

* This man subsequently joined the mutineers, and took his share of the treasure, when he decamped quietly to his home.

† Taj-ood-deen has not yet been rewarded.

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provided he would desist from carrying his design into execution. This he refused to do, and he will carry a stiff neck to his grave with him. That same night, a body of police went to the house of Moulvee Munnoo, and ordered him to appear at the cotwalee. He resisted, and a fight ensued, in which Moulvee Munnoo and his slave *(gholam)* were killed.

14. Friday, May 22nd. The Deputy Magistrate of Rampoor, at our request, came with a party of horse and foot, and took away from the quarter-guard the wounded man and the Rampoor prisoners; but up to this hour none of these men have been punished. Intelligence was received of the murder of Mudud Alee, thanahdar, and of the jemadar of Amroha; that the tehseeldaree had been plundered of 14,000 rupees; that both the thanah and the tehseelee had been burnt, and the prisoners, arrested at the Gangun river, released. Some time before the rebellion took place, a number of Amroha blackguards, headed by one Mihrban Alee, had insolently opposed the police of Amroha, while going their rounds. One of the burkundazes drew his sword, and slightly wounded one of the villains, when the rest of them ran away. The case came before the Joint Magistrate, who sentenced some ten or twelve of the offenders to imprisonment and fine. An appeal was preferred to my Court, and the decision of the lower Court was confirmed. When the Jail was broken open on the 19th, these Amroha blackguards fled to Amroha. The thanahdar, who had been opposed in his duty, was Afzul Alee, a Syud, a very first-rate police officer. When the Goojurs and Mewatees of the Bijnore border commenced plundering right and left, under Mookkha Goojur, and Peer Buksh, Mewatee, (Toonta,) it was deemed advisable to recall Afzul Alee from Amroha, and to give him, as his special duty, the task of putting down those plunderers; and his father, Mudud Alee, also a first-rate police officer, and a noted *puhlwan*, was sent to govern Amroha in his son's stead. There is a notorious villain in Amroha, of the name of Goolzar Alee; he is one of the Amroha Syud maufeedars; but having wasted his paternal property in gambling, extravagance, and other vices, he has long been one of the worst characters in a town notorious for all kinds of villainy. Acting under the guidance of this Goolzar Alee, the ten or twelve escaped prisoners, above alluded to, committed the crimes above detailed. Goorsahaee,* a Jât of great influence, and who had been often employed both under the Magistrate and the Judge, was then sent out to take charge of the thanah and tehseelee of Amroha, and nobly has he, from that hour to the time of the Nawab of Rampoor making over charge of the district to the new Magistrate and Collector in June 1858, done his duty.

15. Some days previously some companies of the Sappers and Miners, who had been sent for from Roorkee to Meerut, shot their Commanding Officer, and were in their turn cut down by a troop of the 6th Dragoon Guards. This intelligence had caused a great sensation in the lines of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry, and it was with no enviable feelings that we heard from Bijnore, that two other companies of that once distinguished corps having mutinied at Roorkee, had crossed the Ganges, and were marching towards Moradabad by the Hurdwar road, plundering some of the tehseelees *en route*. About 12 o'clock mid-day, these two companies were distinctly visible from the top of the court-house, and at the same time a number of their camp-followers, such as barbers, &c., entered the lines. Captain Whish ordered out 200 men of the 29th, and the two 9-pounders, and we all joined the party with the Irregular Cavalry, which we had been able to collect since the 13th, and the district sowars. Immediately this column marched out to oppose the Sappers and Miners, intelligence of our movements was conveyed to them. At this time they were about two miles from the station, and instead of continuing their march, they turned to the left, and crossed the Ram Gunga at the village of Kafiabad. To counteract this movement of the rebels, we crossed the Ram Gunga at the upper Nainee Tal ghât. One of the tumbrils got fixed in a

* Goorsahaee has been a very great pecuniary loser by his exertions on the part of the British Government. He has not been rewarded.

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quicksand, and as it was immovable, until the Infantry should come up the Cavalry went forward, accompanied by the Magistrate and Joint Magistrate, in hopes of discovering the line which the mutineers had taken. Shortly afterwards the Infantry came up, and the tumbril was extricated. When the guns and Infantry had gone about half a mile from the left bank of the river, notice was brought us by a sowar, that the Joint Magistrate, with a few sowars, had headed the Sappers and Miners in the north. I, distrusting the Artillery men, who, from the commencement of our troubles, had displayed the most mutinous spirit, had accompanied the guns all day, urged them on by the high road to Kasheepoor, thus hemming in the mutineers on the east. At this time a number of the sowars had gone in among the Sappers and Miners, endeavouring to induce them to lay down their arms, but in vain. The guns were loaded with shrapnel, the port-fire was lit, the sowars had been ordered to retire, but two district sowars still lingered among them. A second time was a warning given to these two horsemen to retire, and no sooner had they turned their horses' heads, than the mutineers flung down their carbines, and ran into the arms of the men of the 29th Regiment, which by this time had come to within 200 yards of the scene from the southward. Knowing the danger of taking these men as prisoners into the lines, and seeing the good feeling which existed between the mutineers and our own troops, we resolved to strip them of every thing, but one suit of clothes, and to turn them adrift. This we did, and they to a man ran off in the direction of Bareilly. In this affair we got 63 carbines, ammunition, regimental clothing, cash, and plunder of various kinds, thus depriving the villains of their means of doing mischief. We afterwards learnt that they reached Bareilly in a pitiable plight. It was evening before we reached the station. There must have been 150 of the Sappers and Miners, when first seen from the top of the court-house; but owing to the inequalities in the land in the vicinity of the Ram Gunga, we never sighted them again till the party, which we stripped, were stopped by the Joint Magistrate and his small party of sowars. During this interval, 80 or 90 of them must have escaped by throwing away their arms.

16. Sunday, the 24th. News arrived from Bijnore that the prisoners had escaped from the Bijnore Jail. Disorder reigned supreme;—every one plundering the wheat from the thrashing floors of the villages adjacent. A detachment of the 8th Irregulars, consisting of a jemadar's party* under Quaem-ood-deen, arrived.

17. Monday, the 25th. A demonstration being required to assist Goorsahaee in Amroha, and the Goojurs having positively stopped the road to that town, an expedition was organized, and at 11 o'clock P. M., 100 men of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry, under command of Captain Faddy, mounted on elephants and ponies, accompanied by about 50 Irregular Cavalry under myself, and the Civil Assistant Surgeon, marched for Amroha. Ensigns Tucker and Graham were also of the party. Although Amroha is only 21 miles from Moradabad, we did not, in consequence of the great heat and stillness of the atmosphere, reach the town till 5 o'clock A. M. of the next day. The column was marched through the principal streets of the town, and we then drew the Infantry up in line opposite Goolzar Alee's† house, while it was being knocked to the ground. All the leading maufeedars were present. I took a *phourah* in my hand, and commenced the work of destruction, and each maufeedar was made to follow my example. After giving the men a little refreshment, the Civil Assistant Surgeon and myself started with the Cavalry to punish the Goojurs and others who had been engaged in plundering and stopping the road. This was done so effectually, that up to the date of our retreat from Moradabad, a single traveller might go from Moradabad to Amroha unmolested. We did not reach cantonments till late in the afternoon.

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* 1 Jemadar, 2 Dufladars, 25 Troopers. † This villain is still at large.

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18. Wednesday, the 27th. A most cruel attack was made on the 26th by some Syuds, Goshains, and Mewatees, on a wealthy bunneeah, in the village of Mudhun, distant about eight miles from Moradabad. The head of the family was absent, and thus escaped; but one brother was killed, other relatives were wounded, and one was tortured, by tying cotton to his arm and igniting it. To try and arrest some of the perpetrators, Qoorban Alee,* jemadar of the district sowars, was deputed with a party of horse. He returned unsuccessful.

19. Thursday, the 28th. A letter arrived from the Brigadier General at Bareilly, praising the men of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry for their good and loyal conduct against the mutinous Sappers and Miners. This letter was translated and read to the corps on the parade. I remember well going to Court this day. Crime had decreased, and every thing began to look promising. All eyes were turned towards Dehli, and the general belief was, that the fall of that fortified town would save us all.

20. Friday, the 29th. The Goojurs from the Meerut district having crossed over to the left bank of the Ganges, had as usual commenced plundering in the pergunnah of Hussunpoor. To punish these Goojurs, and those Goojurs of the Moradabad district who had invited their brethren from the Meerut side, the Joint Magistrate went out to Hussunpoor with 50 Irregular Cavalry. In fact, with the exception of the Hussunpoor pergunnah, order had been restored, and I went to Court this day also.

21. Saturday, the 30th. Letter received from the Joint Magistrate, saying that he had attacked the Goojurs, that his only casualty was one horse badly wounded, that the greater part of the Goojurs had escaped by swimming the Ganges, and that after punishing the offending villagers of the Hussunpoor pergunnah, he would return to the station. Went to Court, and all was quiet. In the afternoon I talked for a long time with the men in the lines. Not that I did not talk with them every day, and frequently several times in the day, but on this date I talked with them several hours.

22. Sunday, the 31st. This was the day of the massacre and outbreak at Shahjehanpoor and Bareilly. Service was performed by the Magistrate at six o'clock A. M., and I remonstrated with the Officers, who all came to church unarmed. The 200 Rampoor Irregular Cavalry, under Sirdar Buhadur Deen Mohomud Khan, this day encamped outside the town of Moradabad. They had disgraced themselves, and their master the Nawab, by mutinous conduct at Boolundshuhur, so much so, that Major Reid, the Commandant of the Goorkhas, would have disarmed them, had they not retreated before he could carry out his intention. Instead of returning by the direct road, they had gone out of their way to visit the town of Amroha, where they spread all kinds of reports detrimental to the British cause, and instigated the Syuds and their followers to rebel. The same course they pursued this day in the town of Moradabad. It was impossible not to perceive that the minds of the sipahees were again very much unsettled, and I believe this was owing to the circumstance that the 31st May had been fixed for the general rising and massacre of all who professed Christianity. Still they committed no act of violence; and I remember well, translating and reading to them the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief, assuring the Army on his Honor, that there was no intention on the part of Government to interfere in any way with their religious feelings. The post from Bareilly arrived as usual, bringing the daily doleful letter from the Commissioner of Revenue to the Magistrate. It was however dated the day previously, and it was the last which we received. The news of the victory gained by the Meerut troops over the Dehli and Meerut mutineers, near the river Hindun, reached Moradabad, at least I think so, on this day; and I well remember affecting to congratulate the corps upon the success of our arms, which I ventured to predict would be the forerunner of the taking of Dehli. Most of the men received the announcement in moody silence, and

* This man continued loyal; his son was killed at Dehli by a grape shot on the 14th September 1857. The father has been pensioned on the full pay of his rank, and he has received a present of Rs. 1,000.

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the Adjutant, than whom a braver man does not exist, suggested to me, that the less said about the victory and the slaughter of the mutineers, the better.

23. Monday, June 1st, 1857. No Sunday post from Bareilly. This was ominous, because it had been agreed upon that nothing should cause the suspension of correspondence, save the fact of the rising of the Bareilly brigade. I went into the lines early to speak to the men, and to gather, if possible, some information relative to Bareilly. I then went to Court. There even rumours, that the Bareilly brigade had mutinied, reached me.

24. Tuesday, June 2nd. I was called up from my bed at 2 o'clock A. M., by a confidential servant of the Nawab of Rampoor, who told me that he had been sent by his master to make known to me the outbreak at Bareilly, the death of Brigadier Sibbald, Mr. Robert Orr, Deputy Collector, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Raikes, of the Civil Service, and of Doctor Hay; and to beg me to quit Rohilkund. On my saying that my honor would not permit me to do so, he replied in these emphatic words:—"The Nawab desired "me to say, that he had fulfilled all the conditions which our long-standing "friendship demanded, and that having warned me in time, whatever fate "befell me, he would be free of blame." I got up and went to the Adjutant, and at dawn all the native officers were called in. Captain Whish, the Commandant, Captain Faddy, and the Adjutant, were present. I explained to the native officers the state of affairs, and I pointed out the only honorable course left for us; viz., to hold the district until the Bareilly brigade came to a distance of 20 miles of us, and that then we should march to Meerut with colours flying, taking our guns and treasure with us. The native officers agreed, and begged that the proposal should be laid before the men in the lines. We all accordingly adjourned to the lines, and, as we expected, the proposal was met with derision. Bholah Singh, above alluded to in note to paragraph 3, instantly charged me with a wish to bring them under the muzzles of the rifles of the 60th, and the sabres of the 6th Dragoon Guards, (Carabineers,) and treat them in the same way as the Sappers and Miners had been treated at Meerut. To this insolent villain I replied that he lied; and moreover, that he knew that he was lying. He rejoined by saying, that the Company had ordered the corps to be posted at Moradabad, and that come what might, it would remain there. It was now evident that the corps, having received authentic information of the rising at Bareilly on the previous Sunday, had resolved to mutiny also. There was the treasure, some Rs. 2,70,000, hanging like a millstone around our necks. The mutinous demeanour of the regiment had caused about a thousand bad characters of the town of Moradabad and its environs to surround the court-house, at a distance of about 200 yards, waiting for the time when they might pounce upon a portion of the treasure. All night long some of the non-commissioned officers of the treasury guard came and roused me up, stating that these bad characters were threatening to attack the guard and plunder the treasure. This was doubtless a ruse to harass us, but it was perfectly true that the bad characters were there.

25. At last the day of Wednesday, the 3rd of June, dawned; and I went to the Commanding Officer, and suggested to him that it would be far better, instead of keeping a Captain and a company, besides the Artillery Officer and his two guns day and night on duty at the treasury, to make over the treasure in the tumbrils to the Officer commanding the treasury guard, and to draw them up on the parade-ground in front of the quarter-guard. This proposal was approved of, and it was resolved to carry it into effect as soon as the treasurer made his appearance. About 9 o'clock A. M. I found that some of our elephants, which had gone out as usual for fodder, had been forcibly brought back by a sipahee of the treasury guard. The treasurer, though sent for, did not make his appearance, and I went to the treasury alone, having received the keys from the Collector; but as there are always two locks on the treasury chests, the key of one of which remains with the treasurer, it was impossible, without violence, to open the chests. It was

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during this time that a young sipahee addressed me in a most insolent manner, asking why the treasure was not made over to them at once, so that they might return to their lines to cook. I replied, that the treasure chests had double locks, the key of one of which was kept by the treasurer; that he had been sent for, and would doubtless shortly arrive. He rejoined, "You are always fooling us in this way." The Magistrate and Collector then joined me, and we proceeded to destroy the second lock by sledge hammers. In this we had partially succeeded, when the treasurer arrived. While I was passing out the bags of rupees, the Magistrate and Collector was tearing up all the most valuable stamp papers, concealed from the sight of the men of the guard by a door. All this time Runjeet Singh, soubadar,* (who had for good conduct some years previously been presented by all the European officers of the regiment with a sword, who had been sent to the Rifle Instruction Depôt at Umballa, and who had frequently, in my hearing, spoken to the sipahees of the regiment on the folly of supposing that there was any thing in the cartridges to injure their castes,) sat at the door of the treasure room, silent and gloomy. At the time I thought he thirsted for our blood, but I now believe that he sat there hoping thereby to save the Collector and myself from being assassinated in the small treasure room. His brother, Buldeo Singh,† pay havildar of the Grenadier company, also came down from the lines in undress, and seated himself on the steps of the eastern verandah of the Court, close to the spot at which the tumbrils were being filled. When about a fourth of the treasure was still in the treasure room, Bhowanee Singh soubadar came with about 30 sipahees in undress, and mixed with the rest of the men forming the treasury guard. It was hardly a time for jesting, but I jokingly said to Bhowanee Singh, "What, Soubadar sahib, was not one company "under a Captain and a Soubadar sufficient to escort two or three lakhs of "rupees to the lines, without your taking the trouble to come down yourself, "bringing 30 more men with you?" He replied, "A few more hands will do no "harm." I little thought at the time how much I was about to be indebted‡ to him. When all the treasure was placed in the tumbrils, the Collector, myself and the treasurer, came out into the eastern verandah, and then began murmurs as to the amount of treasure. The Artillery men forcibly carried off the treasurer towards the guns, and were in the act of tying him to one of them, when Captain Faddy, who is deservedly a favourite with his men, rescued him. By this time the Collector and myself had mounted our horses, when four young sipahees of the treasury guard levelled their muskets at us. At this instant Bhowanee Singh soubadar, and Buldeo Singh,§ pay havildar of the Grenadier company, stepped between the muskets and our persons, and the former raising his hand said in an authoritative tone, "What! do you wish to "see the flesh rot from your bones? Did you not take a most solemn "oath not to hurt a hair of their heads, and are you now firing at them?" The muskets were lowered, and the Collector and myself rode off to the house where we were all living together, satisfied that it was high time to be off. On reaching home we wrote a note to the officers, stating that we should start for Meerut in an hour, and invited them to join us with their wives and families. The messenger was allowed by the sipahees to deliver the note,

* The Order of Merit, with the title of Buhadur, has since been conferred on him by the orders of Government.

† Since made a Soubadar.

‡ This Bhowanee Singh soubadar had frequently talked to me, between the 13th May and the 3rd of June, on the ruin which the mutiny would cause him. He had been 40 years in the service, and he used to weep over the anticipated loss of pay, position, pension, &c.—When I tried to rouse him to fight, saying that the bad men were only as 200 to 500,—he replied by saying, "What can we do against the Artillery, who are more mutinous than any of us." When to this I rejoined, "Let all the good men join the officers and myself, "I will then dispose of the Artillery men, and take the guns on our side." He continued weeping, and replied, "You will be the first killed." "What do I care," I said; "you are going to disgrace me, and I had rather "lose my life than be disgraced." It was all in vain. Nothing more could I get out of him than the old tale, "You will be the first to be shot, the moment you try to separate the good from the bad men." What material for making a soldier of? This faithful old servant of the Government saved my life at the risk of his own, but he distinctly refused to follow me, when I wished to risk that life in saving for him all that men, generally speaking, hold dear in life,—honor, pay, position, pension, &c. A moral coward, he refused to fight against his brethren. He subsequently marched with the mutinous Regiment to Dehli, a weak victim to circumstances. Where he is now I know not. Would that I could find him; he was always designated "Amaitheea," *id est*, of or belonging to Amaithee, and was by caste a Chohan Rajpoot.

§ Buldeo Singh has been made a Soubadar by the Governor General, and he is now with me. A noble specimen of a pure Rajpoot does not exist.

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but not to bring us back an answer. Seeing this, Captain Whish and Captain Faddy came over to our house, and said that they could not start for an hour or so. We agreed that we would wait for them at the bridge over the river Gangun, distant four miles from the station. The sipahees, instead of taking the treasure tumbrils to the quarter-guard, took them to the gun-shed, and the two 9-pounders, loaded with grape, were laid so as to command the Meerut road. Suspecting that this would be the case, I had resolved to lead our party out of the station by the Bijnore road, turning off to the Meerut road through a *kuroundah* jungle; but fearing lest the groom, to whom I gave charge of a buggy and horse, with orders, half an hour before we started, to take them to the 3rd mile stone on the Meerut road, should inadvertently betray me, if I entrusted him with my designs, I told him to go by the regular road. The man was compelled by the sipahees to turn back. He did so, but instead of returning to the house, he took the very line which I had determined to take. It was a little after 3 o'clock P. M. when our party started. It consisted of nine Europeans, four ladies, four gentlemen, and one discharged artillery man. At the moment of departure all the district sowars, but Qoorban Alee, jemadar, (his son killed at Dehli on the 14th September, 1857,) Buhar Buksh, and Buldeo Singh Bhudowreea, deserted us; so did all the new levies but one, who is now a duffadar in the Dehli police sowars. Some of the Irregular Cavalry men on leave accompanied us. Three men out of the 28 men of the 8th Irregulars, also deserted us, but the remainder accompanied us. Marching out, as above mentioned, by the Bijnore road, and cutting across the *kuroundah* jungle, we reached the Gangun bridge, the appointed rendezvous. I forgot to mention, that before the ladies quitted their rooms, the men of the jail guard commenced plundering the furniture, bedding, &c. Having waited half an hour at the bridge, we proceeded to the 8th mile stone, to a large village called Packhurah. It is customary for those, who have cursorily ran through India, to state that the British officers are hated, and that this hatred led to the rebellion. That some officers may be hated is very true, but that such is generally the case I deny. When we reached Packhurah, we had an escort of 50 horsemen. We were fugitives, flying from a corps belonging to a mutinous, over-pampered, spoilt army. What inducement existed, at such a time, for a native to show sympathy? Yet whence came the tears which were shed, and the milk which was offered by the villagers of Packhurah, during the hour which we remained there, waiting in vain for the officers and their party? It is not for me, who have held authority in the Moradabad district since the year 1841, to answer this question. Let those who, without knowing even a smattering of the language, presume to write and dictate upon Indian affairs, answer it. When we reached Rujjubpoor, distant 25 miles from Moradabad, we halted to bait our horses. Here we learnt that Mr. Fleetwood Williams, who had been on the 13th May gazetted to be Commissioner of Dehli, vice Mr. Simon Fraser murdered, and who on the 19th May had been ordered to take charge of the Bareilly Commissionership from Mr. Robert Alexander, had arrived early that morning; but hearing from the police of Rujjubpoor, of the Bareilly massacre, and of our difficulties in Moradabad, he had retraced his steps at 3 o'clock P. M. for Gurhmooktaisur. We also found emissaries from Dehli in the seraie. These began tampering with our escort, and succeeded in seducing some of the sowars from us, Buldeo Singh Budhoureea among the number. We had still 18 miles further before us, and the Ganges to cross, ere we could reach Gurhmooktaisur. We reached the river about 8 o'clock A. M., and as some rain had fallen in the mountains, it was rising. The consequence was, that the bridge was on the point of being rendered useless, and it was with difficulty that we all got safely over. On the bridge we met Mr. Fleetwood Williams. He conducted us to a *dhurrumsalah*, a masonry building erected by a Goshain, and here we passed the day of Thursday the 4th June. In the evening we again started for Meerut, distant 27 miles. We arrived there about 5 o'clock A. M. of Friday, 5th June, and were most hospitably received by the inmates of the Dumdumah. That evening the General commanding the Meerut Division promoted every one of the Irregular Cavalry men, both those on leave and those on duty, who had escorted us over; and as the

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former entreated me to get them eight days' leave, to enable them to put their wives and families in a place of safety, I induced the General to grant them that indulgence, on their promising me most solemnly to return within the given period. Alas! not one returned. They deemed us all doomed men. Quaem-ood-deen, the jemadar of the 8th Irregulars, was raised to the rank of a Rissaldar, and how gratefully he repaid us for the indulgence will appear hereafter. This man on the journey, while conversing with a lady of our party, told her, that on the 23rd of the month, the British would be masters of India for one hundred years; that astrologers had foretold, that on that date the British would lose India, or that in the following September, their power would be greater than ever. When it is remembered that this conversation took place on the 3rd or 4th of June, and that Dehli was re-taken on the 20th September following, it will be admitted as something extraordinary.*

26. It is high time to return to the Officers of the 29th Regiment, whom we left in cantonments between 3 and 4 o'clock P. M. on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 3rd. Instead of proceeding to Meerut, they took the road to Nainee Tal. I cannot state with certainty the causes which led to this change of plan, but I believe the following reasons are nearly correct. 1stly, they knew that although they were secure for the time being from any violence on the part of their own men, the Artillery men thirsted for their blood; that there were two 9-pounders loaded with grape laid on the Meerut road, and that it was highly probable their party might be fired at, if they took that road. 2ndly, on the road to Nainee Tal, there were no guns laid to annihilate them. 3rdly, Nainee Tal was much nearer to Moradabad than Meerut. 4thly, some Officers of the 29th were already there. Accordingly they started between 4 and 5 o'clock P. M. for Nainee Tal, with the ladies and children. The Adjutant of the corps, Captain Gardiner, stung almost to madness by the thoughts of quitting the regiment, left the party, and rode back again into the lines; and whilst there, Kurrum Alee† soubadar, well knowing that in the present state of the regiment, no European's life was safe, gently forced him to remount. He then rode after the other Officers. When the party were passing the court-house premises, they were joined by a naek and six men of the regiment, who nobly followed their Officers. I ought to mention that Runjeet Singh soubadar, his brother Buldeo Singh, pay havildar of the Grenadier company, and his son Ramchurn Singh, went up to the Commanding Officer, and requested their discharge, saying that they would not join the mutineers. The families of these men were present with the regiment, and had these three men not remained behind to secrete them in a place of safety, their families would have been very probably sacrificed. The Officers reached Kaladoongee on the morning of the 4th, and with the exception of an infant, which died of want of food, in consequence of the desertion of its nurse, the whole party arrived at Nainee Tal by the morning of the 5th in safety.

27. It will be observed that I have made no mention of the clerks and other Christian residents of Moradabad. But it must not be supposed that they were forgotten. All the fifers and drummers were asked, a few days before the final scene took place, whether they would accompany their Officers or stay with the corps. Two only agreed to go with the Officers; the rest said, "that the corps was their home, and that where the corps was, there they would stay." There was an invalid officer, of the name of Lieutenant Warwick; he was of pure European descent, and of very unwieldy form. In the end of May I went to his house, and at my earnest entreaties he consented

* Mr. Fleetwood Williams left Meerut on the afternoon of the 2nd June, escorted by Captain Craigie and some newly-raised sowars. They were joined in the outskirts of Meerut by a fawn-coloured pariah, half grown dog, a perfect stranger to the whole party. They relate, that at frequent intervals he used to go in front of the column, and howl in the most melancholy way; that he did this during the night of the 2nd June as far as Gurhmooktaisur; that he did the same on the morning's march of the 3rd June as far as Rajjubpoor; but that when they retraced their steps towards Meerut at 3 P. M. of the 3rd, the dog ceased to howl. I myself, on being told the tale at Gurhmooktaisur, made a point of watching the animal on the march from Gurhmooktaisur to Meerut during the night of the 4th, and the morning of the 5th June. I can solemnly declare that the dog not only did not howl, but that he ran along evidently in high spirits. It is perhaps fortunate for me, that I am well known to be free from the slightest taint of superstition, otherwise I should not have dared to pen this note.

† This man was subsequently killed at Dehli.

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to go to Nainee Tal; I actually went security to a native banker, who advanced him two months' pay, and I promised him an escort. He had married twenty years previously a native Christian, and she was averse to going to the hills. She accordingly induced her husband to send a spy along the Nainee Tal road, and to defer his departure until the spy's return should prove whether the road was safe or not. At the time in question the road was perfectly safe, but she tutored the spy to report that it was unsafe, and Lieutenant Warwick resolved not to go. I again went to his house, and urged the necessity of his immediate departure. He made frivolous excuses as to carriage, when I pointed out that his palanquin carriage and Mr. Powell's* elephant would be ample carriage for all of them, including his daughter-in-law and her children. He persisted in not going, and my parting words were:—"As you have resolved to remain, get plenty "of powder and ball; sell your life dearly, and die like an Englishman." There was the head clerk of the Collectorate, of the name of Hill. He was a first-rate clerk, but his energies, away from the desk, were as nothing. He had a very large family, and when I proposed to him to get ready, and be prepared to start with his wife and children at a moment's warning, he declared that it was utterly impossible that he could leave Moradabad with such a large family. There was a Christian Deputy Magistrate, of the name of Kitchen, who had also a wife and large family. So far from wishing to accompany us, when he was sent for on duty by the Magistrate and Collector, three days before we were compelled to fly, he sent back word that he had burnt all his Europe fashioned clothes, and could not make his appearance. With the exception of Lieutenant Warwick, who was very fair, every other Christian trusted that their color or their insignificant position would save them. How cruelly they erred in their calculation the sequel will show. On the 3rd June, all the clerks with their families had assembled at the house of Lieutenant Warwick, and when the Officers, on their road to Nainee Tal, passed by his door, some of them upbraided the Officers with being devoid of feeling in deserting them. The Officers stopped, and even then invited them to accompany them, but in vain. That same evening the bad characters of the town and the jail guard surrounded the house, intent upon plundering it; shots were fired by the garrison, and the villains were kept off. It was at this time that a gun in the hands of Mr. James Warwick, the son of Lieutenant Warwick, an head clerk, in the Judge's office, accidentally went off, and killed the eldest son of Mr. Hill, a lad of fifteen years of age. Partly to avoid the reproaches of the mother, and partly because he knew that men who openly avowed an accidental homicide, were punished very mildly, he, in the belief that I had gone to Nainee Tal, rushed out of the house, and succeeded in reaching the hills on the 6th June. This clerk was the only one of all the Moradabad clerks present on that occasion who was saved. But to return to Lieutenant Warwick, and his ill-fated garrison. They held their own against their assailants throughout the night of the 3rd; but on the morning of the 4th, their assailants induced the Soubadar Major to send a company and a gun. Seeing the gun, the whole of the garrison fled by the back of the house towards the eastward, in the direction of Mr. Hill's house. Lieutenant Warwick was too unwieldy to run; he was overtaken, and cut down on the road. His wife, looking back, saw what had occurred. She immediately returned to the spot, and entreated the murderer, as he had killed her husband, to kill her also. The wretch granted her prayer, and she instantly fell a corpse at his feet. It is said that one of the jail guard thrust his bayonet into her, and insulted her person. Some time during the day of the 3rd of June, Mr. Hill's son, whose accidental death has been recorded above, seeing a Puthan stealing his father's buggy, shot him on the spot. Shortly after the death of Lieutenant Warwick, some relatives of the Puthan, who was shot the day before, seeing young McGuire, a clerk in the Magistrate's

* Mr. Powell was Deputy Inspector of Post Offices, and he had shortly before arrived at Moradabad on duty. Lieutenant Warwick had been formerly Post Master of Moradabad, and Mr. Powell was living in Lieutenant Warwick's house. Mr. Powell had brought with him a very fine elephant, on which I believe he was in the habit of performing all his journies as Post Office Inspector.

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office, and mistaking him for young Hill, cut him down. Mr. Powell, the Deputy Inspector of Post-offices, Mr. Hill, the head clerk of the Collectorate, Mr. McGuire, senior head clerk of the Magistrate's office, Mr. Dorrington, junior clerk in the Collectorate, and Mr. Philips, 2nd clerk in the Judge's office, were carried off to the lines, and there compelled, on pain of death, to repeat the *kulmah*, or formula of the faith of Islam. At this time Mr. Kitchen, the Deputy Magistrate, his son, a lad of 15 years of age, and his brother-in law, Mr. Carberry, with the family, were concealed in the city by some of the amlah of the Kaeth* caste.

28. To return to Meerut. On the 6th June, the General Commanding the Division asked me to undertake the Intelligence Department to the eastward, using the Detachment of the 8th Irregulars; but it was not until the 10th that I could get any information about Bareilly or Moradabad. On the 9th we heard of the glorious victory at Dehli of the 8th, which victory caused notice to be sent by the Dehli rebels to Bareilly, to urge the advance of the Rohilkund regiments as quickly as possible. One intercepted letter ran thus:—"The King is dying with anxiety to see you all. Come, come; eat "your dinner at Moradabad, and wash your hands in the Jumna. As the "night is long to him who expects the advent of his mistress, so long is the "time which shall intervene ere you arrive." No mention was made of the defeat of the 8th, nor of the real cause, which led to their being so urgently required at Dehli. On the 10th I learnt that the 8th Irregulars, a corps which had always been considered staunch, had joined the Bareilly mutineers, and that a great many of the European functionaries of Bareilly had reached Nainee Tal in safety. It was on the 10th also that the 18th, 28th, 68th Native Infantry Regiments, and 8th Irregulars, with 4 guns of Major Kirby's battery, and two Shahjehanpoor post guns under Bukht Khan, soubadar of Artillery, marched from Bareilly for Dehli viâ Moradabad.

29. Friday, the 12th June. At 5 P. M. I went with Captain Bott's troop of the 6th Dragoon Guards to destroy the boats at Gurhmooktaisur. We arrived on the banks of the Ganges about 3 o'clock A. M. the next day. Three planks were cut out of the bottom of each boat, for which injury a compensation of Rs. 100 was given to each of the boat owners. I rode back to Meerut by 10 o'clock A. M. of the 13th, having relays of horses. The Dragoons halted at Shahjehanpoor, 18 miles short of Meerut, returning at 9 o'clock P. M. On Sunday, 14th June, heard that the rebels had attacked our position at Dehli on the 12th, and had been repulsed with great slaughter.

30. Monday, the 15th June. A detachment of the 4th Light Cavalry (Lancers) had been sent on duty to the bridge of boats at Baghput, our only means of communication with our troops before Dehli, and suspicions arose that they too were going to play us false. Accordingly the General Commanding sent 50 of the 6th Dragoon Guards to watch them. With these 50 Dragoons I sent, he having particularly requested me to do so, Quaem-ood-deen,† the newly-created Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, and six men

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* Bal Gobind Nazir, Shunkur Suhaee, and Sheo Suhaee, were the men who acted thus nobly. They have not been rewarded.

† This man is the Quaem-ood-deen mentioned in paras. 16 and 25. I sent in charges against him to Major General Penny, C. B., Commanding at Dehli, in the month of October 1857. He was arrested at his home in Rohtuck, and he then feigned sickness so well, that he induced Doctor Corbyn to give him a certificate to the effect, that he must have been unable to rejoin me for the space of two months at least. Whereas the truth is, that he had not been ill an hour. His indisposition arose from a knowledge, that I would bring him to account for desertion before the enemy. He was sent before the Dehli Commission, no notice having been served upon myself, or any of the numerous witnesses, who were ready to come forward to give evidence against him. The Commission consequently acquitted him, and directed his rejoining his regiment. The faithful men and some recruits formed the corps. Quaem-ood-deen made his appearance at our camp at Allygurh. The native officers, who had done their duty nobly, and who had been superseded by my kindness towards this wretch on the 5th June 1857, expressed their indignation in no measured terms. I sent in fresh charges against him for disgraceful conduct, and he was ordered back to Meerut to await his trial. In the meantime Brigadier Chamberlain, C. B., was walking on the glacis at Dehli, near the spot where the Rohilkund mutineers had been encamped, when he found some Oordoo papers. These proved, on being read, to be *urzees* from Quaem-ood-deen, addressed from Rohtuck to the leading Rebels at Dehli during the siege, alleging that he had killed Mr. Fleetwood Williams and Doctor Cannon at Gurhmooktaisur, and pledging himself that if he was sent for, and entrusted with a force, he would proceed to Meerut and take the Dumdumah, for that he had

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of the detachment of his regiment, directing them to return in eight days, bringing back with them all the Irregular Cavalry men, who were on leave in the vicinity of Rohtuck, and whom they could collect together. Not one of these seven ungrateful villains ever returned to Meerut. It was on this day that Bukht Khan, soubadar, with the force detailed above, marched into the Moradabad cantonments. That same evening Mr. Kitchen, the Deputy Magistrate, his son, a lad of 15 years of age, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Carberry, having been dragged from their place of concealment by Aiyoob Khan,* attorney of Nujjoo Khan, Ch'hootan *alias* Ameen-ood-deen, and other miscreants, were ignominiously hurried towards cantonments. When they came opposite the mosque, situated to the west of the western gate of Nirputgunj, they were assassinated, their offence being that they professed Christianity, and refused to repeat the formula of the faith of Islam.

31. Tuesday, June 16th. A Sikh, one of the ten Sikhs who had fled from the Oudh Cavalry when the two squadrons murdered Captains Barber and Hayes near Mynpoory, and who had joined us two or three days previously at Meerut, was this day sent by me across the Ganges towards Moradabad, in the hope that he might succeed in inducing the 200 Sikhs of the 29th Regiment to separate themselves from their mutinous brethren, and to join us at Meerut. This day also the Irregular Cavalry under Captain Tyrwhitt, formerly of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, which had done such good service in holding the Boolundshuhur district, were obliged to fall back upon Hauppur. A cossid arrived towards the close of the day, with a letter dated the 12th June, from Mr. Kitchen, Deputy Magistrate, in which he laments the sad fate of Mr. Hill, the head Collectorate Clerk, then a prisoner in the hands of the 29th Regiment. Little did the writer know that in three short days he would be a lifeless corpse. Little did I, when that day reading his letter, know that the writer had ceased to exist twenty-four hours before those lines met my eyes.

32. Thursday, June 18th. This day Bukht Khan, soubadar of Artillery, marched from Moradabad towards Gurhmooktaisur, his force having been increased by the 29th Regiment Native Infantry, taking with him Mr. Powell,† Deputy Inspector of Post-offices, Mr. Hill, head Clerk of the Collectorate, Mr. Dorrington, junior Clerk of ditto, Mr. McGuire, Clerk in the Magistrate's office, and Mr. Phillips, 2nd Clerk in the Judge's office; and our troops at Dehli took a brass 12-pounder gun, and destroyed an earthwork of the mutineers, which they had erected at Trevelyangunj.

33. Saturday, June 20th. Dâks going to and from Dehli plundered by the Mouway Jâts; and a man of the 8th Irregulars, posted at Gurhmooktaisur, came in to Meerut, to report to me that the Rohilkund mutineers were approaching Gujroulah. I acquainted the Military authorities with the fact, and urged the necessity of our holding Gurhmooktaisur, and opposing the mutineers crossing the river.

34. Sunday, June 21st. All the police and ferry officials at Gurhmooktaisur, and two men of the 8th Irregulars, came in from the ghât, and they announced that the first division of the mutineers was at Gujroulah, and that the advance guard was trying to make some arrangements for crossing the river. I again urged the General to oppose the passage, volunteering to accompany the party. A council of war was held, which I was not permitted to attend, probably because my sentiments were known, and because my intimate knowledge of the strength of the town of Gurhmooktaisur might

got that "Kafir Wilson shut up there like a mouse in a trap, and he had seen all the guns and the whole of the fortifications there." A court-martial was convened, and he was sentenced to be hanged. This sentence was carried out in the month of May 1858.

* Aiyoob Khan is a native of Rampoor, and he is now concealed in that town, to the disgrace of the Nawab and the Agent of the Governor General, who, instead of encouraging the Nawab in sheltering the miscreant, should insist upon his being delivered up in 48 hours. Nujjoo Khan was shot by Brigadier Coke's column. Ch'hootan *alias* Ameen-ood-een, and two other assassins, have been hanged by this Commission. The mosque now stands uninjured, (though the Christian church is still in ruins,) a sad memorial of the foul murder.

† The four first, after experiencing brutal treatment, and suffering much privation and want, were, I fear, killed in ignorance of their real state, by our troops at Dehli, on the 20th September 1857. The latter was shot at Gujroulah, on the charge that he had taken a light to blow up the tumbrils.

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influence the members of the council. After the council had risen, I again went to the Assistant Adjutant General, urging that a party should go that evening to oppose the passage. I was silenced with the information that Dehli would be assaulted and taken before the Rohilkund troops could reach Dehli!!! I replied, well and good; it is better that we should have the villains between two deep rivers, than on the further side of one of them.

35. Monday, June 22nd. Information received from Gurhmooktaisur that some men and two guns have succeeded in getting across the river. I again represented how easy it would be, in one night march, to annihilate these men, and take the guns. I also represented, that though there were only 2,300 fighting men, they were encumbered with 1,000 carts laden with plunder,—such as sugar, ottah, &c.,—and that the firing off the first gun on our side would be the signal for the Jâts and Mewatees of the left bank of the Ganges to plunder the mutineers of every particle of their baggage. But I was again silenced as before.

36. Tuesday, June 23rd. Captain Tyrwhitt, who had retreated from Boolundshuhur to Hauppur with his Irregulars, returned to Meerut, and the whole of the European community became aghast at the news of Lieutenant Smith, Adjutant of the 4th Irregulars, having been foully assassinated by some of his men at Mozuffernuggur. Up to this time those blessed with sanguine temperaments had hopes that a few of the Irregular Cavalry would remain faithful; but from this date not an European Officer in Meerut would serve with any of the old native soldiery.

37. Wednesday, June 24th. There was a general belief throughout Meerut that Dehli would be assaulted this day, and every one of us felt certain, that if the assault was made, it could not but be successful. No news whatever of the Sikh emissary sent to seduce the 200 Sikhs of the 29th Regiment from the cause of the mutineers, and I began to feel very anxious as to his fate. Rohilkund mutineers still crossing the Ganges.

38. Thursday 24th, and Friday 26th June. Good news from Dehli, that in the attack made by the mutineers on the British position on the 23rd, 1,000 of them had been killed. Bad news from Gwalior, that the Contingent had mutinied, and having murdered Blake, Dr. Kirk, and others, were thinking of marching on Dehli.

39. Saturday, June 27th. The Rohilkund mutineers have started from Gurhmooktaisur for Dehli by the direct road. Rains commenced this day at Meerut. Baghput bridge carried away by the rising of the Jumna. Rain poured in torrents, and the dampness of the low situation in which our small tent was pitched in the Dumdumah anything but pleasant.

40. Sunday 28th, and Monday 29th June. I received letters from the bankers of Moradabad, and also from the Nawab of Rampoor, to the effect that he had, under orders from the Commissioner, taken charge of the district of Moradabad.

41. Tuesday, June 30th. Authentic news, that the Rohilkund mutineers would march this day to Ghazee-ood-deen Nuggur, one short stage from Dehli; that my Sikh emissary had been betrayed to Mohomud Shuffee, the mutinous Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, by a villain of the 8th, whom I had sent to find out every thing about the corps, and hanged at Gujroulah, where the mutineers also murdered the Drum Major of the 68th Regiment Native Infantry, and Mr. Phillips, 2nd Clerk in the Moradabad Judge's office, on the plea that they had taken a light to the tumbrils, intending to cause them to explode.

42. About the 1st July, I was appointed President of a Commission for trying, under martial law, persons committed for acts of violence and rebellion; and I performed the duties of that office up to the 11th July, on which

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date the Brigadier, Colonel Richmond Jones, thought fit to dissolve the commission, and to substitute for it a Commission composed of the Judge Advocate, the Cantonment Magistrate, and the Officer holding the position of Provost Major! During this interval, the Regiment originally termed the "Meerut Khakees," but subsequently designated the "Meerut district Volunteers," was raised. The command was vested in Major Williams, but the real working men were Captain D'Oyly of the Stud, who was 2nd in command, and Captain Tyrwhitt, of the late 14th Irregulars, who was Adjutant. I was asked to join these Volunteers, but I refused to do so for many reasons, the principal reason being, that I believed I could do much more good by myself, if I could retain the command of the detachment of the 8th Irregulars, which had accompanied us from Moradabad, and which, though much reduced by desertions during the transit of the Rohilkund mutineers, still contained some good men. At this time the Commissariat Officer, Captain Simpson, a man who did his duty nobly in these troublous times, had contracted debts in the Meerut bazar, for the purchase of articles required for the troops at Dehli, to the amount of £30,000, whereas there was only £3,000 in the treasury,—a sum not sufficient to cover the expense of one European Infantry Regiment for a single month. It was very evident that a public bankruptcy was at hand; and to obviate this calamity, the local fiscal authorities tried to induce the monied men of the Meerut district to advance money to Government as a loan. I ought to mention that Mr. R. W. Dunlop, who was absent on sick leave in the hills beyond Cashmere, as soon as the news of the mutiny reached him, nobly returned to his post as Magistrate and Collector of Meerut, travelling every night by any conveyance which he could find, and was present in Meerut, not only conducting the duties of his office, but acting as a private in the Cavalry of the Meerut Khakee Regiment; and that Mr. Fleetwood Williams, Judge of Meerut, had been appointed Officiating Commissioner. But so utterly was the British prestige lowered in the eyes of the monied interest of the Meerut district, that no one would come forward with a loan. Coercion in one instance was resorted to; but the practice being deemed objectionable, the money was very properly restored to the parties from whom it had been taken. This transaction led me to enquire how much revenue was due by the zemindars of the Meerut district, and finding that the arrears amounted to £70,000 sterling, I resolved, that come what might, I would try my hand at making the zemindars pay their instalments, and thus stave off the bankruptcy, which was threatening us. Under permission from Captain Mackenzie, Commandant of the 8th Irregulars, who had escaped from Bareilly with 23 faithful native officers to Nainee Tal, I had sent purwannahs to all the men of the regiment who were on leave, and I was joined on the 16th July by Boolund Khan,* Rissaldar, his son, and another sowar of the regiment. This addition brought up the detachment to the strength of 19 men. The 18th July was the first day on which I acted as the leader of 16 mounted men, (I always left three at home to rest themselves,) sallying forth at 2 o'clock A. M., three times a week, and returning to the Dumdumah sometimes at 8, at other times at 10 o'clock P. M., and on some occasions not till past midnight, the distance travelled every day varying from 40 to 50 miles. In this duty I was nobly seconded by Gunga Purshad, the tehseeldar of Meerut, now made Deputy Collector of the Furruckabad district. I hold a letter from the late Major General Penny, C. B., commanding at Meerut, to the effect, that the prosperous state of the finances was owing to my exertions; and here let me place on record my obligations to the Military authorities at Meerut, and to the men of the detachment of the 8th Irregulars. No sooner did the Military authorities see the good effects of my exertions, than they placed at my disposal the horses of the 4th Light Cavalry. Had they not done this, our own horses could not have stood the work for one week, much less for six weeks. And as for the noble conduct of the men of the detachment, words cannot express what I feel with regard to them. Sixteen hours,

* Since made Sirdar Buhadoor.

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three times a week in the saddle, is no trifling exertion in a good climate, with food available at every halting place ; but when that exertion is made in the midst of the rainy season of India, the men being wet through more or less, every day, and where the only thing to be procured to ward off the gnawing pains of hunger was molasses and water, a cloying beverage, which would make most Europeans sick, and which we shared alike, it is no ordinary feat sustained, as it was for so long a period.

43. But not only were the finances recruited by our exertions, but peace and order were restored at the same time. In paragraph 6, I mentioned that the Lieutenant Governor had requested the Moradabad authorities to clear the road from Gurhmooktaisur to Meerut. First and foremost among the plunderers of this line of road were the Goojurs of the village of Solda, distant 14 miles from Meerut. Whilst I had charge of the Intelligence Department to the eastward, the Solda Goojurs had assembled in such numbers, that four sowars of the 8th Irregulars had been driven back by them; and just before the Rohilkund mutineers had crossed the Ganges, they had murdered a brahmun inhabitant of Gurhmooktaisur for the sake of his clothes, and his corpse was seen shortly after by the men of the 8th. In this village the zemindars, all the inhabitants save about thirty, (who were all chumars,) and the chowkeydar, were Goojurs. This murder, like many others, had never been reported, although the police darogah was still at his post; in fact the extra Goojur chowkedar, who had been appointed in consequence of the troubles to live at the watch-house (Murhelah) east of Solda, and to guard travellers, was the principal murderer. I first sent to the tehseeldar of pergunnah Momanah, for a list of the revenue defaulters of his pergunnah, and I ordered him to meet me on the confines of his pergunnah, on the 20th July. I fancy he suspected that I intended visiting some of the Goojur villages, and having no taste for fighting, he did not meet me as directed.

44. I had been collecting revenue in the Meerut pergunnah, and Gunga Purshad, the Meerut tehseeldar, was with me, accompanied by a few tehseelee peons. His jurisdiction ceased about four miles short of Solda, but he did not hesitate to follow me. When within one and a half miles of Solda we passed through Hussunpoor, also a Goojur village, and there we saw a man, apparently a Goojur, on horseback, coming through a dhâk jungle, from the direction of Solda, about half a mile south of the high road. As he evidently wished to avoid us, I pursued him, and, after a chase of two miles, we succeeded in capturing his mare, but he himself got away, secreting himself in some sugarcane. We then made the best of our way towards Solda from the southward, thus preventing the Goojurs from attempting to escape from the village into the jungle. On reaching the village, we found that Gunga Purshad had collected all the villagers, and was demanding the revenue due. I commenced by questioning the chowkedar and three of the lumberdars, (one was absent,) why they had not reported the murder of the brahmun. All four denied that any brahmun had been murdered within the limits of the village. The chumars were taken, in compliance with my orders by Gunga Purshad, to a distance of 200 yards, and there questioned as to the perpetrators of the murder, and the chowkedar was then tied up and flogged, (stripes were always inflicted for neglect of duty on chowkedars, previously to the promulgation of Act II. of 1834), and during the flogging he mentioned the names of four Goojurs, as being the murderers. The chumars' statement, given to the tehseeldar out of hearing of the chowkedar, corroborated the account given by the chowkedar, and when they were confronted with the lumberdars, the latter also gave a corresponding account, and attempted to shelter themselves from being accessories to the murder, by saying that they had remonstrated with the murderers, but in vain. One of the murderers was present, and he and the three lumberdars were put on their trial for the murder, and being accessory to the murder of the brahmun, whose name I have now forgotten. The court consisted of Boolund Khan, Rissaldar, Tuhawur Khan, jemadar, and myself. We unanimously agreed in our verdict, viz., that all four prisoners

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should be put to death. They were accordingly shot, and their bodies were suspended to some sheeshum trees by the side of the road, as a warning to the fraternity. From that hour no crime was committed on the Gurhmookhtaisur road, which had been unsafe from the 11th May, a period of more than two months. I did not destroy the village, for fire does not discriminate between the house of a Goojur and of a chumar; but I warned the Goojurs, that if they removed the bodies of their four brethren without my sanction, I would return and punish them as never Goojur had been punished before. So effectual had been the measures which I adopted to bring these hereditary murderers and plunderers to their senses, that when a thousand Goojurs, relatives of the deceased, assembled at Solda to eat the funeral feast, they proposed to take the bodies down, and burn them according to custom, before they sat down to dispose of the food prepared for them; but the Solda Goojurs said, "No; if you will agree to remain in Solda till Mr. Wilson re-"turns, then take down the bodies and burn them; but if you will not consent "to this arrangement, then leave the bodies alone, and partake of the feast and "go your way." The melancholy meal was eaten with the bodies hanging before their eyes,—a solemn warning that the British Rule was not yet at an end, and that Goojurs might not murder, in open day, brahmun travellers, passing through the limits of their village with impunity. Fourteen days after, learning from the tehseeldar of Momanah that the revenue of Solda had been paid up, I sent word to the Goojurs that they might take down the bodies and burn them; and the bodies were burnt accordingly.

45. I omitted to mention some occurrences, which, as they illustrate the painful position of the Meerut garrison, I will here relate. About the 9th of the month, news of the lamentable action, which took place at Agra on the 5th July, reached us. Our communication with the south-east had for some time past only extended twenty miles, and all eyes were turned for succour on that direction. Native rumours had previously raised our hopes, reporting that General Wheeler had been reinforced, and that he was on his way to Dehli, *viâ* Agra, by forced marches; and when we received positive information, that not only the whole of the Europeans of Futtehgurh and Cawnpoor were cut off, but that Sir Henry Lawrence had been killed, the Lucknow garrison besieged, and the Agra force defeated in open fight, the stoutest hearts had grounds for thinking that, ere long, we too should be besieged in our wretched Dumdumah, crowded with women and children, and suffering the same horror which had been enacted lower down the country. The Goojurs were at this time reigning supreme, and no road, save those to Mozuffernuggur and Hauppur, was safe even four miles from cantonments. But matters with respect to these miscreants were about to improve, for on the 9th July, a party of Rifles and 6th Dragoon Guards, accompanied by the Meerut Volunteers, went out and killed 170 Goojurs of Sikree, and three or four other Goojur villages, situated about five miles west of Meerut. The party also brought in some 80 prisoners, the greater part of whom were hanged by the Military Commission appointed on the 11th of July. The pergunnah of Burot, which lies on the left bank of the Jumna, was at this time in open rebellion. The King of Dehli sent his emissaries throughout this pergunnah, and also to Saharunpoor, to stir up the people. He constituted Sah Mull, a Jât of the Mauway tribe, Governor of the pergunnah of Burot, with the title of Rajah, and he authorized his informing the zemindars, that the revenue for 1857 had been remitted. It was the possession of this, and three or four other pergunnahs on the left bank of the Jumna, which enabled the people and the garrison of Dehli to live during the siege; and had the attempts of our Engineers to destroy the Dehli bridge succeeded, the garrison must have been starved.

46. On the 22nd July, a curious circumstance occurred, which, as it proves how thoroughly our prestige had fallen in the eyes of the natives, I will here relate. I was collecting revenue in a village on the Burot road, when the tehseeldar whispered in my ear, that the nephew of the lumberdar had been sentenced, for the homicide of his uncle, to 14 years' imprisonment, and that he

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was now in the village, having made his escape from the Bareilly Central Jail, on the 31st May 1857. I told the lumberdar to bring his nephew to me. He did so, and liking the appearance of the young man, I told him to borrow a pony and follow me. He did so, and remained with me, riding all over the country till 10 o'clock P. M. On enquiry I found that he had fought his uncle about a trespass upon his fields on the part of the uncle's cattle, and that the young man had outlived the injuries on his head, from his uncle's stick, whereas the uncle had succumbed to the effects of the stick of the nephew. No moral stain in the eyes of an Asiatic attaching to the lad, I asked him if he would take service as an Irregular Cavalry soldier. He agreed, and I promised not only to advance him money to pay for a horse, but if he behaved well, to endeavour to procure a remission of his sentence. I parted with him at 10 o'clock P. M., because I knew that his pony could not keep up with our horses, (we were riding the 4th Light Cavalry horses that day,) and I was afraid lest lagging behind, he might be shot by the rifle pickets. On parting with him, he promised that he would join me in the morning. But he never came. In ordinary times, a sowar of the 8th Irregulars, sells his situation with his horse, &c. for Rs. 300; and yet this man, convicted of felony, and under a sentence of 14 years' imprisonment, bribed by a promise of a loan to the amount required, and of a conditional pardon, refused to enter the British service. Doubtless that night the probabilities of our eventual success were discussed in the village, and the assembled elders gave it as their opinion that we were all doomed men. Hence the lad changed his mind. Poor fellow! He is now undergoing, I believe, his original sentence in the Meerut Jail.

On the 24th July we heard that General Neill had defeated the Nana, and re-taken Cawnpoor and Bithoor.

47. August commenced with the *Eed-ooz-zoha*, (the Mahomedan festival to commemorate the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham,) and the desperate attack of the mutineers upon our position on the hill west of Dehli. I was employed the whole of the month in collecting and bringing in arrears of revenue and treasure from the Momanah pergunnah, which is full of Goojur villages, and also from pergunnah Hauppur. But to prove how much better behaved these villains had become, it is only necessary to mention the occurrences of the 21st and 22nd August. I was on the former day at Pureech'hutgurh, the residence of the Goojur Rajah, (the present heir to the title is a minor in the Saharunpoor district, but Quddum Singh, now a fugitive rebel, resides there, and is called Rajah by the fraternity,) and I received an express in the evening from the Officiating Commissioner, to the effect, that the tehseeldar of Hauppur had for security's sake made Duttianee his head-quarters; that he had collected a large sum of money; that he was threatened by a large body of Irregular Cavalry from Malagurh; that a troop of the 6th Dragoon Guards would march that evening; and that he (the Commissioner) wished that I would march across country during the night to Shahjehanpoor, 18 miles distant from Meerut, on the Gurhmooktaisur road, and there taking charge of the Dragoons at 4 o'clock A. M., proceed with them to Duttianee, and escort the cash to the Meerut treasury. I did as requested, and reached Shahjehanpoor at 11 o'clock P. M. of the 21st, and at 4 o'clock A. M. of the 22nd the Dragoons arrived. We at once proceeded across country to Duttianee, a village which had been fortified against Cavalry by a wall. Here we found the tehseeldar of Hauppur with nearly Rs. 15,000, to assist him in protecting which he had collected around him an armed mob, amounting to about 1,500 men, the greater part of which were Goojurs! The cash was brought away in safety, and the Dragoons returned to Meerut with more than 22,000 Rs., the extra 7,000 and odd rupees having been collected by me from other zemindars. I then proceeded to Gurhmooktaisur, and in two trips performed between the 24th and 28th August, I collected and carried into the Meerut treasury a sum little short of 21,000 Rs. At this time I kept a relay of twenty Government horses half way between Meerut and

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Gurhmooktaisur in Hussunpoor, a large Goojur village adjoining Solda, the inhabitants of which are closely connected by blood and marriage, with the Solda Goojurs, and never were horses better cared for, than these Government horses, by the recently hostile and plundering Goojur zemindars of Hussunpoor.

48. On the 31st August a column of all arms of the service was sent out to Hauppur. The object was twofold; one to watch the high road from Dehli to Moradabad and Bareilly, the other to overawe Waleedad Khan, the rebel Nawab of Malagurh, who was threatening the Bhitonnah Jâts, who had all along remained faithful, and who had defeated Waleedad Khan on a former occasion, taking three small guns from him. I was placed in Civil charge of this column, having been appointed a Special Commissioner under Act XIV. of 1857. We remained at Hauppur three weeks, and during that time I was engaged in collecting revenue, punishing rebels, restoring order, &c. &c. At half-past 1 o'clock A. M. of the 21st September, we received an express, ordering the column to proceed by forced marches to thannah Bhowun, in the Mozuffernuggur district, where a force had been beaten back. By half-past 9 o'clock A. M. the column had marched 20 miles into Meerut, and on the morning of the 24th it reached thannah Bhowun, distant from Hauppur some 72 miles. The place had been evacuated by the rebels a few hours before we arrived. Only 30 of them were killed by the Cavalry, and a few guns were discovered secreted in the town. The house of Cazee Inayet Alee, the murderer of two of our tehseeldars at Shamlee, was burnt, as well as those of three or four leading rebels, and the town was given up to plunder. On the 26th the column marched to Shamlee, and I found the walls of the mosque in which the two tehseeldars had been treacherously murdered by Cazee Inayet Alee in the early part of the month, still covered with blood. From that day to the 3rd of October the column was engaged punishing the Mouway Jâts of Baolee, Bujroul, Johuree, Bazeedpoor, Lohurra, Hulwaiee, and Mullukpoor, who had in August opposed a small force sent out from Meerut, and compelled it, after it had killed Sah Mul Jât, the newly-created rebel Governor of Burot, to retreat. In one week these Mouway Jâts paid up arrears of revenue to the amount of 20,000 pounds sterling.

49. In the beginning of October I gave myself and the men of the 8th Irregulars a little rest. On the 18th I started for Agra on the mail cart, and reached the fort the same evening. At 9 o'clock A. M. of the 20th I quitted Agra by mail cart, and on my arrival at Allygurh I found at the tent of Mr. Bramley, the Magistrate, two messengers, with two letters from Captain J. Y. Gowan, Adjutant of the 18th Regiment Native Infantry; one of them was addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Agra, the other was addressed to the Chief Civil Authority of Meerut. The latter I read; it contained a touching appeal for the rescue of himself and 30 other Christians, refugees, survivors of the Bareilly massacre. I suggested to Mr. Bramley to send the former letter by post to the Lieutenant Governor, retaining the two messengers at Allygurh till he heard from me, and I promised to make up my mind, and send by return of post a reply to Captain Gowan from Meerut. The mail cart had not proceeded many stages before I had resolved, come what might, to attempt to rescue Captain Gowan and the other Christian refugees lying hid in Rohilkund. I accordingly wrote on the 21st October a letter to Captain Gowan, principally in the Greek character, saying that I would be at Kuch'hlah ghât on the 28th, with a few horsemen, *en route* to rescue him; that he must collect together as many refugees as he could find; that I had detained one of the messengers to show me the road, and that the other would convey to him my reply. This letter I enclosed in another letter to Mr. Bramley, begging him to send off my reply, and the reply of the Lieutenant Governor, to Captain Gowan, by one messenger, and to retain the other in Allygurh till my arrival. The 22nd was employed in getting the Brigade Major's sanction to my taking with me ten men of the 4th Irregulars,* who

* These men had been detached from the head-quarters of the Regiment to do duty at Meerut, under Ghoh m Nubee Khan, Naeb Rissaldar, a man who, in 1832 and 1833, had ridden many a mile in my company catch ng thugs. Though several of his men deserted him, he retained a small number. This good faithful old soldier nas been made a Rissaldar, and is now with his Regiment.

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had remained faithful and loyal; in getting tents for the men of the 4th and the 8th; in borrowing Rs. 1,000 and three elephants from the Commissariat, &c. &c. I beg to place on record my obligations to Colonel Whish, the Brigade Major, and Captain Simpson, of the Commissariat department. I told these officers my plans; and I informed them that if my designs were known, the Government would prohibit my attempting the undertaking, and that unless they could assist me, *sub rosâ*, I could do nothing. To the honor of these officers they not only kept my secret, but they, on their own responsibility, granted all my requests without demanding orders from the Brigadier commanding. On Friday the 23rd, twenty-five men of the 8th, and ten men of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, marched with orders to reach Allygurh in four marches. On Sunday the 25th I started by the mail cart, and reaching Soomna about 12 o'clock at midnight. I rejoined the Cavalry, and marched with them into Allygurh on the morning of the 26th. Here I found Captain Gowan's cossid,* who had been purposely detained, and I learnt that there were 200 of Khan Buhadoor Khan, the rebel Nawab of Bareilly's Cavalry, posted at Kuch'hlah ghât on the left bank of the Ganges. I also learnt from Mr. Bramley that the Lieutenant Governor had sent a reply to Captain Gowan, to the effect "that no assistance could be sent him, but that he was autho-"rized to promise a reward of Rs. 10,000 to any native who would escort "him and all the other Christian refugees to Allygurh;" that he, Mr. Bramley, had done as I directed, and that he had sent my reply, and that of the Lieutenant Governor, to Captain Gowan, by the hands of one messenger, retaining the other messenger in Allygurh. I have mentioned above that I was obliged to make known my plans to Colonel Whish and Captain Simpson, and it is clear from this narrative, that I could not conceal any thing from Mr. Bramley, who I think must have acquainted Mr. A. Cocks, his official superior. Up to the date of my reaching Allygurh, my secret was known only to four persons. I am quite certain that it was not known to any of the Irregular Cavalry men. All they knew was, that they were to reach Allygurh in four marches, and that I should overtake them at that place. At each encamping ground as they went along, they were joined by many Irregular Cavalry-men, who were, at the time the mutiny broke out, at their homes on leave, and instead of finding myself at the head of 35 faithful men of the 8th and 4th Irregulars, I found myself in Allygurh at the head of at least 150 mounted soldiers. It is true that many of them were sneaking poltroons, who had remained at their homes, watching to which side victory would turn; probably some of them, from the sore state of their horses' backs had been doing duty in the rebel camp at Dehli, and certainly had they known the dangerous errand upon which I was going, few of them would have joined me till my return at least. But it suited my views to be at the head of a squadron instead of a Naeb Rissaldar's party, and hence I was glad of their company. I consequently ordered them to remain in camp, and to do duty; but I told the men of the 8th and the 4th that they were always to be in my rear, and in advance of the new-comers. I have mentioned above that my designs, after I left Allygurh, were known to only four British officers, and to deceive every one completely, and to make the natives believe that we were a party of rebels, I resolved to make a march of 45 miles. Accordingly we started at 2 o'clock A. M. of the 27th from Allygurh, taking the high road to Kasgunj. We reached the encamping place of the town of Jullalee at dawn, and so well had we enacted our assumed character of rebels, that a tragical scene was prevented, solely by the presence of mind of one of the 8th Irregulars; but to the right understanding of the matter, it is necessary that I should refer back to Sunday the 25th, the day on which I quitted Meerut on the mail cart. That very morning the faithful native officers of the 8th Irregulars, who had accompanied on the 31st May 1857 their British officers to Nainee Tal, having marched by themselves across Rohilkund, while their British officers were going through the mountains viâ Mussooree to Meerut, reached the Meerut cantonment, and two of them came to pay their respects to me.

* Messenger.

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One of them was rissaldar Willayut Hossein, a Syud of Jullalee. He told me that on the 31st May so little did he, though a Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, know what was about to happen, he mounted one of his country-bred mares, leaving in the lines a large bay Arab, which Colonel Scobie, the Remount Agent in Bombay, had bought for him for Rs. 800 three or four months before the mutiny; that one of his bargeers, a Sheikh of Jullalee, had taken possession of the horse, and had by means of it become a *Khoodaspa*;* that he also took possession of a valuable mule belonging to him; that he had taken both animals to Dehli; that after the fall of Dehli he had followed the rebel Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, Mohomud Shuffee, to Muttra, and thence to Hattrass; that when Mohomud Shuffee marched from Hattrass to Kuch'hlah ghât, *en route* to Bareilly, his bargeer had brought his Arab and mule to Jullalee, and made them over to his relations; that I was going to Allygurh, whence Jullalee is distant only 11 miles, and that he would be exceedingly obliged to me, if I would look at the horse, and let him know in what state I found him. The town of Jullalee is situated about half a mile north of the road, and in compliance with the above request of Willayut Hossein, I ordered the column to halt on the road, while I went with a few men into the town to see Willayut Hossein's Arab horse † and his mule. I had not been in the village above ten minutes, when a sowar came galloping up, begging me to return as quickly as possible to the column, for that there were some British gentlemen on the road. I had entered the village from the west, and was on my way to rejoin the squadron, quitting the town from the east end of it; I consequently re-entered the high road one mile east of the spot where I had quitted it, and this it was which caused me to arrive in the rear of two dog carts, near which four men, armed with American revolver rifles and pistols, and dressed in European clothes, were standing, the column being drawn up some four hundred yards east of the dog carts. I immediately recognised one of the party as being Mr. Paterson Saunders, who distinguished himself by his bravery and cool courage during the rebellion. The party was proceeding from the Indigo factory of Mr. Booth to Allygurh, and seeing a squadron of Irregular Cavalry in front of them, they presumed they must be mutineers, and were preparing to sell their lives dearly, when one of the 8th Irregulars rode quickly up to them, and asked for a cheroot, the whole corps having learnt to smoke cheroots in Burmah. He added that they were led by Mr. Wilson, the Judge of Moradabad, who had gone into the town of Jullalee, and who would shortly make his appearance. The threatened hostilities were suspended, and my timely arrival saved the Englishmen from the dilemma in which they were so unpleasantly situated. That evening, at 7 o'clock, we reached Soron, distant from Allygurh 45 miles. That night the rich Brahmins of Soron, believing us to be rebels, continued firing heavy juzails every five minutes. As it suited my plans to enact "*the Loyal*" for some time, I sent them word that I was an Englishman, and they at once ceased firing. Early on Wednesday the 28th, I rode down to Nugureea, a village on the right bank of the Ganges opposite Kuch'hlah, and there I fell in with a Rajpoot proprietor of the village, who had been for many years a prisoner in the Moradabad Jail, for having plundered a boat laden with grain, during the famine of 1837-38. A mutual recognition took place, and from him I learnt how dangerous a task crossing the Ganges at Kuch'hlah would be. It then struck me, that if I succeeded in forcing a passage, the whole of the rebel forces located

* Men who own their troop horses are styled Khoodaspa, and draw the whole salary. Bargeers are those who ride the horse of a second party, drawing only 7 rupees per mensem, the remaining 13 rupees being drawn by the owner of the horse.

† The history of this Arab horse illustrates clearly some of the difficulties which have beset our Cavalry, when pursuing mutineer sowars during this rebellion. In November 1857, Willayut Hossein, Rissaldar, sold him to Captain Mackenzie, his Commanding Officer, who rode him in the affair at Hurhur, near Oonao in Oudh, on which occasion the horse lost an ear. Captain Mackenzie, falling sick, sold him a short time ago to Dr. Currie of the same Regiment. Dr. Currie entered him under the name of "Bedouin" at the late Cawnpore Races, and he beat every other horse, on one occasion giving, I believe, in a handicap, 3 stone to the best horse on the handicap; and yet this Arab was ridden by a rebel sowar of the 8th Irregulars throughout the siege of Dehli. How could a Dragoon riding 18 stone, and mounted on a stud-bred horse, hope to overtake an Irregular Cavalry man weighing 10 stone, and mounted on such a horse as "Bedouin," and this is not a solitary instance. Hundreds of first-rate Arabs are still in the hands of the rebels on the left bank of the river Ghaghra, and the Nana, who is at Churda, has in his possession the Arab horse "Wahabee," who ran his two miles in 3 minutes 53 seconds in Calcutta, he having plundered him from the stables of the Nunhay Nawab of Cawnpore.

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at Suheswan and Budaon, would unite and endeavour to cut us off on our return, and that encumbered as I should be with women and children on elephants, any serious opposition would endanger their lives, and thus my plans would utterly fail. On my way back to Soron, I met with a bunneeah of the Budaon district, who had come across with rice, and who was returning with salt. I made myself known to him, and he willingly agreed to tell the sowars at Kuch'hlah, that Mr. Wilson had arrived at Soron, and was on the point of crossing over with a strong force. The ruse succeeded, for the sowars fled, it is said, leaving their dinners half cooked, as far as Suheswan; and I have since found in the records of Khan Buhadur Khan, the rebel Nawab of Bareilly, urzees sent in daily during this expedition, by the rebel authorities of Budaon, the first of which makes out that I had a tremendous force with me. On my return to my camp, at Soron, I wrote a letter to Captain Gowan, telling him that the ghât at Kuch'hlah was guarded by rebel sowars; that I would endeavor to cross; and asking him to come as near to the Ganges as he possibly could, without endangering the lives of his party; and to let me know where I might hope to meet him. This letter I delivered to the remaining messenger, originally sent by Captain Gowan, and who had accompanied me from Allygurh, with orders, if he met any messenger with a letter from Captain Gowan, to return with Captain Gowan's reply to my letter written from Meerut, and to send the other messenger back with my letter written at Soron.

50. It is now high time that I should revert to Captain Gowan and his party. Not far from the right bank of the river Ram Gunga, and about equally distant from Tilhur and Meeranpoor Kuthra, the town near which Hafiz Rehmut Khan,* the Rohilla chieftain, was killed by a round shot in 1774, lies the village of Kheirah Bujeirah. In an obscure cow-shed in that village were seated, dressed in Native Hindoo costume, two men, one delicate woman, and four young children,† the eldest eight years, the youngest three months old, all seven being of pure Anglo-Saxon descent, and more than ordinarily fair. A messenger, one of the two alluded to above as having arrived at Allygurh on the 20th October, entered that cow-shed, and delivered to them a thin envelope. Hastily was that envelope opened, and what was at first deemed the sole contents, was anxiously read. Who shall point the despair which at the moment overwhelmed that sorrow-stricken party, when Captain Gowan read aloud, "The Chief Commissioner authorizes you to offer to any native who will escort in safety to Allygurh all the Christian refugees now lying concealed in Rohilkund, the sum of ten thousand rupees." Gracious God! and was that all that the Government of the North Western Provinces of India could do for them? They had with the greatest difficulty procured two messengers to convey to Allygurh two notes, written upon the thinnest bank post paper, and measuring four inches by three; how was it possible then that an escort sufficiently strong to protect all‡ the Christian refugees 95 miles, 40 of which were not only guarded, but narrowly watched by rebel troops, thirsting for Christian blood, should be procured! It has been said that the heart knows its own bitterness, and of a truth it is impossible for me to convey to others in words, possibly even myself to conceive the anguish and despair which the note§ of the Chief Commissioner produced in the breasts of the three adults of that forsaken little band. They relate that Captain Gowan was in the act of tearing the envelope across, so as to destroy all marks of any

* Khan Buhadur Khan, the rebel Nawab of Bareilly, is the pensioned grandson of Hafiz Rehmut Khan.

† Captain Gowan, Adjutant, Serjeant Major Belcham, both of the 18th Regiment Native Infantry. Mrs. Belcham and 4 children, the youngest born three months after their flight from Bareilly, on the 31st May 1857.

‡ Sixty-four were the number eventually rescued; but at the time of which I am writing, viz., the 27th October 1857, Captain Gowan knew of only 30 Christians in concealment.

§ Far be it from me to throw any blame upon the memory of a brave and noble soul, whose flight to realms of peace was not only hastened, but caused by the anxiety and care engendered by the mutiny and rebellion, and by his painful position at Agra, first as Superintending Engineer, and subsequently, after the Lieutenant Governor's death, as Chief Commissioner. He could not help himself, much less send help to refugees lying hid in the centre of Rohilkund, and distant from Agra more than 100 miles. Personally brave, and more than ordinarily humane and gentle, doubtless the late Colonel Fraser, C. B., felt bitterly his inability to respond to Captain Gowan's appeal in any other way, than by offering a large pecuniary reward to those who would effect the deliverance of him and his co-refugees. But this bitterness did not soften the blow to the applicants for aid. They, poor creatures, could only see that their hopes were dashed to atoms.

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correspondence having passed, when feeling something thicker between his fingers than the envelope itself, he looked into it, and there found my letter written from Meerut on the 21st October. It hardly befits me, the writer of that joy-giving letter, to dilate upon the effects of it, and in truth I may fairly leave it to others to conceive the instantaneous transition from the depths of despair to the height of gladness, which pervaded that lonely cow-shed. They, poor creatures, not only thought themselves not forsaken, but believing that they were already rescued, they knelt down and offered up to the Giver of all Good, their humble tribute of praise and thanksgiving; and yet in truth little or nothing had been done towards their deliverance. A fellow Anglo-Saxon, an utter stranger, had indeed offered to risk his life, and attempt to rescue them with a few faithful native troopers. But what a chasm between the offer of an attempt at, and the consummation of, deliverance. Still their eyes saw not that chasm; and if they saw it, fair hope* instantly bridged it, and told them that they were already free. Captain Gowan, after consulting his faithful protectors, wrote me a reply, principally in the Greek character, to the effect, that I had not allowed him time to collect many refugees, but that he would do his best; that it had been resolved that they should go in the first instance to Meeaoon,† where he hoped to see me on the 29th. Meeaoon is about 30 miles from Kuch'hlah ghât, and is situated in the Budaon district. This note was delivered to me at 7 o'clock P. M. of the 28th. At 8 o'clock P. M., having selected 100 of the best men and horses, rejecting all horses likely to knock up, I started, leaving my camp standing, and taking nothing with me, but three fast elephants, and a spare horse, ridden by a little urchin of a boy,—my intention being to cross the Ganges at Kuch'hlah ghât, and to push on to Meeaoon. It was at this time that I entrusted my secret to Bolund Khan, Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, mentioned in paras. 42 and 44, and cordially did he second my views. It was 11 o'clock P. M. when we reached an island in the river, having crossed one branch of the Ganges, some three feet deep. I had been told that I should find twelve boats; but what was the fact, there were four boats only, and those of the class lately constructed in India to let to Magistrates for making boat bridges; that is to say, 5 feet high at the sides; and consequently it is almost impossible, without a platform, to force a horse to leap into them, and when this consummation is effected, the unfortunate animal is generally useless from severe injury in the hocks or hind legs. I need hardly say that on the island on which we were then standing there was no platform. To add to my difficulties, two fresh evils appeared. The Ganges at Kuch'hlah was divided in October 1857 into three streams, neither of which was fordable, each being separated from the other by sand banks. The transit to and fro of one set of boats could not but consume many hours, even if the horses were forced into the boats. There were barely six hours of darkness before me, and light was death to my hopes. There were four boats to convey 100 horses, and three different streams to cross. Despair began to stare me in the face, and when the boatmen positively refused to guide the elephants across the river before daylight for fear of the quick-sands, my misery was well nigh complete. But there was a noble end to be gained, and five minutes' reflexion sufficed for the formation of new plans. There were twenty-eight boats, which the rebel troops had seized and moored under the village of Kuch'hlah, and I resolved, as I could not hope to get my party across the river that night, mounted and fit for the march to Meeaoon, that I would at any rate take away from the rebels the means of crossing over and annihilating me, and at the same time retain the ferry in my own hands. Captain Gowan's cossid was at once despatched to Meeaoon to tell him what had occurred, to assure him that I would occupy the enemy's attention at Kuch'hlah, while he on his part must induce his Rajpoot escort to get him and his party over the river at any friendly ferry available, and to inform him that I would make a forced march to any ferry which he might name, and bring him away in safety. We all dismounted; half of the party proceeded in one of the four boats across the river, while the

* Bella Speranza. † Meeaoon, pronounced something like the mewing of a cat.

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other half held the horses on the right bank. The cold was intense, but before day dawned, the whole of the twenty-eight boats, above alluded to, were safely moored in a creek on the right bank of the river. A horseman was despatched to Soron to order our camp to Nugureea, the nearest spot to Kuch'hlah ghât, on which we could pitch our tents; and leaving a strong picket at the river side to keep up the alarm which I had established among the rebel troops located in the Budaon district, I returned to Nugureea to breakfast. There was in Kuch'hlah that night about 20,000 Rs. worth of sugar, rice, grain, &c. &c., which the rebel Governor of Suheswan had accumulated by the plunder of boats, and of the zemindars supposed to be favorable to the British, and it was with an aching heart that I reflected that if I had been accompanied by the faithful men of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, then deserted by their Officers, and doing the work of peons and burkundazes in the Meerut district, not an atom of that plunder should have again fallen into the rebels' hands. During the day of the 29th, I sent for a Rajpoot zemindar of the Budaon district, who was well inclined to us, but who was at the time holding the post of Superintendent of Ferries under the rebels. He came to my camp, and I told him that I required more boats, for that a bridge must be speedily prepared at Kuch'hlah, with a view to crossing over Artillery, &c., and I affected to consult him as to the best point where the river could be bridged. Doubtless that night the rebel Governor was made acquainted with all I had said, for it is inserted in an urzee forwarded by him to the rebel Chieftain, Khan Buhadur Khan of Bareilly.

51. Early on the morning of Friday, 30th, I went down to the bank of the river with elephants, and a large cavalcade. It was barely possible that Captain Gowan's party might make its appearance; but no signs of it, or of the rebels, being visible, I returned to my tents, where I passed the day, receiving visits from the zemindars of the Budaon district, most of whom gave me correct information as to the panic, which my appearance at Kuch'hlah ghât had created among the rebel troops on the left bank of the Ganges. During the day I also received a letter from Mr. A. H. Cocks,* Special Commissioner of the Allygurh district, (he was not at Allygurh when I passed through,) to the effect that Captain Murray, hearing of the errand on which I was engaged, had volunteered to join me. I wrote back in reply, stating how gratified I was at the receipt of Captain Murray's offer; that had it come earlier, I would have gladly availed myself of it; but that the business in hand would not admit of the delay required to enable him to join me; and that in fact the matter would be decided one way or the other before my answer could reach Allygurh. After a day of the greatest anxiety, at 8 o'clock P. M. a messenger arrived with a note from Captain Gowan, telling me that he would that very night cross the Ganges at a friendly village called Jatee, very low down the river, and that if I would come as far as Qadirgunj to meet him, he hoped that all would be well. In an instant horses and elephants were saddled, and leaving our camp standing under charge of 50 sowars, (my party by this time had increased to about 200 men in all,) we started for Qadirgunj, which is a town of some size, about 40 miles higher up the river than Futtehgurh. As the whole country was in the hands of the rebel Nawab of Futtehgurh, it was advisable to march quickly and quietly, without calling at different villages for guides. Hence I procured a guide at Nugureea, who professed to know the road well. Qadirgunj is only 20 miles south-east of Nugureea, and yet we lost our way so completely, that it was 3 o'clock A. M. of Saturday, the 31st October, before we reached our destination. Apart from the town there is a fort in which the zemindar, who is a Puthan, and is styled "Nawab Sahib" by the villagers, resides with a considerable number of his Puthan brethren. Between this fort and the town we marched, and took up a position on the road leading to the ferry, thus pretending that it was our intention to proceed towards Rohilkund. It

* Mr. A. H. Cocks, one of the most brave and noble-minded members of the Bengal Civil Service. He carries with him tohis grave a limping leg, the result of his gallantry in the Punjab, and his distinguished conduct during the mutiny and rebellion, both at Allygurh and Hatrass, will long be remembered. Captain Murray now commands the Jât Horse, and has lately been doing good work at Kuch'hlah ghât.

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wanted but two days to the full moon, and as it was as light as day, our appearance created a great sensation both in the fort and in the town. A single sowar was sent to summon the zemindar, ("Nawab Sahib,") but instead of coming himself, he sent his manager. I pretended that I could not speak the Hindoostanee language, and I addressed him in Persian. He could not understand Persian, so an educated sowar was ordered up to interpret, and he translated what I said in Persian into Hindoostanee for the manager, and he translated the manager's Hindoostanee into Persian for me. After inquiries as to the number of the boats at the ferry, I assured him, that though I had a large force, no injury would be done to any one, but that we had come a long way, and must have refreshment for ourselves and horses before we continued our march; and then pretending that I could not depend upon the promises of a manager, I dismissed him, with orders to bring the "Nawab Sahib" to me. Shortly after the zemindar himself came. Being an educated man, we conversed, surrounded by my men, in Persian, without the medium of an interpreter. Finding that he was convinced that we were mutineers, and seeing that he was greatly alarmed lest we should plunder his fort and the town, I at length disclosed to him who I was, and the purpose for which I had come, telling him at the same time that if he sent word of my arrival to any of the forces of Tufuzzool Hoosein, the rebel Nawab of Futtehgurh, I would shoot him on the spot. He fell at my feet, declared that he had given shelter at the commencement of the mutiny to Mr. Edwards, the Magistrate and Collector of Budaon, and that so far from betraying me, he would take care that no Puthan should leave the town until my object had been effected. By this time day had dawned, and the zemindar proposed to me to breakfast with him in his fort. I consented, and at 8 o'clock, leaving all our horses in the grove saddled, I proceeded, accompanied by ten sowars, on foot to the fort. At 9 o'clock I returned with the zemindar to the grove, taking care not to lose sight of him myself. A villager of the Shahjehanpore district was sent with a note on the road towards Jatee, announcing to Captain Gowan my arrival at Qadirgunj, and begging him to come and join me with as little delay as possible. And then the suspense endured during the next three hours! With my eyes watching the "Nawab Sahib," and my mind contemplating the fate of Captain Gowan and his party, if they fell into the hands of the retainers of the rebel Nuwab at Futtehgurh, who had systematically murdered all the Native Christians even whom he could find, my position was as wretchedly painful as could be conceived. In fact the whole week had been one of perpetual anxiety, and now that the hour of success or failure was at hand, it was as much as I could do to appear cool and collected, and assume an indifference, which was a total stranger to my feelings. At length the villager returned saying, that the party concealed as women was at hand. I communicated the fact to a few men of the 8th Irregulars, but I would not allow any of them to move. I went alone to the entrance of the town, and there I saw a native cart (hackery) covered over with cloth, drawn by the well-known breed of bullocks which prevails in the Shahjehanpore district, and escorted by about 16 matchlockmen. I went near it, and finding all was right, I rode by the side of the hackery, until it arrived at the (charpoy) native bedstead, on which I had been sitting all the morning. The cloth in the front of the hackery was raised, and out-walked Captain Gowan, dressed in nothing but a dhotee and a turban. He was followed by Serjeant Major Belcham, his wife, and the children alluded to above, one an infant at the breast. It was a sight to move the sternest soul that ever dwelt on earth. I was obliged to turn my face aside, and old Bolund Khan, a man who had been present in almost every campaign which has taken place during the last forty years, wept like a child, exclaiming, "And it is infants like these that the mutinous kafirs have been slaughtering! "God's curse rest upon them." The cloths which had concealed the refugees in the hackery were fastened to trees, to make a temporary room for Mrs. Belcham. Food was handed round, and all the escort of matchlock-men, &c. having been rewarded, at 1 o'clock P. M. we all started for Nugureea. The sun was setting as we came in sight of the tents, and thus happily ended the eventful day of Saturday, the 31st October 1857. But Nugureea was not at

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that moment a very safe place. Four days had passed since I had deceived the rebel forces into deserting their post at Kuch'hlah ghât, distant only two miles from Nugureea, and into retreating upon Suheswan. The real state of my little column must have become known. In fact from *urzees* found in Khan Buhadur Khan's records in Bareilly, it is clear that an exact account had by this time been taken of it, and hence I resolved to proceed the next morning 25 miles to Gungheeree. This was Sunday, the 1st November; and it was as well I made this move, for on the afternoon of that day, a rebel force of four thousand men and four guns reached Kuch'hlah from Suheswan and Budaon, with a view to annihilate my party. When I encamped that day at Gungheeree, I little thought that ere six weeks could elapse, the vicinity of our encampment would be the scene of an action, in which three Officers of the 6th Dragoon Guards were killed, and one Officer of the 9th Lancers very dangerously wounded. On Monday, the 2nd November, we marched another 25 miles into Allygurh. On my arrival, I arranged to take the refugees to Meerut that same evening in the Government shigram, but I could not resist the gratification of introducing Captain Gowan to some of his old friends in the fort. Accordingly we went in the first instance to the tent of A. H. Cocks, Esquire, the Special Commissioner. That gentleman had formerly been my Joint Magistrate, and we had met about 18 months previously. I was dressed as a Native Officer of the Irregular Cavalry, and leaving Captain Gowan outside the tent, I entered it. The tent was about 10 feet square, and as I stood facing Mr. Cocks, that gentleman looked for a while earnestly at me, and then muttered in English, "What does the old "Rissaldar want? Why does he not speak?" I then asked him in Persian if he understood the Persian language, *(Dur zubance Farsee huruf mee zunee).* At this Mr. Cocks's countenance assumed such an appearance of astonishment, that I fairly burst out laughing. He then recognised me at once. I then called to Captain Gowan to come in. He, too, was in a very humble native costume; and I doubt if such a trio ever met before. The following morning, Tuesday the 3rd November, we reached Meerut. By the assistance of the good Samaritans of Meerut, the refugees were speedily clothed in English costume, and here let me thank them all for what they did on the occasion.

52. But there were more Christian refugees sheltered by the good Hindoo zemindars of Rohilkund to be rescued, and to all of these purwannahs were issued, offering pecuniary rewards to all who would bring over Christian refugees from Rohilkund into the Doab, where we would be ready to receive them by the 27th of the month. Accordingly, on Monday the 23rd, another expedition started from Meerut. This time however I had the sanction of Government to the undertaking, and I was accompanied by Captain Gowan, who had been put by General Penny, C. B., in command of the 110 faithful men of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry; Belcham, who had been made officiating Serjeant Major of the same; Captain Mackenzie, Commandant; Lieutenant Woodcock, Adjutant; and Doctor Currie, Assistant Surgeon of the 8th Irregulars; and in addition to the sowars who went with me on the first occasion, were 22 first-rate native officers of the 8th Irregulars, who had, on the memorable 31st May 1857, escorted their British Officers from Bareilly to Nainee Tal. I accompanied this column to Hauppur, and being anxious to see the Chief Commissioner, I started in the mail cart that same evening for Agra. The Cavalry of the Joudhpoor Legion, which had been shortly before defeated at Narnoul with the loss of its guns, was, during the night and the following morning, crossing the road from Allygurh to Agra, near the village of Meetaee, about 3 miles south of Hatrass, *en route* to Mynpoory, Futtehgurh, and Oudh, and I had a narrow escape, having been saved by the mail cart driver refusing to drive me beyond Hatrass, for fear that I should, from excessive drowsiness, all off the mail cart, and insisting, as he was two hours in advance of his regular time, that I should sleep during that period in the dâk Baboo's hut in Hatrass. In the meantime the Cavalry having crossed the road, the mail cart proceeded on its way unmolested. I reached Agra at 9 o'clock A. M. of Wednesday the 25th November, and at 11 o'clock that day the Infantry

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of the Joudhpoor Legion crossed at the same spot where the sowars had crossed during the previous night, causing all travellers and the up-country Agra mail cart to be turned back towards Agra. My object in going to Agra was to urge the Chief Commissioner to send a column to drive back the forces of the rebel Nawab of Futtehgurh, which had taken possession of the greater part of the Etah district, and which were under orders, as we afterwards learnt from records found on the battle field at Putteealee, to gradually invest the fort at Allygurh. I quitted Agra on the night of Wednesday, the 25th November, and rejoined my camp at Allygurh on the morning of the 26th. That day, after a long consultation with Mr. A. H. Cocks, we sent a joint telegram to the Chief Commissioner at Agra, telling him, that unless he ordered Major Riddell's column, then at Hatrass, to hold Kassgunj, and to attack the rebel forces in the vicinity, the whole district of Allygurh would speedily be again disorganized. I offered, in the event of the measure being sanctioned, to join Colonel Riddell with our little column. In the evening a reply was received, negativing the proposal; and disgusted beyond measure, I ordered my own party to march that night to Jullalee, resolved that I would rescue as many Christian refugees as might come over, and bring matters to a crisis with the Futtehgurh rebel forces. During Friday, the 27th, we encamped at Jullalee. On Saturday, the 28th, we reached Gungheeree, and here we had the gratification of rescuing eight Christian refugees, who had been brought over by the zemindars of Budaon. All accounts agreed in saying that there were five different columns of the rebel forces threatening Soron and Kassgunj. I wrote to the Chief Commissioner, telling him the real state of affairs, and in reply received a letter, urging me to retreat upon Allygurh. But I wanted to bring matters to a crisis, and I accordingly marched, on Sunday the 29th, to Soron, distant 20 miles. Here I was joined by Ghunsyam Doss, a blind Brahmun Tehseeldar of the Allygurh district, who was placed by Mr. Cocks in charge of the Fiscal and Criminal duties of several pergunnahs bordering upon the Ganges, with the powers of a Superintendent. I found that there were the following rebel forces of the Nawab of Futtehgurh posted as follows:—Wuleedad Khan, the rebel Nawab of Malagurh, was at Suhawur, distant 9 miles, with 1,000 men and two guns; Mohsin Alee was at Qadirgunj, distant 20 miles, with 2,000 men and Artillery; Ahmed Yar Khan was at Putteealee, with 4,000 men and Artillery; there were 1,000 men and 4 guns at Mohunpoor, and there were 1,000 men at Surrawah. It was evident that a few hours were sufficient to concentrate 5 or 6,000 men at Gungheeree, and thus our communication with Allygurh would be cut off. Directing Chowbe Ghunsyam Doss to follow, we started at one o'clock A. M. of Monday, the 30th November, for Gungheeree. During the day the Thanahdars of Soron and Kassgunj, and also the Tehseeldar of the latter place, quitted their posts, and came to our camp in a state of alarm. Chowbe Ghunsam Doss volunteered to go back with the Tehseeldar to Kassgunj, which is about 8 miles from Gungheeree. I consented to this arrangement for several reasons. Firstly, I knew that it was not the policy of the Futtehgurh rebel Nawab to maltreat any official, not a Christian. Secondly, I knew that the natives of India regard the blind with feelings of great tenderness. Thirdly, Ghunsyam Doss promised me to keep a picket three miles off Kassgunj, on the road to Suhawur, and that he would at once retreat upon Gungheeree in case of alarm. Fourthly, it was generally believed that Soron, not Kassgunj, would be attacked first, both being equi-distant from Suhawur. Fifthly, I had resolved to remain at Gungheeree, to afford Ghunsyam Doss support in case he was obliged to retreat. I wrote again to Mr. Cocks for the information of the Chief Commissioner, telling him all that had been done.

53. Tuesday, December 1st. I received an urzee from Chowbe Ghunsyam Doss, reporting that ten Christians had arrived from the Budaon district, and I ordered him to forward them at once, as I knew that their presence would compromise the Chowbe with the rebels.

54. Wednesday, December 2nd. I resolved to judge for myself as to the state of affairs at Kassgunj, and sent a saddle horse with four sowars half way,

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intending to gallop there and back again very quickly, not liking to be absent from my own camp for any length of time. I was detained with important matters all the morning. About 1 o'clock P. M., the ten Christian refugees arrived, and reported that when they left Kassgunj all was right. Half an hour later some of the Chowbe's sowars rode up, and reported that Kassgunj had been attacked, and taken possession of by the rebels. I was actually on horseback when these sowars arrived, and it was resolved that we should go out with 50 sowars and reconnoitre. Leaving Captain Gowan in command of the camp, we went about 4 miles on the road to Kassgunj, and there we learnt that the rebels had occupied Kassgunj in force, and it was whispered that the Chowbe himself had been killed. This whisper proved, alas! too true.* I was aware that the joint representations of Mr. Cocks and myself had caused orders to be issued at Dehli, that a column should march as soon as Colonel Gerard's column returned to Dehli from Narnoul, for Allygurh and the Etah district; and it struck me that the only thing to be done was to proceed to Dehli and hasten, if possible, the departure of the said column. Accordingly we marched the same night to Jullalee. Thence I rode into Allygurh, directing Captains Gowan and Mackenzie to await my return at that place. At 12 o'clock midnight of Thursday, December 3rd, I started on the mail cart for Dehli, and I reached that city at 9 A. M. on Friday the 4th. General Penny, with his usual alacrity, ordered the column, under the command of Colonel Seaton, C. B., to proceed by forced marches to Allygurh on Monday morning, the 7th December. On Saturday night, the 5th, I proceeded to Meerut, and having procured a second in command† for Captain Gowan, I started with him at 3 P. M. of Tuesday 8th on the mail cart for Allygurh. Leaving him at Allygurh, I went on to Agra to obtain final orders from the Chief Commissioner, and, if possible, to get permission for Colonel Seaton's column, after defeating the divisions of Mohsin Alee and Ahmed Yar Khan, to push on to within 20 miles of Futtehgurh, and thence to operate against that place from the north west, in combination with the Commander-in-Chief's Army, which we knew was advancing from the south-east. The Chief Commissioner did not approve of this plan, being alarmed lest the strength of the column should not be equal to it. Ill health had, I fear, a great deal to do with his decision. Had the plan been sanctioned, the bridge of boats might have easily been destroyed, and Tuffuzzool Hoosein, the rebel Nawab of Futtehgurh, Wuleedad the rebel Nawab of Malagurh, Feroze Shah, and two other Princes of the house of Dehli, Bukht Khan, soubadar of Artillery, Commander-in-Chief of the rebels at Dehli, Ismael Khan, the nephew of Wuleedad, Ahmed Yar Khan, Mohsin Alee Khan, and many other leaders of note, would in all probability have been seized. I rejoined my camp at Allygurh on the night of Thursday the 10th, and Colonel Seaton's column arrived the following morning.

55. On Sunday the 13th the column marched to Jullalee, and here we received the joyful tidings that the rebel forces had concentrated at Kassgunj and Putteealee, and that they had resolved to fight at the former place. On Monday we marched to Gungheeree, a place so often mentioned in this narrative, and here I fear I must enter into some details connected with this village, otherwise the narrative of the action which ensued will not be intelligible. Gungheeree is situated on the right bank of the river Neem, which is spanned by an iron suspension bridge. On the Allygurh side of this bridge, the road to Kassgunj runs somewhat north of east, but on the Kassgunj side of the bridge it turns to the right, and assumes a direction slightly south of east. We had all along been in communication with Mr. Sapte, the Collector of the Boolundshuhur district, who had for some time past been watching the Anoopshuhur ghât with a force,‡ under Colonel Farquhar. He moved down from

* Government have done ample justice to this faithful servant. His only child (a daughter) and his widow have been amply provided for on the representations of Mr. Cocks, and his brothers have been promoted to offices of trust and emolument.

† Lieutenant Robert Campbell, who has lately distinguished himself in Oudh.

‡ Colonel Farquhar had under his command a wing of the Bombay Belooch Corps, 400 strong, 200 Affghan Horse under Major Stokes, and 2 Horse Artillery guns under Lieutenant Smith. Colonel Farquhar has lately lost a leg, in consequence of a wound from a matchlock ball in the knee, received at the late attack upon the fort of *Rampore Kusseea*, in Oudh.

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Anoopshuhur, almost due south-west, upon Gungheeree, at which place he arrived about 4 o'clock P. M. on Sunday the 13th. Colonel Farquhar selected his ground with great judgment. He encamped on the right bank of the Neem river, about a mile below the iron bridge, his front being intersected with ravines, and his rear being protected by the village. News of his arrival, and of the exact number of his troops, was that very evening conveyed to Mohsin Alee Khan, who commanded the rebel troops at Kassgunj, distant about 8 miles, and the rebels resolved to attack him the following morning. But, as detailed above, Colonel Seaton's column also reached Gungheeree about 8 o'clock A. M. on Monday the 14th, and at my suggestion the column marched across the suspension bridge, and the camp was pitched on the left bank of the Neem river, about a mile from the bridge, and near the village of Mulsaee. In other words, the river and the ravines intervened between the camps of Colonel Farquhar and Colonel Seaton, which were about a mile and a half apart, and the latter column was to the same extent nearer to Kassgunj than the former. Of the arrival of Colonel Seaton's column the rebels appear to have been in complete ignorance, and about 11 o'clock A. M. our pickets brought in word that the enemy was marching down upon us in full force. The Infantry were drawn up in line, Hodson's Horse on the left, and a squadron of the 6th Dragoon Guards was on the right under Captain Wardlaw. I offered my services to Colonel Seaton as A. D. C., and accompanied that Officer with his Staff to the front. The action commenced on the part of the enemy with two 9-pounders and a howitzer, originally belonging to Major Kirby's battery, stationed at Bareilly and Moradabad, when the mutiny commenced. They had been procured from Bukht Khan Soubahdar, who was at the time at Futtehgurh. These three guns were placed so as to be sheltered by sand hills, and so well were they served, that for a considerable period it was supposed by the Staff, that there were six guns on the part of the enemy. The British Artillery, under Colonel Kindleside, galloped to the front, and a brisk cannonade began. The enemy's Cavalry then showed themselves, and they were in such numbers, that it appeared as if they had only to advance to ride over the Staff and our Artillery. Colonel Seaton seeing this, first ordered me to direct Captain Wardlaw to bring up his Squadron in support of our guns. Having done this, I was again ordered to bring up two more battery guns. Having pointed out the spot at which the guns were required, I rejoined Colonel Seaton; and I was waiting for fresh orders, when Captain Light, Colonel Seaton's orderly Officer, rode up and reported that three guns had been taken, and that Captain Wardlaw had been killed. The Dragoons under Captain Hodson, of the 6th Dragoon Guards, who succeeded to the command, and the Artillery, advanced in pursuit of the enemy, now retreating upon Kassgunj; and I was ordered back to bring up a Surgeon. I conducted him to the spot. The Squadron (it was a very weak one) under Captain Wardlaw, assisted by a few men of the 9th Lancers under Lieutenant Head of that corps, then on his way down to rejoin the Regiment at Cawnpore, had charged the guns, and had taken them. In that charge Lieutenant Vyse was killed; Lieutenant Head, of the 9th Lancers, was dangerously wounded in two places by grape, and some men and horses were killed and wounded. Captain D'Oyly of the Stud, then on his way to Buxar, had a narrow escape in this charge. Immediately after this gallant feat, Captain Wardlaw saw, at a distance of about 100 yards, some 20 or 30 men; I fancy they were Artillery men, sneaking away behind some sand hills. He ordered the charge, and he fell of his horse lifeless, a matchlock ball having entered the forehead.* Captain Hodson and

* I am not in a position to say whether any order for charging the guns emanated from Colonel Seaton or not. All I can safely say is this, that Colonel Seaton ordered Captain Wardlaw to the left front to protect our guns. But I may say, that before the troops left Camp, Dragoon Officers were heard to mutter, "We will see who takes the guns to-day." This speech had reference to something that took place at Narnoul between the Dragoons and the 2nd Fusiliers, relative to the guns taken in the action fought at that place, in which the Joudhpoor Legion was defeated. I speak with diffidence on military subjects, but it strikes me that the showing the Dragoons to the enemy thus early in the action was a mistake. They were under a belief that they could annihilate Colonel Farquhar's force, the only one which they imagined they should meet. But in that force there were no Dragoons, and this fact was well known to the enemy. The Dragoons charging the guns was the signal for the enemy's horse and foot to retreat, and doubtless it was the unexpected appearance of the Dragoons at the guns which caused the enemy to fly, and thus caused them to escape the decisive result which a general action would have effected. As it was, our Infantry saw the fight at a distance of a mile, and never fired

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the Artillery pursued the enemy for two miles, through a plain covered with the *urhur* plant, which was about three feet high, and he himself was shot by one of the enemy, who was lying hid in this *urhur;* thus making the third Dragoon Officer killed that day. We then returned to our tents, the Infantry and the heavy guns not having been brought into play at all. That evening Captain Wardlaw's tent disclosed a melancholy scene. On three beds were lying three brave Officers, who at breakfast were the gayest of the gay. One noble-looking Dragoon stooping over the bed on which Lieutenant Vyse was lying, raised the corpse towards him, and pressing it to him, said, "See, sir, he is but a boy," while the tears trickled down his sun-burnt face. By torch light we buried them under a babool tree, and four Dragoons and two Lancers were buried in a grave close adjoining.

56. The next morning, Tuesday 15th, the column marched to Kassgunj, and here we learnt that the enemy in his flight did not halt at Kassgunj, but went straight on 12 miles eastward to Suhawur. The head of the blind Chowbe, Ghunsyam Doss, was here found suspended to a peepul tree at the entrance of the tehseeldaree. It was immediately taken down and given over to his relatives, who forwarded it to Muttra for certain funeral rites.

57. Wednesday, the 16th, the column marched to Suhawur, which we found evacuated. On the following morning, Thursday the 17th, we started for Putteealee, and when we came to a Gunj, three miles short of it, we received positive information that the enemy would really fight. The troops were placed in line, and grog was served out. Soon the order to advance was given. The enemy's line was due east of us, and the rising sun prevented our seeing it at first, but doubtless the enemy saw us, for they opened a cannonade on us from twelve guns. The line continued to advance very steadily, and when we came within a reasonable distance, our guns went to the front, and returned the enemy's fire. After some time I remarked to Colonel Seaton that I thought their fire had ceased. With a cheer, Colonel Seaton, the Staff, and the Artillery galloped up to the enemy's camp. A general pursuit with Artillery and Cavalry was ordered, and away we went, taking the road to Mhow Shumsabad. Outside the town of Putteealee there is a deep sandy lane, narrow in width, and enclosed by banks, and on the side of which the long grass, known by the name of *Surput*, was growing. In the midst of this lane the enemy had placed a laden hackery filled with miscellaneous articles of all kinds, principally inflammable, and touching which were three tumbrils filled with records, loose papers, powder, and ammunition. The contents of the hackery had been purposely ignited, and the crackling of the grass at a little distance from the lane proved that it too had been set on fire. Colonel Seaton and the Staff stopped at the entrance of the lane, but thinking an explosion imminent, I resolved to extinguish the fire on the hackery, and jumping off my horse, I took an empty basket off the hackery, and began filling it with sand, and throwing the sand on the flames. To their honor let me put on record, that I was at once joined by Colonel Seaton's Bugler, (a man of the first Fusiliers,) and Tahawur Khan, Jemadar of the 8th Irregulars, and by our united exertions the flames were extinguished.* Shortly afterward the Sikh Sappers and Miners came up, and the tumbrils were dragged away to a place of safety. The enemy were pursued for five miles, and some five hundred of them were killed. Neither sepoys nor Irregular Cavalry men were killed in the pursuit.† One man, a native of Joun-

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a single shot. To this it may be answered that the Irregular Cavalry of the enemy, which was threatening us on both flanks, was so numerous, that properly handled, it might have cut off the Artillery, which had gone to the front (six guns had gone out at first, to which two more guns were subsequently added, as above mentioned, and the Staff, before the Infantry and heavy guns could come up. But then the Staff and the Artillery need not have gone out so far, or the Infantry and heavy guns might have been ordered more to the front, instead of remaining in line at our camp. I need hardly add, that Colonel Farquhar's column had not the slightest chance of joining in the action. Lieutenant Head has recovered, and is now I believe in England. In this action the enemy's loss was about 150.

* Mr. Cocks, Special Commissioner, quitting the Staff, rode up at the commencement of this operation, and entreated me most earnestly to desist.

† One man of the 10th Native Infantry was found near the guns, all twelve of which were taken, his leg having been carried off by a round shot. A sepoy of the 63rd Regiment was also seized in the town, and also by the faithful sepoys of my escort.

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pore, who was formerly a Vakeel in the Court of the Moonsiff of Qaemgunj, and who was Ahmed Yar Khan's Prime Minister, was killed, and his elephant taken. The enemy never stopped till he reached Mhow Shumsabad!

58. It was now that I urged Colonel Seaton to advance on Shumsabad, and to destroy that town; but he pleaded orders, and he resolved to march upon Mynpoory. I then asked him to march direct upon Mynpoory, and I offered to dam up the Kalee Nuddee for 48 hours, provided he would do so. This proposal he rejected, and after halting three days, the column marched back on Monday, the 21st, to Suhawur. At this place we received intimation that the Hardy family and others, 20 Christian refugees in all, would shortly arrive at the left bank of the Ganges. These* were all safely brought into camp on the 22nd, on which day Colonel Seaton marched to Kassgunj. Within two miles of Kassgunj, the Kalee Nuddee is spanned by a bridge, and Colonel Seaton's† column marched across it to Etah, on the Grand Trunk Road, whence he proceeded to Mynpoory by the regular marches. Vexed at this retrograde movement, (all retrograde movements being considered by Asiatics as denoting defeat), and knowing that Mr. Cocks, Judge, and Sessions Judge of Mynpoory, was present with the column, I retraced my steps towards Agra, and eventually reached Meerut on the 27th December. Colonel Seaton eventually joined the Commander-in-Chief's column, and accompanied it to Futtehgurh, where His Excellency remained a considerable time, before he commenced operations against Lucknow. In this interval the Nana was at Neemkhar Misrick, a place of pilgrimage for Hindoos, situated about half way between the old city of Kanouj, and the cantonment of Seetapore, and about 40 or 50 miles from Futtehgurh.

59. While the Commander-in-Chief was engaged in arranging his plans for re-taking Lucknow, he directed General Penny, C. B., commanding at Meerut, to guard the river Ganges from Hurdwar to the borders of the Futtehgurh district, and to see that no rebel forces crossed over, and plundered the villages of the Doab. I am not aware what the distance by water from Hurdwar to Qadirgunj is, but it cannot be less than 500 miles. After January there must have been 500 fords at least in that interval, and what was the force at General Penny's disposal?—Two thousand five hundred men, or thereabouts! Much military knowledge is not required to prove, that effectually to watch, in the face of 50,000 rebels, 500 miles of a river frontier with 2,500 men, is an impossibility. There was however one feasible course, viz. for 2,500 brave men ever and anon to cross over the river, and beating the enemy wherever he appeared particularly active and troublesome, to return to their own side of the river. But this course was prohibited; the river was to be guarded without assuming the offensive, and the river was in no wise to be crossed. Under these circumstances, it is easy to conceive what a load of responsibility thus fell upon General Penny. On the 15th February 1858, Brigadier Coke, C. B., was ordered to take command of a Brigade at Roorkee, and orders were issued by the General at Meerut for a movable column to be held in readiness to march at a moment's warning. At General Penny's request I agreed to join this column, believing that it would be the first to enter Rohilkund, and march upon Moradabad by the Gurhmooktaisur ghât. On the 26th February 1858, having left orders that my tents and horses were to march with the movable column, I proceeded to Allahabad, the head-quarters of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, where I remained till the 12th March. At 7 o'clock that morning I left Allahabad, and reached Allygurh at 7 P. M. on the 14th, having been exactly 36 hours on the road. General Penny, C. B., marched from Allygurh on the following morning, and on the 15th March we encamped on the same ground as that occupied by Colonel Sir T. Seaton's column, on Monday the 14th December 1857. The grave of the four Dragoons and two Lancers had been disturbed, but those of Captains Wardlaw and Hudson, and of Lieutenant Vyse, were untouched. I am satisfied, however, that the

* This brought the number of Christian refugees, rescued, up to 45.

† Colonel Seaton has since been made a Knight Commander of the Bath, and well he deserves the honor.

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desecrators of the grave of the former were jackals, it having been a very shallow grave. We re-buried the remains in a deep grave, dug close by, and I have visited the spot several times since, and it has not been touched. A public monument should, I think, be raised on the spot, for a braver or a better Officer than Captain Wardlaw never led a Cavalry charge.

60. On Tuesday, the 16th, we marched to Kassgunj, and here we found Captain Murray, commanding the Jât Horse, and Mr. C. Daniell, of the Civil Service. The Jât Horse had lately, under Captain Murray* and Lieutenant Hennessy, charged a body of Irregular Cavalry, which had crossed over from Kuch'hlah, and driven them back, and thus saved the Kassgunj pergunnah from pillage.

61. On Wednesday, the 17th March, a telegram, announcing the melancholy tidings of the escape of the mutinous Sipahees and Irregular Cavalry, from Lucknow, was received. A drawing of the river was made, and information was given to the Commander-in-Chief that General Penny intended to cross the river, and attack the rebel force at Kuch'hlah, distant 12 miles, as soon as we were joined by a wing of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment. The wing arrived on the morning of Friday the 19th, and those acquainted with the General's plans were looking forward with delight to punishing the Kuch'hlah rebel force, when a telegram arrived, positively prohibiting the crossing the river, and ordering the wing of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles to return to Meerut and Roorkee, and the whole of the 5th Sikh Regiment to Lucknow. We were thus left at Kassgunj with only 1,300 men, viz., one wing Her Majesty's 64th Regiment under Colonel Bingham, one wing of the Belooch Battalion under Captain Beville, a squadron of the 6th Dragoon Guards under Colonel Richmond Jones. The Mooltanee Horse under Captain Lind, and three 18-pounders and four 9-pounders under Captain Hammond. The column remained inactive at Kassgunj till Monday, 29th of March, on which day it marched to Suhawur, where it halted till the morning of April 12th, when it marched to Putteealee. In the interim the 22nd Sikh Regiment joined us, and on Friday the 9th, whilst at Suhawur, we received news of the defeat of the rebel force at Bangaon by Colonel Sir T. Seaton, K. C. B., with a small force from Futtehgurh, and of the flight of Taij Singh, the rebel Rajah of Mynpoory, who crossing the Ganges, had forded the Kalee Nuddee at Toosaia, and had taken the road to Etawah. The Nana, on hearing of the defeat of the mutineers at Lucknow, retreated from Neemkhar Misrick to Shahjehanpore, where he remained eight days, in which interval his eldest son was born. He then proceeded to Bareilly, where he took a very active part in the Government, and actually caused a proclamation to be issued by Khan Buhadur, prohibiting the slaughter of kine.

62. At Putteealee it was resolved to get up sport for the Europeans and Sikhs, and I believe that the games which lasted for about a fortnight, and occupied the men's thoughts for about a fortnight before and a fortnight after their occurrence, were the cause why, notwithstanding the intense heat in tents, we had so few Europeans in hospital. Our forced inactivity continuing as it did for so lengthened a period, gave the rebel forces at Kuch'hlah and other ghâts confidence, and at length, on the 19th April, they came across the river Ganges, and burnt the town of Qadirgunj. The Zemindar, my old friend "Nawab Sahib," galloped over to bring the news, and the Mooltanee Horse started at once; but the distance being eight miles, when they arrived not one of the enemy was visible, all having retraced their steps to the left bank of the river.

63. About this time General Walpole, leaving Roocea, where Nirput Singh contrived to kill Brigadier the Honorable Adrian Hope, had defeated the rebels under Ahmud Yar Khan at Bich'hpooree ghât, and he was halting at Allahgunj, distant twelve miles from Futtehgurh. The Commander-in-Chief was on his

* Captain Murray is the Officer alluded to in para. 51. Lieutenant Hennessy was very severely wounded in this charge.

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way from Cawnpore to that cantonment, with some of the Highland Regiments; and the Nana was at Bareilly, organizing arrangements for opposing the British troops, which he knew would soon be approaching that city. On Thursday, the 22nd April, orders were received by General Penny to proceed to Futtehgurh, to meet His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. We accordingly started the same evening with a small escort for Shumsabad, distant twenty miles. Here we passed the heat of the day of Friday, 23rd, and very early on Saturday morning, the 24th, we reached Futtehgurh. His Excellency arrived the same day, and he at first directed General Penny to bring his column to Jullalabad; but upon my representing to His Excellency, that, to the best of my belief, Jullalabad would be evacuated before he reached the fort there; that Putteealee was the apex of an isosceles triangle of 40 miles, of which Jullalabad and Futtehgurh were the base, which base was only 20 miles; so that, while His Excellency was marching that distance, we should have to march 80 miles, with the Ganges and Ramgunga to cross; that even at Shahjehanpore his large force would not be opposed, and that I felt certain I could conduct General Penny's column straight across Rohilkund, and cause it to join His Excellency at Meeranpoor Kutrah, 20 miles south of Bareilly. He consented to the proposal, and directed General Penny to join him at that place on the 3rd May. That same night the General started for Putteealee in two marches as before. I only accompanied him 10 miles, and then rode direct to Putteealee, with orders to despatch the wing of the Belooch Battalion and the Mooltanee Horse early the next morning to the ghât. This they did, and the General and his Staff also reached Putteealee shortly after their departure. On Tuesday morning the 27th, the General reached the Ganges, and the Artillery, the wing of the Belooch Battalion, the 22nd Sikh Regiment, the Mooltanee Horse, and Captain Gowan's* Infantry, at once crossed the river, and driving off the enemy's picket, took possession of the village of Neolee. The General and Staff, and the Dragoons, crossed later in the day. No sooner had the guns crossed, say 12 o'clock mid-day, than the river began to rise, and when the Staff crossed, an ordinary horse was compelled to swim for three or four yards in the centre of the stream.

64. Wednesday, the 28th, we were engaged all day getting over Commissariat stores. A letter received from the Chief of the Staff, to the effect that the Commander-in-Chief would be most probably opposed at Shahjehanpore; that he could not be at Meeranpoor Kutrah on the 3rd; and that General Penny was at liberty to use his own discretion. I shall not easily forget the delight which this letter caused the brave old General. He sent for me, and communicated to me the contents. I replied that it was highly gratifying, because it evinced proof of the confidence which His Excellency entertained of him; but that two things militated much against his making any very great use of the discretionary powers granted; viz. that though the rebel forces under the Fyzabad Moulvee might threaten to oppose the Commander-in-Chief's entry into Shahjehanpore,—a threat which he personally, being a brave man, would doubtless carry out,—still the rebel leaders acting under him would never consent to fight such a force as that under His Excellency, and that consequently not being opposed, he would be at Meeranpoor Kutrah on the day appointed; that very probably he would be annoyed, if the General did not arrive there at the same time; and also that the river Ganges by rising so suddenly, already threatened to consume one of the two spare days allowed us, and might possibly consume the second. Pecuniary rewards were promised to the Mahouts, if they would bring over all the stores quickly, and the Commissariat Officer, Lieutenant Briggs, exerted himself to the utmost. Seeing that we could not possibly march that evening, with the consent of the General, Captain Gowan's Infantry and my Irregular Cavalry escort were sent to a Mahomedan village, about four miles off, on the road to Kukralah, with orders, if possible, to capture the picket posted there. Captain Gowan returned in the afternoon, and reported that they had been able to kill only one man of the picket, the rest having fled to Kukralah. That same evening the rebel force at

* 110 men of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, and about 150 Recruits.

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Kukralah becoming panic-struck, fled to Budaon, distant 10 miles from Kukralah. This was duly reported to General Penny, and he agreed that he would march viâ Oosaith, where were posted a thousand men with one gun, and having defeated that body, he would encamp at Kukralah, and march the next day and attack the rebels at Budaon; and having done this, he would proceed to the rendezvous by forced marches during the 2nd and 3rd of May. A messenger* noted for his experience and tact was procured, and both the General and myself wrote to the Chief of the Staff, detailing the above plan. Up to midnight were the elephants engaged, bringing over Commissariat stores, and yet all had not been brought over. Thursday the 29th saw the elephants again at work, crossing and re-crossing the river, and it was not till 5 o'clock P. M. that all the stores were safely landed at Neolee; and here, before I relate the sad occurrence which the next twenty-four hours brought forth, it is necessary, to the right understanding of the matter, that I should enter into the following detail, and that the annexed map† should be consulted.

65. The high road from Budaon to Futtehgurh runs viâ Kukralah, Oosaith and Kutrah, and crossing the Ganges at Soorujpoor ghât, enters the district of Furruckabad, the ghât being about half way between the two towns. At Kutrah, which is on the left bank, and about three miles from the river, the Bareilly rebels had all along kept up a considerable force, and it was at this ghât the force which was defeated at Shumsabad in January, and also the force which plundered the town of Kumpil in March, crossed over the river. No sooner had General Penny crossed the Ganges, and encamped at Neolee, than the Kutrah force retreated upon Oosaith and Kukralah. What became of the Kukralah portion of the Kutrah force has been detailed; viz. that it fled panic-struck into Budaon on the evening of Wednesday, 28th. The Oosaith force remained to be disposed of, and it was resolved that a column, composed of the four Battery guns under Captain Hammond, the Squadron of the 6th Dragoon Guards under Colonel Richmond Jones, a wing of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment under Colonel Bingham, half the Mooltanee Horse under Captain Lind, and a portion of the 22nd Sikh Regiment, should march for Kukralah viâ Oosaith at 9 o'clock P. M. on Thursday the 29th; and that the baggage protected by three 18-pounders, a portion of the 22nd Sikh Regiment, half the Mooltanee Horse, and Gowan's Infantry, should march for Kukralah direct at daylight of Friday the 30th April. Doubtless it was a great violation of military rules to march at the early hour of 9 o'clock P. M.; but General Penny was in the habit of marching, so as to reach his camp always by 6 o'clock A. M., with a view to avoid exposing his European troops to the effect of the sun; and when it was suggested that we were in an enemy's country, he replied, "Nothing shall induce me to expose "*my Europeans*" to the sun." It was full moon on the 29th, so that during the night of the 29th, it was bright moonlight. The column started, as ordered, at 9 o'clock P. M., and every military precaution was adopted. I was asked to accompany the advanced guard, which was commanded by Lieutenant Weatherby, of Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards. I did so, and when we arrived at a village one mile short of Oosaith, the Zemindar reported to me that the picket had been withdrawn from the village about 4 o'clock P. M., and that he believed that the rebel force had decamped, taking the road to the north. He added, "Did you send a messenger with despatches‡ "last night? If so, he approached Oosaith too nearly, and was seized by the "picket, and he was beheaded this morning in the grove at Oosaith." This Zemindar accompanied the advanced guard on foot; and when we reached Oosaith, we found all he said was too true, and the Oosaith people said that they believed that the rebels had retreated by the Datagunj road.§ We halted

* I think the name of this messenger was Kulloo. He was, I think, a Chumar by birth. His widow is deserving of a pension; the present Magistrate and Collector of Budaon can easily find her out.

† In the accompanying map, almost all the places mentioned in this Narrative, are underlined with red ink.

‡ The despatches were found in Khan Buhadur's house, after the occupation of Bareilly, and they are now in my possession.

§ The Kukralah and Datagunj roads leave Oosaith by the same exit, but separate a short distance from Oosaith; the former going almost due north, the latter towards east of north.

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at Oosaith for an hour to rest the Infantry. We then resumed our march for Kukralah, distant about eight miles, and, as nearly as I can recollect, it was about midnight. The line of march was as before, and as the road was very sandy, the Artillery and Cavalry out-marched the Infantry. When the advanced guard reached a little hamlet four miles from Oosaith, the halt was sounded, and we waited one hour for the Infantry. Here it was that General Penny, I believe, personally told Colonel Bingham not to hurry the men, but to let them take their time. It was this fatal order which led eventually to the General's death. The march was resumed by the Cavalry and Artillery, but the Infantry were allowed by their Commanding Officers to take a long rest. About two miles from Kukralah, I observed on the sand the prints of horses' feet, and I sent the Zemindar, above alluded to, into an adjacent village, to get information. When within one and a half mile of Kukralah, the Cavalry and Artillery dismounted, and every Officer of the Dragoons and of the Staff, save General Penny and myself, slept. The Zemindar rejoined us, and said that the villagers reported that the Oosaith rebel force had passed through Kukralah, apparently *en route* for Budaon. After a delay of about an hour and a half, General Penny, seeing that dawn of day was at hand, became somewhat impatient, and ordered me to wake up the Officers sleeping around us. I did so, and General Penny and the whole of the Staff having joined the advanced guard, we proceeded, the Staff riding in front of all. We had not marched a mile, when Captain Simeon, the Assistant Adjutant General, exclaimed, "There are horsemen in our front!" We reined in our horses, and I remarked, "Is it possible that those horsemen can belong to our baggage guard?" And then addressing myself to the General, by whose side I was riding, I asked whether I might send forward some of the Irregular Cavalry of my escort to ascertain who the horsemen were. The General answered, "No, no; never mind. Let us march on." We proceeded, and when we reached a small plantation of babool trees immediately adjoining the road, and about 400 yards south of Kukralah, the horsemen opened out, and a port-fire being applied to a gun was distinctly visible. I cried out in a loud tone, "Look out; there's a gun!" The Staff and the advanced guard wheeled round in an instant, to enable our guns to open, and in a second, three guns loaded with grape were fired at us, succeeded by a fourth; but by a miracle not one of us was hit,—I fancy because the guns did not admit of their muzzles being sufficiently depressed for the short distance which intervened between us and them. The road was sandy, and our guns were turned with great difficulty. Hence Captain Hammond could not return the fire of the enemy, till they had fired four rounds at us. Our guns then opened, and down came a body of Ghazees, (martyrs for the faith of Islam,) each brandishing two swords upon our guns, and the troop of Dragoons led by Captain Forster. Nobly did the Artillery and the Dragoons do their duty; the latter charged the Ghazees, and personal conflicts became the order of the day; one Ghazee was cut down by the side of one of our guns, by a Lieutenant of the Artillery, whose name I cannot now remember, and their bones even now whiten the plain, at the spot where the Dragoons went at them. One of the enemy's Cavalry, mounted on a bay horse, rode for a second close beside the Dragoons. He came up with a salam, and it was not till he began to use his sword, that he was discovered to be a rebel. His bones and those of his horse up to this day mark the spot where he fell.* The Ghazees having been driven back, the enemy taking his three guns with him, retreated to a considerable distance to the right of the road, and it was imagined that he proposed to attack our right flank. Our guns and the Dragoons were faced to the right, and Captain Hammond occasionally fired a round shot through the trees, in the direction he had taken, and though no execution was done, the firing these shots prevented the attack on our flank being attempted. It was at this time that General Penny was missed, and for some while no trace of him could be found. At length his corpse was discovered near the village, about 100 yards on the left of the road, and 300 yards in advance of

* Lieutenant Eckford, of the Quarter-Master General's Department, was severely wounded by the Ghazees, he having fallen, I believe, from his horse, when the Staff wheeled round. Captain Forster's left hand was severely injured by a sword cut inflicted, while he was warding off cuts with his steel scabbard.

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the spot where the hand-to-hand conflict between the Dragoons and the Ghazees took place. His left arm had been broken by a musket bullet, and I imagine that the reins dropping from his hand in consequence, his pony must have galloped to the front; that he fell off, and then some of the Ghazees seeing him on the ground, killed him with two sword cuts.* The command now devolved upon Colonel Richmond Jones, of the 6th Dragoon Guards, and anxiously were all eyes turned towards Oosaith, for the advent of the Infantry. At the time the first shot was fired, Colonel Bingham and Captain Beville must have been about three miles or more in the rear. I need hardly add that both Her Majesty's 64th, and the Beloochees, the moment that the gun was heard, started to join us at the double. At length they made their appearance, and we resumed the offensive. A few Ghazees attempted to renew the attack, but it was a very feeble effort, and then away the enemy fled towards Budaon. Had Colonel R. Jones taken the high road to Budaon, which road runs straight through the village of Kukralah, much time would have been saved, and the enemy would have been seen more clearly in the pursuit; but it was supposed that the houses might be filled with matchlock-men, and hence we followed in the line taken by the enemy; viz. to the right of the village. For two miles after the pursuit commenced, the dust was so great, that though riding close in the rear of the Dragoons, it was impossible to see the man in front. At length the soil became less sandy, and we saw that the enemy's Cavalry had divided,—the larger body taking the left of the road, the smaller taking the right of the road. The Dragoons followed the larger body, and the Mooltanees under Captain Lind followed the smaller. Our Artillery horses now began to feel the effects of the sandy fields through which they had been going at speed for two miles, and Captain Hammond very wisely kept his guns on the high road between the two bodies of our Cavalry; but of course his horses could no longer keep pace with the Cavalry. At length one of the enemy's guns became visible on the high road, and I saw the Artillery men trying to make the bullocks, which were dragging it, increase their speed. The Dragoons were at this time half a mile to the left of the road in pursuit of the enemy's Cavalry, but one or two of the Mooltanees catching sight of the gun, gave chase. As we neared the gun, all the rebel Artillery men but one fled, and concealed themselves in a stack of the *urhur* plant. The solitary Artillery man was despatched, and a Mooltanee taking the place of the bullock driver, we turned the bullocks round, urging them with the point of the sword to retrace their steps to Kukralah,—a proceeding to which, in their blown state, they seemed particularly averse. At this time the main body of the Mooltanees having overtaken some of the enemy, were fighting in the right, and the Dragoons were using their sabres with good effect on the left. At length some of the leading files of Her Majesty's 64th came up, and the Artillery men in the *urhur* stack were disposed of. The heat at this time was intense, and men and horses being completely knocked up, the halt was sounded. We gradually retraced our steps towards Kukralah, where we hoped to find our tents. We reached our camp, pitched on the Budaon side of Kukralah, between 12 and 1 o'clock of Friday the 30th April, and the heat may be conceived, when I state that, to the best of my recollection, seven horses, all stud-bred, born and reared in the country, died from the effect of it. Eighty dead bodies were counted between the spot where the action commenced and our tents, and as many more must have been killed in the pursuit; and yet the affair at Kukralah was designated by the Commander-in-Chief in the *Gazette* a "Skirmish." The official account of the action was drawn up by Major Harriott, of the Judge Advocate's Department, and doubtless it was difficult to write a despatch of the occurrences of the day, without attributing blame to some one. Now that General Penny was no more, I was the sole surviving depository of the *vivâ voce* instructions of the Commander-

* This brave and noble Officer fell a victim to his tender regard for the European Soldiery. His horror of exposing a British Soldier to the sun, may be conceived from the following anecdote:—He subscribed most liberally towards the fund raised for the sports at Puttecalee; but one day, fancying that they did not commence early enough, he addressed me as a steward of the sports, and begged me to go to the Officers commanding the different Arms of the Service, and tell them that if the men were not on the ground at the grey dawn, he would prohibit the games altogether. He was the only man killed that day, though one of the Dragoons died the next day of his wounds. General Penny was a stern disciplinarian, but there was not a man in the whole column who did not deplore his loss.

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in-Chief, and I deemed myself justified in asking permission to read the despatch of the copy of it. But this was denied, and the answer given was, that I could read it when it was published. In it, Major Harriott states that I was misled; and it is made to appear that I was the cause of the misadventure. How much I was to blame will appear hereafter.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

66. And now a few words as to the blame which ought to attach to me. I have before stated that the messenger despatched with letters from General Penny and myself, to the Chief of the Staff, on the evening of Wednesday the 28th, was seized that same night, and executed by the Oosaith force early on Thursday the 29th, and that both the letters are now in my possession, having been found among the papers in the house of the rebel, Nawab Khan Buhadur Khan, at Bareilly. Those letters were sent by the leader of the Oosaith force on Wednesday night to Budaon, and these being translated, all General Penny's plans became known. The Oosaith force quitted its position on the afternoon of the 29th, and passing through Kukralah, was met late at night half way between Kukralah and Budaon by a body of Ghazees and Cavalry, with two guns drawn by horses. This body had been despatched from Budaon under the command of Wuzeer Khan, the Agra Native Doctor, and Zamin Alee, the Imam of the Ghazees,* a resident of Chubramow near Futtehgurh, with orders to unite with the Oosaith force, and to oppose us at Kukralah. A part of the Oosaith force refused to return with Wuzeer Khan and Zamin Alee, and continued their march, but some of them and the Artillery did return, and it was the Oosaith gun which we took. Wuzeer Khan and Zamin Alee's party, thus constituted, reached Kukralah about 11 o'clock of the night of Thursday the 29th April, and of this fact I was ignorant at 4 o'clock the following morning. I never however advocated marching at night in a country occupied by the enemy; but still passing this by, was it any fault of mine, that when we halted 1½ miles short of Kukralah, we did not prolong our halt for an additional half hour? Was it any fault of mine, that the Infantry was permitted to stay so far in the rear? Was it any fault of mine, that the whole of the Staff *sponte suâ* joined the advanced guard,—a post which had been assigned to me at 9 o'clock the previous evening? Had the ordinary precautions of war been adopted, what harm could have occurred from the enemy's occupation, during the night, of Kukralah? I may safely answer, that but few of the enemy would have lived to return to Budaon, and all their three guns would have been taken.

67. But to return to my narrative. It was given out that we should march the following morning to Budaon, but when Colonel Jones, Major Harriott, and Captain Simeon, were consulting as to what was to be done, I entered the tent, and told them that I had pledged my word to His Excellency that I would conduct the column, so as to join him at Meeranpoor Kutrah on Monday, the 3rd May;—that there were only three days left for a march by cross country roads, and by which regular troops had never marched, of some 35 miles, with the Ramgunga river intervening;—that it was true that His Excellency, under the impression that he would be opposed at Shahjehanpore, and consequently would be unable to reach Meeranpoor Kutrah at the appointed time, had in a measure absolved both the General and myself from the pledge given at Futtehgurh, but that I was sure His Excellency would not be opposed at Shahjehanpore, and that he would consequently adhere to his part of the engagement;—that though General Penny had intended, under the conditional release from his engagement above alluded to, had he not been opposed at Kukralah, to march to Budaon, and defeating the enemy there, to make two forced marches, and join His Excellency, if possible, on the 3rd at Meeranpoor Kutrah, or failing in that, to join him on the 4th at Furreedpore, yet that the enemy, after the defeat of the morning, believing that we would march on Budaon, would assuredly evacuate that place;—that under no circumstances

* Zamin Alee was the leader of the Ghazees, who drove the Sikhs at the battle of Bareilly out of the grove near the Irregular Cavalry lines, and eighty of whom were in their turn killed by Her Majesty's 42nd Royal Highlanders. Zamin Alee was killed, and I believe Wuzeer Khan, Native Doctor, also fell at the same time.

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could we remain to hold possession of it;—that the troops were knocked up with the night's march, and the action of the morning;—and that under all the circumstances of the case, we had better march the following morning to Buksainah, keeping our intention secret. These arguments prevailed. In the evening we buried our good old General* under a large solitary mango tree, and at 1 o'clock A. M. of the 1st May we marched to Buksainah, where the good and loyal Zemindars of the neighbourhood for miles around, who three different times attempted during the rebellion to throw off the Mahomedan yoke, and who sheltered some 64 Christian refugees, vied with one another in supplying, in a few hours' notice, every thing required by our column. I here learnt, from native sources, that the Nana had, under a pledge that he would oppose His Excellency at Meeranpoor Kutrah, obtained money and ten thousand men in addition to his own column, at that time consisting of nearly 2,000 men, and had marched to Furreedpoor for the purpose, and that His Excellency had not been opposed at Shahjehanpoor. This intelligence made it absolutely necessary that we should be punctual in keeping our time at Meeranpoor Kutrah. Accordingly we resumed our march at 2 o'clock A. M. of Sunday the 2nd May. About an hour after sunrise we reached the banks of the Ramgunga, and nearly the whole day was occupied in crossing that treacherous river. But our object was gained, and we encamped on the left bank, at a village called Manpoor, close to Khairah Bujarrah, the village mentioned in paragraph 50, as being the asylum of Captain Gowan and the Belcham family. We were now only 8 miles from Furreedpoor, and the same distance from Meeranpoor Kutrah. It was barely probable that the Nana, hearing of the approach of His Excellency's army, might prefer attacking our column, to waiting to be annihilated by the said army and our column united. We had, too, a river in our rear; but I believe had the Nana, who is at heart an arrant coward, ventured to attack us, he would have been assuredly defeated. Moreover, although it was known to every one, from the report of the guns, that we had gained a victory at or near Kukralah, the fact of our having turned our faces due east, and having marched across country, was a secret, and had the Nana kept his word, and marched on Meeranpoor Kutrah, I believe he would not have known, till 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 2nd, that we were so close to him. All the Zemindars around us were friendly to us. There was no occasion to send on any armed party beforehand. Two Zemindars on horseback, quitting camp at 10 P. M., were sufficient to ensure our having all our wants supplied by 10 A. M. the following day. Immediately on our arriving at the Ramgunga, messengers were sent to Furreedpoor and Meeranpoor Kutrah. They returned about 12 o'clock. The former reported that the Nana, with his own column, had marched from Furreedpoor to Khodagunj *en route* to Koothar, and that the 10,000 men supplied by Khan Buhadur Khan had returned to Bareilly. The latter reported that there was a picket of 50 sowars sent by the Nana from Furreedpoor, posted in the mango grove at Meeranpoor Kutrah, and that the Commander-in-Chief had commenced his march from Shahjehanpoor to Bareilly. Late in the evening letters were received from the Chief of the Staff, to the effect that His Excellency would be at Meeranpoor Kutrah at sunrise, and expected us to meet him there. We did so, and His Excellency did me the honor to thank me in a very flattering manner for the manner in which the column had been conducted to the spot at the hour agreed upon.

68. On the 4th His Excellency reached Furreedpoor, and a little after sunrise of Wednesday the 5th May, the enemy fired their first shot from their guns drawn up at the Nukuteea bridge, close to the Bareilly cantonment. Our Artillery very soon silenced them, and then the old Rohillah Cavalry tactics were tried, viz. to get into our rear, and make havoc among our baggage; but our Cavalry were alert on the flanks, and both attempts failed. The line moved on, and some Sikhs (I think there were 200 of them,) were ordered to hold a grove, intervening between the new Irregular Cavalry lines and the Bareilly parade-ground. They had not been long in this grove when

* His body has been removed since, and re-interred at Meerut.

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they were attacked by 300 Ghazee foot and 100 Ghazee horse, under Zamin Alee. Taken by surprise, at least I fancy so, they fled before the Ghazees. His Excellency ordered H. M.'s 42nd Royal Highlanders to their support, and this noble corps made short work of them, killing 80 of them, among whom was Zamin Alee himself. It is believed that Vuzeer Khan, the Agra Native Doctor, was also killed, for a case of surgical instruments and a revolver were taken from the person of one of the slain. The Ghazees on the left having been disposed of, a curious incident occurred in the front. A little to the right of the road were placed Colonel Remington's guns, and in rear of them were H. M.'s 93rd Highlanders. In front of the guns, at the distance of 150 yards, was a grove, the fence of which was composed of a slight bank, on which there was some *surput* grass; a man, with a gun on his back and his sword by his side, putting aside the grass, coolly entered the plain, and began walking in the direction of His Excellency and myself. I remarked to His Excellency that the fellow was a Ghazee, and that unless prevented, he would make mischief. At this moment the fellow bringing his right shoulder slightly forward, made for Colonel Remington's guns. I immediately addressed the Commander-in-Chief and said, "See, he is making for the guns; pray dispose of him." His Excellency cried out, "Here, four Highlanders from the left." Instantly eight men of the 93rd ran up, and His Excellency said, "Shoot that fellow." The Ghazee was now about 80 yards from us. Eight minie rifles were fired, but not a bullet touched him. He now drew his sword; and a horseman, (he might have been the Serjeant Major of Colonel Remington's Artillery, or he might have been one of the Meerut or Lahore Light Horse,) rode to the front to meet him. At a distance of about 20 yards, the Ghazee levelled his musket and fired at him, but missed him. His Excellency ordered the horseman back, but he remained where he was. The Ghazee commenced re-loading his musket, and the horseman was joined by three or four other horsemen. They then went at him. He, after firing at them a second time, got among them, and with his sword he made their horses dance, before he was ultimately disposed of. Instead of following up the enemy the line was halted, the 24-pounders were brought up, and the empty groves intervening between us and the city were shelled for a considerable period. Orders were about 5 P. M. issued for the troops to bivouac where they stood. Khan Buhadur, Sobha Ram, and all the leading rebels, with guns drawn by horses, and a considerable column, took advantage of our inactivity, to retreat by the metalled road to Pilibheet. The following morning we were ordered to move a mile to our left, and to encamp on the Bareilly parade-ground. In the meantime Brigadier Jones, C. B., of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, having defeated the enemy at Meergunj, 20 miles north-west of Bareilly, had encamped on the north side of that city, and while we were shifting our ground, his column was engaged in occupying the town. The result of the action at Bareilly was a bitter disappointment to me. One of the most influential Zemindars in the neighbourhood had promised me, that as soon as all their guns had been taken, and they had been thoroughly beaten, he and his brethren would arrest Khan Buhadur, Sobha Ram, and all the leading rebels. The allowing them to get away with their guns of course was a violation of the contract on my part, and all my plans for seizing the Chiefs fell to the ground. In fact the Zemindars did not consider that Khan Buhadur had been defeated, and until I gave them an escort led by an European, they would not come into camp. Two unfortunate Christians, who had been in Jail, and who were released by the Hindoos on the morning of the 5th, were killed by the low Mahomedan budmash population of Bareilly, even while our guns were at work; but I had the satisfaction of recovering from the Zemindars, and in other ways, 18 Christians, making in all 64 Christian Rohilkund Refugees, from first to last, rescued through me, and those associated with me in the work.

69. On the 10th May I marched with Captain Gowan, Serjeant Major Belcham, William Hardy, Private in Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, the faithful men of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, some recruits, and about sixty Irregular Cavalry, for Moradabad, which place we reached on the 12th. Here we remained for more than a month, without a single soldier drawing British

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pay, save the party above mentioned, and in the interval many rebels and mutineers were sentenced capitally, among them two Princes of the house of Dehli, who were arrested, sneaking about, disguised as Faqeers.

70. This long narrative has now come to a close. It has been compiled from notes and a diary regularly kept up, and it contains a simple narrative of what I am personally cognizant. I feel certain that it will draw down upon me the charge of egotism; but it is difficult to conceive how such a charge can, with any justice, be brought against me. More than thirty years have elapsed since I sold my time, my life, my intellect, such as it is, everything save my honor, to Government, and hence all I did was the act of Government through one of its humblest servants. Moreover, my narrative is not a voluntary effusion. It has been written, as stated in the commencement, by the express orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. CRACROFT WILSON,

*Commissioner for tracing and punishing Mutineers and Rebels.*

CAMP CALCUTTA:

*The 24th December* 1858.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES,

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# MORADABAD,

IN 1857-58.

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No. 88.

FROM

R. H. DUNLOP, ESQUIRE,
*Offg. Magistrate of Moradabad,*

To

R. ALEXANDER, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner of Rohilkund.*

MORADABAD MAGISTRACY, THE 18TH NOVEMBER 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor, with reference to your Circular No. 91, dated 13th instant, to transmit the following chronological table of events at Moradabad, from 11th May 1857 to 16th June 1858; also a faithful and interesting, though prolix, account of events by the Judge's Translator.

May 11th. A sowar arrived with news by letter from Meerut of the outbreak on preceding day.

May 12th. A parade called, when the sepoys were promised that they would not be required to use the new cartridges.

May 18th. 70 mutineer sepoys of the Sappers and Miners arrived from Mozuffernuggur, and camped at the Gangon bridge, three miles from Moradabad.

The same night Messrs. Wilson, Saunders, Dr. Cannon, and an Officer in command of a party of the 23rd Native Infantry, and the district sowars, attacked them, taking Rs. 10,000, killing two of them, and taking nine prisoners.

May 19th. Mr. Saunders started for Meerut, there being no one there in charge at the time but the Joint Magistrate, but returned, as on the same day. Two of the Sappers and Miners came to release their comrades from the Jail; one was shot by the guard, but the other got the sepoys of the 23rd to assist him, and broke the Jail. The riot was quieted by the evening.

May 20th. Syud Goolzar Alee, &c., burnt the Tehseel and Thannah of Amroha, killed the Thannahdar and Jemadar, and plundered Rs. 17,000 of Government revenue.

May 21st. Promiscuous fighting commenced among the Zemindars, chiefly by attempted dacoities on the part of the Moollahs and Puthans.

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May 23rd. The Joint Magistrate, Mr. Campbell, was deputed to Hussunpore Goorsahair and Amroha, and Willayet Hossein to Thakoordwara, with a view to stopping the universal disorganization taking place.

May 24th. 250 Jahadees arrived from Rampore at the call of Moulvee Munnoo. Mr. Wilson met them with a company of the 23rd Native Infantry and district sowars, dispersed them, and the Moulvee Munnoo was shot in the evening.

May 25th. Mr. Wilson and Dr. Cannon marched out to meet some mutineers, Sappers and Miners, from Dhampore, and left them out of the city.

May 30th. Mr. Wilson destroyed the house of Goolzar Alee at Amroha.

June 1st. Dawk was closed.

June 3rd. 23rd Native Infantry appropriated all the Government treasure, and the Europeans fled to Meerut and Nynee Tal. The Cutcherry was burnt, and all the bungalows plundered by the mob. Abbas Alee proclaimed himself ruler in Moradabad. Mujjoo Khan, ditto ditto.

June 4th. Abdool Alee Khan, uncle of the Nawab of Rampore, arrived in the morning.

Messrs. Warwick, Humphries, &c. &c. were murdered by a mob.

June 6th. The Nawab of Rampore arrived to take charge, and left same day.

June 7th. A report arose that the Europeans from Meerut were coming. The Mussulmans collected to fight under Mujjoo Khan, and burnt down the Church.

June 8th. Abdool Alee fled on hearing approach of Bareilly Brigade. Messrs. Hill, McGuire, and others were made Mussulman.

Mujjoo Khan was placed on the musnud.

June 15th. Bareilly Brigade arrived. Mr. Kitchen, his son, and brother-in-law murdered by the mutineers and city rebels. Government well-wishers were plundered at the instance of Mujjoo Khan. A company of the mutineers proceeded to Billaree, and brought away Rs. 7,000 from the Tehseelee. Another party proceeded to Kasheepore, and brought away Government elephants. The Brigade, on its proceeding to Dehli, carried off five Eurasian writers, giving their wives and daughters to Mujjoo Khan.

June 18th. Bukht Khan granted Sunnuds to Mujjoo Khan and Assud Alee Khan on the part of the King of Dehli, confirming them in the vice-royalty of Moradabad. The sepoys of the Brigade murdered these five prisoners (the Christian writers, per force made Mussulman between Rujjubpore and Gujrowlee.

June 24th. Abdool Alee Khan, uncle of Nawab of Rampore, arrived with 2,000 men and four guns, and established authority in concert with Mujjoo Khan, and ordered observance of the Mahomedan law in the distribution of justice.

June 30th. Mujjoo Khan collected a large body of men from Moradabad, Sumbhul and Amroha, with the intention of sending them to Dehli to aid the King; but the Nawab of Rampore dissuaded him from his purpose, and fixed a jagheer for him.

August 2nd. At the instance of Mujjoo Khan a quarrel took place between the Puthans and the Moradabad people, which ended in the murder of one person of the latter party, and of forty of the former, and in their flight from Moradabad.

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October 20th. The town's-people murdered Mr. William Smith, for fear of his revealing the secrets of their conduct during the disturbances to the British authorities on their arrival.

April 22nd. Feroze Shah surprised the town of Moradabad, and arrived in it viâ Sumbhul. Before his arrival 1,600 men, residents of Moradabad, had fixed their seals to a Muhzur, in testimony of their readiness to co-operate with him. Abdool Alee Khan fled to Rampore. His party plundered the houses of Government well-wishers.

April 24th. A fight took place between Feroze Shah and the Nawab's force from Rampore. He encountered it on the strength of aid promised to him by the town's-people, but fled from Moradabad on hearing of the arrival of General Jones's column at Noorpore.

April 25th. At 6 A. M. General Jones arrived with his column at Moradabad. At 10 A. M. Mujjoo's house was surrounded by a party under the guidance of Willayet Hossein Khan. He was apprehended with his colleagues (who resisted the captors) after a protracted search, and was shot at 5 P. M.

April 30th. The Commissioner, in company with the Nawab of Rampore, arrived at Moradabad.

May 1st. Town of Moradabad illuminated on account of the restoration of Government authority.

May 2nd. District of Moradabad made over to the Nawab of Rampore, and the column marched on to Bareilly.

May 12th. Mr. Wilson, Commissioner on special duty, arrived at Moradabad.

June 16th. Brigadier Coke, with his column and Mr. Ricketts, returned to Moradabad from Bareilly.

I have, &c.

R. H. DUNLOP,

*Offg. Magistrate.*

MORADABAD:
*The 18th November* 1858.

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# MUTINY AND REBELLION

IN THE DISTRICT OF

# MORADABAD.

## Part I.

Last year, (it was perhaps the month of May,) that a printed General Order was received by the Military Authorities here, from the head-quarters of the Commander-in-Chief, announcing the disbanding of the 19th Regiment N. I. stationed at Barrackpore, and setting forth the particulars of the mutiny of that Regiment. The order in question was read and explained to the men of the 29th Regiment N. I., then stationed here. From that day on which they heard the said order they began to murmur, and most of the sepoys were often heard to say, that they had received letters from their brethren in other quarters, that the English were intriguing to compel the native soldiers to bite greased cartridges, and consume flour mixed with particles of bone and dried skin, for the purpose of destroying the caste-system of Hindosthan. Those sepoys that had gone to Umballa to the new musketry school were proscribed, and considered out-castes by the fellow-soldiers of their respective Regiments. However the native soldiers here did not give vent to their feelings in such a public way as to cause alarm, until the outbreak at Meerut. Baboo Tara Chund Pyne, Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Moradabad, was the first person who communicated the news of the mutiny here to Mr. J. C. Wilson, then Judge of Moradabad. The Baboo was at Meerut on the day of mutiny there, and as fear had alone compelled him to fly from Meerut early on the morning of the next day, he returned to Moradabad with a very imperfect account of the sad occurrence at Meerut. The Meerut mail did not arrive here a few days, but on peace and order being restored, postal communication was re-opened with Meerut, and confidential letters were received, giving correct accounts of the disturbances there. The Authorities now employed themselves assiduously to maintaining and restoring peace and order, but the men of the 29th Native Infantry here, believing that a very few European soldiers survived the massacre at Meerut, began to show their audacity now. On the 16th May, they, within their lines, caused bugles to be sounded, on the pretext that the town's people were preparing to rise. The Court omlah were all then in the Cutcherry. Mr. Saunders, the Magistrate, immediately with a few sowars proceeded to the city, and finding there nothing but that only "the mountain was in labor," returned to the office. The result of this farce was, that the sepoys had a hearty laugh that they so far succeeded in frightening their European Officers, and the latter consoled themselves with this thought, that the sepoys were misinformed about the pretended rising of the city people. The Nawab of Rampore being the nearest Chief, either voluntarily, or at the request of the Authorities here, sent a number of his sowars under a Naeb Rissaldar to do duty with the District Officers. The Government sowars that were on leave, and residing in their homes in this district, also attended. At last, on the night of the 18th May, the Officers received information of the arrival of a party of the mutinous 20th Regiment N. I. from Mozuffernuggur at the Gangun bridge, who had with them a considerable amount of Government treasure. Arrangements were immediately made to surprise them. Accordingly a strong party, consisting of Irregular sowars, and sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry, proceeded with Mr. Wilson and some other European Officers, and they so successfully surprised the mutineers, that most of them were captured, and a very few escaped. The prisoners were marched to the station of Moradabad, and Mr. Wilson, after suggesting that the prisoners should be made over to the custody of the 29th Native Infantry, went to his bungalow to take a little

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rest. Mr. Saunders, with a party of sowars, proceeded towards Rujjubpore, to restore peace and order. On the morning of the 19th May, the city police caught a few sepoys, who, while they were being led to the Jail, met a few sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry, and adjured them by all the sacred powers to cause their release. These spectator sepoys immediately returned to their lines, where they saw a warm altercation going on, the subject being the impropriety and unworthiness of those sepoys that had accompanied their Officers last night, to strip and capture their brethren of the mutinous 20th Native Infantry. The Sergeant Major and Havildar Major, in their attempts to pacify the disaffected sepoys, were threatened and insulted. The captive sepoys, about whom Mr. Wilson had suggested to be made over to the custody of the 29th Native Infantry, were already removed to the Jail;—by whom, and under whose permission, heaven alone knows! While affairs were thus becoming worse, the vile Nujeebs of the Jail sent notice to the 29th Native Infantry that hackeries were ready to convey the sepoy prisoners to Meerut, to be hanged there. Upon this loud murmurs rose from all parts of the lines, and sepoys began to observe that they would get a very bad name throughout the Bengal Army, as having been the authors of the disgrace and destruction of a number of their brethren of the 20th Native Infantry. Two sepoys, one by name Phoolail Ram, by caste a barber, and the other Sonsar Singh, caste Rajpoot, sprang up, and with their muskets ran towards the Jail, followed by a number of bad characters from the 7th and 8th companies. It was 9 A. M., and I was going on my pony to the office. I had just come in front of the Jail, when I saw a sepoy thumping a Jail official, who had locked up the gates. The keys were immediately delivered into the hands of the sepoys, who, rushing into the Jail, released the captive sepoys. The prisoners gave several cheers to the sepoys, and began to make their escape. No attempt was made by any Jail official to remonstrate with the sepoys, nor any of them showed any presence of mind in arresting the egress of the convicts. Phoolail Ram and others took the pride of liberating the sepoys, and the Nujeebs took the glory of permitting and inducing the prisoners to escape. But when Phoolail Ram and others, having come out of the Jail, declared that they had only come to rescue their own sepoys, and that they had nothing to do with the other convicts, the Nujeebs and other Jail officials, who had connived at the escape of the prisoners, were disappointed and became uneasy now. They therefore began to fire volleys in the air, falsely announcing that they were opposing the mutineers. I was seeing every thing on my pony at the junction of the main road with the lane leading towards the Government Dispensary. Mujjoo Khan, who was in custody in the Jail for wounding Mr. Court of the Civil Service, now came out with his heavy fetters. In a few seconds I saw him without his fetters coming towards me. I immediately guessed his evil design, that he was coming to deprive me of my pony; so I galloped towards the Dispensary. The attention of that villain was however directed towards another horse belonging to a Soubadar of the 29th Native Infantry, which a syce was leading to the cantonments. Mujjoo Khan knocked down the syce, and scampered off on horseback. The conduct on this occasion of Moosee Ruzza, the Jailer (now Cotwal), and Surabsookh, Jemadar of the Nujeebs, (still in concealment somewhere,) was that of a base and cowardly wretch. I informed Baboo Tara Chund, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, of what had occurred at the Jail. The Baboo having placed me at the head of his subordinates, retired towards his house in the Dispensary compound. I comforted Baboo Tara Chund every way, and having posted pickets of the bearers in the service of the Baboo all around the Dispensary, I with my party took up a position between the Dispensary and the Baboo's house. In that party there were three plucky *Brahmuns* and one brave *Lodha*. There was also a Syud with a lance in his hand, who, after making several wild gestures, began to brag of his bravery. After a little while a party of convicts, mostly Mussulmans, but headed by a Hindoo named Poorun Malee, also a prisoner, since hanged, came to attack the Dispensary, and bear away a sepoy, who was wounded in the affair of last night, and was on the point of expiring. There were also four burkundazes, who had charge of the dying wretch. The prisoners, with their sticks and

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bamboos, drove away my pickets. Upon this I ordered my party to advance, and attack the prisoners with drawn swords. Two Brahmun servants advanced and challenged the prisoners. The Syud servant immediately disappeared. The sight of drawn swords dispirited them, and as I advanced simultaneously, I rebuked and threatened Poorun Malee. He immediately bolted with his comrades. Abdool Alee Khan, a Puthan of Rampore, who, for mutilating a prostitute, was undergoing sentence of seven years' imprisonment in the Moradabad Jail, went to his friend Moulvee Moonnoo, (afterwards shot by the police,) a notorious bad character, who immediately caused the fetters on his legs to be removed. These two bad characters, along with a few other budmashes, then went to Moulvees Alum Alee and Mooneer Alee, requesting them to raise the green flag of rebellion, but the Moulvees refused. However these villains would surely have caused some disturbance, had not the men of the 29th, by the prudent measures of Mr. Wilson, been induced to return to their allegiance on that very day. The residents in the town closed their doors, and the police bolted. Some ladies sought refuge in a large building within the town; the Christian Clerks also took shelter in the town, in the house of Mr. Fanthome. On that day the first act of robbery that was committed in open day was the wresting of a chest containing jewels, belonging to Mr. Warwick, by a Ghosee of Nawabpoorah, whose right hand was, during the incumbency of the Nawab of Rampore, cut off for similar acts of robbery.

After removing Baboo Tara Chund Pyne and his family to the house of Moonshee Doorga Pershad, Zillah Visitor, in the neighbourhood, I ventured out to see what was going on abroad.

An old pretender was now seen going towards the cantonments, with a few Mussulman followers, to tamper with the sepoys. It was Nawab Niamut-oollah Khan, formerly in Government employ, (viz. Moonsiff of Nugeenah in the time of Mr. Judge Okeden, and subsequently a political pensioner.)

This hoary-headed traitor, emerging from his house in mohullah Nawabpoorah, began to assure the town's-folk that he being a descendant of a former Viceroy, would soon take possession of Moradabad, and govern it in the name of the King of Dehli with justice and peace. In order to gain over the mutinous 29th Native Infantry, he sent them a large quantity of parched gram with *goor* to serve as breakfast for them. He sent bread and other kinds of food to the Mussulman sepoys. The sepoys, after accepting his present, and thanking him, ordered him to leave the lines on pain of death. The ungrateful beast, thus disappointed, returned to his house with indignation and shame. Although I knew a great deal, but being an insignificant official, whose task was only to translate into English, heavy civil suits, was never asked on any subject; nor in the presence of a large number of the cunning Mussulman officers of great influence I had the pluck to reveal any thing successfully. Thus the treason of Nawab Niamut-oollah Khan was suffered to pass unnoticed and with impunity, until he openly became a *Ghazee*, and was shot at Dehli on the day of assault.

I must also observe that while the prisoners were escaping, Mr. J. C. Wilson, the Judge, arming himself, went to the sowars of the Nawab of Rampore for assistance. He harangued them well, and told them that it was a favorable time now for them to show the bravery and courage for which the Puthans of Rampore have always been conspicuous, and that he would himself head them against the mutineers of the 29th Native Infantry. With the exception of the Naeb Rissaldar, all of them refused to assist Mr. Wilson. In fact these villains were worse than the mutineers. The old gentleman being thus disappointed, had recourse to another prudent measure, in which by the blessing of God, he succeeded. He rode towards the town, and sent for the principal citizens, requesting them to accompany him to the cantonments, and act as arbitrators between him and the sepoys; nay, the old gentleman being a great favorite with the people of Moradabad, himself went to some of the

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citizens, whom in his days of authority he was pleased to call "sons and nephews." But he totally failed to induce any of them, except Missur Tunha Singh, to accompany him to the lines. Mr. Wilson, in his disappointment, exclaimed, "What! has Sayed-ood-deen also refused to go with me?"

Thus friendless and forlorn he boldly went to the lines, and after haranguing the men, made them repent of their rashness and folly. The sepoys were quite ashamed, and after exchange of oaths from both sides to remain friendly to each other, and to forget the offences of the past, the sepoys returned to their duty; and order and discipline was thus restored within the lines. Now commenced the arrest of the escaped convicts. The sepoys themselves captured a large party of these miscreants, and the city police on their part were not backward in this task. Mr. Wilson then drove towards the Cutcherry compound, where there was a detachment of the 29th Native Infantry as guard over the public treasure. The Native Artillery men, with their two guns, had of their own accord taken up a position within the Cutcherry compound. Be it known here that the principal instigators of mutiny on the 19th May were these miscreant Artillery men, who so successfully taunted the sepoys for their servile obedience to their British Officers, that they were induced to throw off their allegiance. These Artillery men, on seeing Mr. Wilson, immediately lighted their port-fire to blow him off from one of their guns; but Mr. Wilson, with the greatest presence of mind, not only made them to desist, but won them over also. What was the result now? Why, perfect peace throughout the station, and Mr. Wilson was greeted everywhere with cheers; and received now, for the first time, the proud name of "*Burra Sahub*" from the native soldiers. In fact the native soldiers began to love him now for his sweet and consolatory words, until they were not beguiled by the designing Mussulmans of the city. Although there was perfect security within the station of Moradabad, (but the flight of the prisoners caused great anarchy in the Mofussil,) travellers began to be plundered in open day with impunity. The police in the Mofussil became negligent; the residents of one village attacked those of the other. The law which had kept them under restraint was set at defiance, under an impression that the rule of the infidel Feringees was at an end, and that the Emperor of Dehli had assumed the sovereignty of India under better auspices. All the high posts in the district were filled up with Mussulman officers, who showed very little sympathy with the British Government. Now and then they were found exerting themselves in behalf of the British Government, not sincerely, but like hypocrites and time-serving men. Arson, murder, and other heinous crimes became now common things. Every one was eager to avail himself of this golden opportunity of anarchy to transgress God's command, "Thou shalt commit no murder, and thou shalt not usurp thy neighbour's rights." *Goojurs, Mewatees*, and other free-booting Indian clans, now entered into a confederacy for extending the work of plunder. If a poor traveller had nothing with him to satisfy a robber, he was simply told to kneel down and bend his neck, that he (the robber) might try upon his neck the sharp edge of his newly-made sword or axe. Enormities, too shocking to be narrated here, were perpetrated in broad daylight by the villagers. The quiet reign of the Honorable East India Company, under able and benevolent statesmen like the late Messrs. Thomason and Colvin, and the much-lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, made but a very faint impression upon the minds of these lawless villagers. Like the latent fire in a substance, which bursts forth by some external cause, the propensities of the villagers to commit all kinds of excesses now came to light by the rising of the sepoys. The nearest place to Moradabad, where the rebellion next reared its head, was the town of Amroha, swarming with *Syuds* of licentious and improvident habits, enjoying, under the auspices of the British Government, large rent-free estates. These ambitious *Syuds*, learning the coronation of the King of Dehli, heartily wished to embrace the cause of the King, but the rich ones had not the pluck to raise the standard of revolt. At last they found a ready tool in the person of Goolzar Alee, a notorious *Budmash* and a *Syud* of ruined fortune, belonging to the Sheeya sect. Formerly he was greatly favored by Mr. Wilson, and Deputy Collector

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Willayet Hossein Khan. This villain, assisted by Bindoo, a *Syud*, and an escaped convict, and by the *Budmashes* of Amroha, raised the flag of revolt, sacked the Tehseelee, killed the Thannahdar Muddud Alee, inhabitant of Moradabad, and spared the life of the Tehseeldar, as he was a *Syud* of Amroha; he then by tom-tom proclaimed himself Viceroy of the King of Dehli, and gave orders for the recruiting of a force for the service of the King. Company's Rupees were denounced as unfit for currency, and old coins were now brought in use during the short reign of this obscure villain. On the 21st May, at the invitation of Moulvee Moonnoo and Co., a large number of Ghazees, under a burkundaz of the Cotwalee of Rampore, came upon Moradabad, to extirpate the *kafir Feringees*. However, in due time, they were met on the other side of the river by Mr. Wilson and other Civil and Military Officers, and dispersed. One villain had the audacity to point his pistol against Mr. Wilson, but he was soon knocked down by a sepoy of the 29th Native Infantry. Taj-ood-deen, darogah of the ferry, then wanted to show his courage, and cut the fallen man in several places with his sword. Fine instance of bravery indeed! It is a pity that he is not made a K. C. B. by the British Government. However, this Sir John Falstaff was not only thanked by Mr. Wilson, but received a good certificate also from that gentleman. I frequently make use of Mr. Wilson's name, for the reason as he was the Senior Civil Officer, and called *Burra Sahib*, and nothing was done in those days without his advice and direction. It is my pleasing duty to remark here that the other Civil Officers, Messrs. Saunders and Campbell, and Dr. Cannon, were always very forward and energetic in the discharge of their duties in those critical days. They were never rash, but very mild and cool on every occasion, and they did every thing in their power, which becomes the name of an Englishman. The Military Officers, on their part, particularly the Adjutant of the 29th Native Infantry, were neither wanting in energy in maintaining strict discipline and order within their jurisdiction. Indeed I never saw a finer set of bold and prudent gentlemen than those whom I have had the honor of knowing at the time of the mutiny at Moradabad.

About ten Ghazees of Rampore were captured on the spot; but instead of being shot, they were kept the whole night in the quarter-guard, and next morning were made over to the miscreant sowars of the Nawab of Rampore, to be dealt with as the Nawab pleased. This policy was not good, as they were never punished by the Nawab, but while they were being led to Rampore by the sowars, the latter studiously spread a false report that they had compelled the British Officers to make over the prisoners to them. The credulous Mussulmans of Moradabad were thus led to believe the power of the Puthans of Rampore as paramount. The Mussulmans began to consider themselves now strong enough to throw off the British yoke, but they were soon disappointed that very evening. The abovementioned Moulvee Moonnoo, the ringleader, was, on the clear confession of the Ghazees, summoned to appear; but he resisted the police, and was, with a slave, shot by the police. I should here bring forward an instance of Mahomedan winking. Moonshee Imam-ood-deen (now a Tehseeldar) did not accompany the *dour* sent to seize Moulvee Moonnoo, but sent his Naeb, Bhoop Singh, a Hindoo Thakoor of Kutgurh, (now also a Tehseeldar.) With all his reputation for honesty and loyalty, Imam-oo-ddeen, anticipating the bad consequences which might accrue on reaching the rebel's house, was loath to sacrifice his interests of *Islam*. He therefore sent his *Naeb* to the rebel's house. The death of this rebel dispirited the Mahomedans. The disaffected dreaded a similar fate. The summary justice was certainly praiseworthy, and had the Officers thrown off their mildness, and always acted in the same way, it is my impression, that the 29th Native Infantry, backed by the Irregular Horse raised by the Officers, and Goor Suhae's *Játs*, would certainly have opposed Bukht Khan's mutinous Brigade from this side of the river, or if not to have marched to Meerut with their Officers' banners, and the public treasure. But the Officers had made it a policy to show the greatest forbearance. After settling the Ghazee affair, Mr. Wilson marched to Amroha with a party of the 29th Native Infantry and two guns, and Goor Suhae's *Játs*, to chastise Goolzar Alee, the self-constituted Viceroy of Amroha. But the bird

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had flown away before Mr. Wilson could reach Amroha; Goolzar Alee's brother was made a prisoner, and I am sorry that due retribution was not taken upon the property and relations of Goolzar Alee Buhadur, Soobah of Amroha, in the same way as he had destroyed the Tehseelee and killed some police officials. The good and loyal Goor Suhae, a very influential *Ját* Zemindar, was made *Názim* of Amroha, and Mr. Wilson, after garrisoning the place with Goor Suhae's followers, returned successfully to Moradabad.

Goolzar Alee and Co. passed through the pergunnah of Hussunpore, plundering and sowing the seeds of sedition, and after crossing the Ganges at the ferry of Poot, soon reached Malagurh and Dehli. A Brahmin Zemindar, by name Bholanauth, inhabitant of Moradabad, was murdered by his inimical villagers close to his village, within the jurisdiction of the thannah of Ch'hujlait. In pergunnah Thakoordwara, the Puthans and weavers, combining together, revolted. The Tehseeldar Ch'hotay Lall, who had made himself very unpopular, was obliged to bolt. However, Moonsiff Uzmut-ool-lah (now a rebel at large) held out Thakoordwara for the British Government, and saved the treasury and record. Mr. Wilson congratulated and thanked the Moonsiff, but was highly offended with the cowardly conduct of the Tehseeldar. Willayet Hossein Khan, Ex-Deputy Collector, was accordingly appointed Nazim of Thakoordwara, where he went with a body of his newly-raised police, but was obliged to return to Moradabad, when the British Officers made their escape from the station on the 3rd June 1857. A rich *Bunneeah*, in the village of *Mundhun*, with his relations, was most inhumanly tortured by plunderers. His hands were slowly burnt, to compel him to point out his treasure. They squeezed from him a considerable amount of cash. The miserable wretch came to Moradabad, and was placed in the Dispensary for treatment. However, the Civil Authorities sometimes (though not always) taught the disaffected a good lesson in the pergunnahs of Amroha, Thakoordwara, and Hussunpore, and prospects were entertained of the return of tranquillity throughout the district. Kutgurh supplied the Authorities with a good number of sowars and foot, who were immediately employed, under the recent orders of Government, to increase the strength of the police, for arresting the progress of the mutineers and insurgents. On the 23rd May the station was alarmed by the approach of a party of mutinous Sappers and Miners from Roorkee, who, after sacking the Tehseel at Nugeenah, in the Bijnore district, wanted to pay a visit to Moradabad, in order to tamper with their brethren of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry. But in this they were disappointed, for Mr. Wilson marched against them with a strong party of the 29th Native Infantry and the two guns. When both parties came in sight of each other, the sepoys with stern looks bade the mutineers to lay down their arms and property. In vain the Sappers and Miners folded their hands, and made a solemn appeal to them, bringing to their recollection that they had mutinied for the sake of their religion. The sepoys turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties, and they were accordingly forced to lay down their arms. Mr. Wilson, taking advantage of this loyal disposition of the men of the 29th Native Infantry, gave the command "Ready" to the Artillery men; but they, instead of firing at the Sappers, began to remonstrate with Mr. Wilson, and told him that it was unfair to blow away defenceless men. However, the sepoys advanced and stripped the Sappers and Miners of every thing they had, although in those days of excitement it was too great a thing for native soldiers to behave so admirably against their mutinous brethren; but the refusal of the Artillery men to obey the command "Ready," after it had been uttered by a British Officer, led me to believe that all was not right with the Artillery men. The sepoys returned to their lines with rich booty, which excited the envy and indignation of those that were left in the lines. The night coming on, being cool towards morning, the sepoys began to curse one another, and think seriously upon the fate of those whom they had so roughly driven away, without any clothes or covering. The sowars of the Nawab of Rampore, whom the Authorities at Moradabad had sent to Boolundshuhur, mutinied there; some went to Dehli, and most of them returned fearlessly through Moradabad, to Rampore, not forgetting, in their journey, to sow seeds

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of sedition, and to spread evil reports. Now alarming news began to pour in from other quarters. The escape of the prisoners from Bijnore called for reinforcement from Moradabad. The Allygurh mail having stopped, announced the mutiny of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry, stationed there, although the late Mr. Colvin issued conciliatory proclamations, and gave the Civil Officers ample powers for the suppression of the revolt, but nothing could arrest the progress of rebellion. Designing men rose from all parts to undermine the stability of the British Government. The Natives now began to explain to the sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry the absurdity of their belief in considering themselves secure, after they had let loose the prisoners. The order of the Brigadier, thanking the men of the 29th Native Infantry for their loyal services against the Sappers and Miners, was never credited, but scoffed at. The Native Officers often used to ignore the glaring instances of the insubordination of the sepoys before the European Officers, and thus the innocent British Officers, while they were flattered in their face, were every day surrounded with fresh hidden calamities. At last the men of the 29th Native Infantry were entirely beguiled by designing men. They threw aside their reserve, and told the Officers that they would throw off their allegiance if the Bareilly troops would mutiny. Influential Mahomedan residents, while they offered their services to the State, and wanted permission to supersede the old Tehseeldars, secretly carried on their intrigues with the sepoys. Their insolent and ambitious looks always made me to believe that they were playing the game of "hide-and-seek." At last the Bareilly dawk was stopped; fears were entertained of a mutiny there. In the meanwhile, news of victory over the insurgents at the Hindun bridge reached Moradabad. Mr. Saunders proceeded to the town to publish it. This circumstance was reported by designing men as a mere stratagem to deceive the sepoys. Now the Mussulmans grew very insolent and bold. One of them entered the compound of Mr. Campbell, the Joint Magistrate, which was a rendezvous for the British Officers, and complained, that while coming from Dehli, he was looted in the district of Moradabad. As he of course could not receive immediate redress, he came out cursing the Feringees, and telling all around him, that no one dared to plunder him within the tranquil jurisdiction of his majesty the Emperor of Dehli; but when he entered the jurisdiction of the Feringees he was robbed.

The native troops mutinied at Bareilly at 10 A. M. on the 31st May. The folks of Moradabad were informed of it on the very next day, viz., 1st June. On the 2nd June I was convinced that the native troops did mutiny at Bareilly, so that on that day, while I was going to the Post-office, I heard a Mussulman burkundaz repeating an Oordoo stanza to another burkundaz:— "'The fowler this day announced to the captive birds, 'Ye all shall obtain freedom next day.'" I guessed the above hint, that there was something rotten in the state of affairs, and something serious would surely happen the next day. I was somewhat alarmed now, and so I went to the lines, without exciting any one's curiosity, to glean some information there. I saw there several low Mussulmans, emissaries from Mujjoo Khan and Abbas Alee Khan, two Nawabs of Moradabad, tampering with the native soldiers, praising and telling them false stories, prejudicial to the interests of the British Government. I immediately returned, unperceived, to the Post-office. I then went to Lieutenant Warwick, who was dining with Messrs. Powell, Hill, Warwick, (junr.) and Phillip. Lieutenant Warwick being a very jolly old gentleman, who always joked with me, asked me in his usual jocose manner, some news, and enquired of me if, like Mr. Hill, I distributed sweetmeats to celebrate the British victory at the Hindun river I answered him in the affirmative; but informed him that the 29th Native Infantry would, in a day or two, certainly mutiny again. Upon this the old gentleman, with his party, began to enquire of me seriously further. But Mrs. Warwick, a Eurasian lady, and step-mother of Mr. J. Warwick, junr., contradicted my words, and desired the party not to listen to me, as I had only come to frighten them. Her words, half English and half Hindoostanee, so much offended me, that I took leave and returned home. Mr. J. Warwick, however,

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is one of the Christian Clerks, who survived the massacre at Moradabad. He is now Head Clerk of the Judge's office. He, when I was going away, requested me to let him know immediately if anything serious might happen. The Officers as usual passed their evening amidst consultations in the compound of Mr. Campbell. At last the morning of the calamitous 3rd June dawned, on which the 29th Native Infantry were resolved to throw off the British allegiance. For my own part I passed a very uneasy night with Baboo Tara Chund Pyne, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, and Moonshee Doorga Pershad, the Zillah Visitor. Early in the morning I went towards the cantonments; saw there the emissaries of Mujjoo Khan, and every preparation on the part of the 29th Native Infantry to bid adieu to the British Officers, whom they had solemnly sworn never to desert. I hastened to Mr. J. Warwick, who, regardless of any danger, was teaching a native boy, and superintending the masonry works of his bungalow. I told him now distinctly that in a few hours there would be perfect mutiny, and that he had better discharge all his laborers. He told me that the sepoys would harm no Christian residents, as he had been solemnly assured to that effect by Sookha Ram Havildar, of Artillery. However I made him to believe that he must dread the attack of the city Mussulmans. He replied, "Don't be concerned, Baboo, about the city "Mussulmans; if they dare approach us, we will give them a good lesson with "our rifles." At last, perceiving great confusion in the Cutcherry compound, he dismissed the workmen, and went to his father, Lieutenant Warwick, to acquaint him with the impending danger. It is a pity that these gentlemen made no preparations to bolt, but remained at Moradabad, confiding in the fidelity of their native servants and friends. The 3rd of June was a Hindoo holiday, and Messrs. Wilson and Saunders were distinctly told now by the sepoys to make over the treasure to them, and leave the station. Their remonstrances were not at all heeded by the sepoys. They were accordingly obliged to send for the keys from the Deputy Collector, Mr. Kitchen, who had taken refuge in the town.

After informing Mr. Warwick, I went towards the Cutcherry, with a desire, if possible, to see Mr. Wilson, who was my immediate superior. For this purpose I advanced towards the Cutcherry building, but was stopped by the Artillery men. I told them that I was going in to bring my *lota* and other things, locked up in an almirah in the office. They insolently refused to give me permission to enter the office. I was obliged to retreat, and stand under a tree, watching the events. Directly came Nawab Ubbas Alee Khan, a descendant of Doonday Khan, one of the former Governors of Moradabad. He was mounted on a horse, and had a number of Mussulman followers with him. By this time the Native Officers increased the number of guards over the public treasure. The Artillery men were very cautiously surrounding the two guns, fearing that the British Officers might not, with their revolvers, make a desperate attempt to take possession of the guns. Nawab Ubbas Alee Khan approached the treasure guards, but, for what reason it is not known, was spurned away by the sepoys. He then stood at a distance close to Mr. Warwick's bungalow, and sent a *Thakoor*, by name Seetul Singh, to negotiate in his behalf with the Artillery men. The *Thakoor*, in his errand, was assisted by another *Thakoor*, a relation of one of the Artillery men, whom Mr. Wilson had given one of his own horses, and whom he had made a sowar. The first Thakoor, after magnifying the respect and title of his master, Ubbas Alee, informed the Artillery men, that if they would make Ubbas Alee, Nawab of Moradabad, he would give them Rs. 2,00,000. The second Thakoor began to specify now the treacherous stratagems (as he was pleased to call) of Mr. Wilson, who he said had secretly written for *gorahs* (European soldiers,) and that one *gorah* had actually arrived. This was Mr. Green, who came down from Nynee Tal, and had the folly to tell some Native soldiers that he knew a good deal of Artillery practice. The 1st Thakoor further proposed that it was the wish of his master that Mr. Wilson should be killed, because by killing such a great and cunning Officer, who possessed magic in his words, they would achieve a great deed, equal to the destruction of half the number of Europeans in the Presidency of Bengal. Such was

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the dread entertained by that villain of our old Mr. Wilson. I could not check myself, so I stepped forward, and calling myself a *Brahmun*, I addressed the Artillery men in their own language, which I can speak very fluently, and used all the artful arguments of a Brahmun, and cited several Sanskrit verses on the impropriety and unrighteousness of the proposal of Abbas Alee. I openly told the Artillery men that Abbas Alee was a mere mean pretender. The Thakoor being a rustic clown was quite bewildered, and the Artillery men seemed pleased with my arguments founded upon the doctrines of the *Shastras*. The Thakoor then went to his master, and brought him personally to confer with the Artillery men. I was now bid by them to go away. However I still heard a part of Abbas Alee's appeal, to the effect that he was a near relation of Khan Buhadur Khan, whom the native soldiers at Bareilly made Nawab, and that therefore he, Abbas Alee, ought to be now made Governor of Moradabad. With a heavy heart I wended my course to the Post-office, distinctly overhearing that Abbas Alee Khan was exciting the Artillery men to murder the British Officers. It is my pleasing duty to state here, that on Mr. Wilson's return to Moradabad, in the capacity of a Special Commissioner, the Thakoor, whose name was divulged to Mr. Wilson by Abbas Alee's elder brother, was caught at my instance. My deposition was taken before him. The guilty conscience of the Thakoor so much shook him, that he at last confessed the crime of his master, and his own complicity, but denied the charge of proposing the murder of Europeans. After lingering a month or two in the *huwalut*, Mr. Wilson let him off, after subjecting him to corporal punishment. Abbas Alee is still at large, but his father was hanged when General Jones's column entered Moradabad. Scarcely had I reached the site of the *Pagul* gate, than I was stopped by a stout Mussulman, who began to abuse me, and pull one of my ears very hard. He was a follower of Abbas Alee, and sent by him to punish me for throwing obstacles in his way of obtaining the Government of Moradabad. After I left the College, this was the first time that my ear was pulled, strange to say even after I finished my teens. Two sepoys passing by rescued me, when I told them that I was a Brahmun, and they gave a good beating to the man who assaulted me. The mutineers, after mal-treating the Treasurer Jankee Doss, took possession of the whole treasure. A few young sepoys, instigated by the Mussulmans, wanted to shoot Messrs. Wilson and Saunders, but they were restrained by Buldeo Singh, Havildar, who was afterwards, for this act of loyalty, made a Soubadar. This good man, with his brother and nephew, is now doing duty with the detachment of the late 11th N. I. The Civil Officers, with their ladies and Mr. Green, left Moradabad at 3 P. M. for Meerut. They were as follow:—

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|---|---|
| Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, | Mr. and Mrs. Saunders, |
| Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, | Dr. and Mrs. Cannon, and Mr. Green. |

They were escorted by a party of the 8th Irregulars. Qoorban Alee, Jemadar of the Foujdaree sowars, with his son, accompanied the Officers. The other sowars of the Foujdaree, with the exception of Buhar Buksh and Futteh Singh, refused to follow. Nay, they even insolently demanded their pay from the Officers, which they were obliged to disburse immediately. Futteh Singh deserted the party at Rujjubpore, and Buhar Buksh was sent away by Mr. Wilson on some special errand. The Civil Officers, after meeting a kind reception from the Zemindars on their way, safely reached Meerut. The Military Officers went towards Nynee Tal. Five sepoys alone consented to accompany them. The weather was very inclement, and the hardships and inconveniences which the fugitives suffered on horseback, can better be conceived than described. No sooner were the Officers gone, than a rumour was spread that Mr. Wilson was murdered on the way by *Goojurs*. The Mussulmans eagerly believed it. Now commenced the work of plunder and destruction. Large bands of Mussulmans attacked the house of the Christian Clerks. The Government records, the Cutcherry and other public buildings were set on fire. A Puthan wanted to take away Mr. Hill's buggy. Mr. Hill's eldest son shot the man. This circumstance kindled the wrath of the Mussulmans. They besieged the Clerks, who, on their part, bravely

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defended themselves, and with their fire-arms kept the mob at a respectable distance. The mob could not be persuaded to disperse, as they had been instigated by such men as Mujjoo Khan, Hafiz Alee, Ahmud Azooh Khan, and other villains. Mujjoo Khan being the most influential Mahomedan Mussulman Zemindar, went to the cantonments with a large number of his retainers. The mutineers of the 29th Native Infantry made Mujjoo Khan Nawab, while the Artillery men appointed Assud Alee Khan, father of Abbas Alee Khan, Governor of Moradabad. Such appointments bring to my recollection the days of the Prætorian Guards, who sold the Roman Empire to the highest bidder. However Abbas Alee being of ruined fortune, was no match for Mujjoo Khan. Towards the evening, Mr. Hill's son was accidently shot by Mr. J. Warwick, which created ill feelings in the circle of the besieged Clerks. Mr. J. Warwick, in the evening, made his escape in disguise towards Nynee Tal. Mr. Phillip, the 2nd Clerk of the Judge's office, was also offended, and bolted accordingly. He came to me at night, disguised as a native, and wanted my advice. I told him that I would send him to my house in the town. He refused to take refuge in my house, as it was exposed from all sides. He however took from me two Rupees as loan, and took refuge with a Bengalee, by name Tara Chund of Bijnore. Here he remained in security until his whimsical disposition made him to change his abode on the arrival of Bukht Khan's Brigade. He subsequently, unjustly apprehending treachery on the part of his protector, left his house of his own accord, and concealed himself in his own house at Shakur Surae, where he was seized by the Mahomedans, and made over to Bukht Khan. The besieged party being thus weakened, sustained the siege until 8 o'clock the next morning, (viz. 4th June,) the old Lieutenant Warwick firing on the whole night. In vain Soondur Lall, the Dawk Moonshee, went to the Soubadar of the 29th Native Infantry, requesting him to save the Clerks. Azooh Khan, Mookhtar of Mujjoo Khan, on the contrary, exhorted the Mahomedans to plunder the Clerks, and to silence their guns. Next morning the 29th Native Infantry sent a number of sepoys, with a gun, to disperse the mob; but the inmates of Lieutenant Warwick's bungalow, understanding that the gun was sent to bear upon them, left the house, and ran towards Mr. Hill's bungalow. Lieutenant Warwick was a corpulent old man; he was unable to fly. He received a bullet wound from the musket of one of the Jail guards. A Mussulman gave a sword cut over his shoulder, and he fell upon the ground, struggling for his life. Mr. Powell, the Inspecting Postmaster of Rohilkund, also received bullet and sword wounds, but not very severe; he also fell upon the ground. Two or three Puthans cut down the eldest son of Mr. McGuire, and killed also two other boys, one the son of a widow, by name Mrs. Humphreys, and the other, brother of Mr. Dorington. The old Mrs. Warwick, seeing the fate of her husband, requested the mob to slay her also; she was immediately cut down. The relieving party of the sepoys rescued however Mr. Hill and his family, Mr. McGuire and his family, Mr. Dorington and his family, Mrs. Junior Warwick and her children. They were marched to the cantonments, and there permitted to live in a deserted bungalow, without any bedding. The only food which the sepoys gave them, used to be the refuse of their own dishes.

On the night of the 3rd June, while the budmashes were besieging the Clerks, Abbas Alee proclaimed by tom-tom that the King of Dehli was the master of the country, and Assud Alee Khan, his father, was the King's Viceroy for Moradabad. Now went forth Mujjoo's men, who, after driving away Abbas Alee's crier, and breaking his drum, proclaimed the King of Dehli as Sovereign of India; Mujjoo Khan as his Viceroy; and enjoining all the residents to attend him the next day. But the next morning, (viz. the 4th June,) the Nawab of Rampore sent a force under his uncle to take possession of the station of Moradabad. His Puthans were highly pleased with this aggrandizement of their master's territory. They were loudly cursing the infidel Feringees, and some of them, while they were passing, gave several sword-cuts upon the bodies of the fallen Christian victims. Some spat upon them. Poor Mr. Powell was however, through the kind exertions of a *Chumar* servant

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of Mr. J. Warwick, was conducted to the cantonments, where, receiving no medical aid, his wounds soon mortified. The Nawab's uncle issued a proclamation in the following terms:—"The people are God's; the country belongs "to the King, and the administrative authority rests with the Nawabs. Hence- "forward all the Court Officers and the principal residents are enjoined to attend, "on pain of being considered traitors." He also issued strict orders for recovering the plundered property of the Christian residents. In a few days, heaps of plundered property were seen in different places, flung away in the night. The Puthans on their part began to appropriate those things, or to send them away to Rampore. To me the proclamation of the Nawab appeared as emanating from a rebel, but either flight or disobedience was the only cause for a loyal native to avoid the summons of the Nawab. A respectable citizen became inquisitive about the fate of the Commissioner of Rohilkund, and the title by which he took possession of Moradabad. To the best of my knowledge he did not receive such a reply from the Nawab, which befits a faithful ally of the British Government. Moosee Ruzza, the Jailor, was made Cotwal of the city, and the Government Court Officers, with very few exceptions, attended the Nawab's durbar with presents. The native officers of the 29th Native Infantry then went to Rampore, and brought the Nawab Yoosoof Alee Khan himself. He first went to the cantonments, and there received a royal salute from the guns of the mutineers. After ordering that a reward be given to the mutineers to the amount of Rs. 2,000, and after distributing shawls among the native officers, the Nawab arrived in his own *kothee* on the other side of the Race-course. Here he again received a royal salute from his own guns. A *durbar* was immediately held, and the principal citizens and the Court Officers, without any single exception, attended. *Nuzzurs* were presented to the Nawab; Mujjoo Khan was made a Nazim; Hukeem Saadut Alee Khan was appointed in Mr. Wilson's room; Neaz Alee, Deputy Collector, was appointed in Mr. Saunders's room, and similar other mimic appointments were made. Abool Fuzul, Serishtadar of the Criminal Court, was made Secretary of the State. Pundit Nund Kishore, Superintendent of the Roads, afterwards informed me that a few Puthans saw Baboo Jugunnath, Deputy Post Master; upon which they exclaimed, "How "do they say that the Company's Raj was entirely gone, when we see the repre- "sentatives of British Officers in the persons of these Baboos?" The Nawab on that very day returned to Rampore. He however did not look merry on that day, but his face looked like that of a man beset with cares. Justice began to be administered now according to the precepts of the Quoran. Asiatic punishments, such as mutilation, were inflicted by order of Neaz Alee Khan Buhadur, late Deputy Collector under the British Government, and now full Magistrate under the Nawab of Rampore. The Mussulman Officers were quite delighted at this revolution, and often congratulated one another upon their having got rid of the kafir Feringees. This interval was employed by the mutinous 29th Native Infantry in making preparations for going to Dehli. The sepoys, on several occasions, wrested from the Puthans their swords. One day a rumour was spread at Moradabad, that the Puthans having mutinied, killed Hukeem Saadut Alee. The Nawab's troops were accordingly withdrawn from Moradabad. But the above rumour was false; the Nawab withdrew his force to augment and strengthen the garrison of Rampore, as the Bareilly mutineers, under Bukht Khan, were to pass through his territory. After the withdrawal of the Nawab's forces, Mujjoo Khan again became *Hakim* of Moradadad. There were three old guns lying within the Cutcherry compound. They were mounted upon limbers made at the expense of Mujjoo Khan. But the best of the three was carried away by the men of Rampore, so that Mujjoo Khan got only two guns, one of which was every morning and every midnight fired by order of Nawab Mujjoo Khan. At last news reached Moradabad that the Bareilly mutineers had marched from that place. Mujjoo Khan began to make arrangements for supplying them with provisions. The men of the 29th Native Infantry turned out the Christian Clerks from their lines. Poor Mr. Powell, with mortified wounds and in rags, came to the doors of Mujjoo Khan. The Mussulmans collected round him, and heaped upon him loud curses and reproaches. Nothing could exceed my horror when I saw the Mussulmans

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insulting that unfortunate gentleman. They now and then insolently made him to repeat the Mahomedan *kulma*. At last some of the ruffians wanted to slay him, but they were prevented from perpetrating this foul deed by a kind-hearted Moulvee. Mr. Powell, unable to walk, managed however to creep to the doors of the chief *Moulvee* of Moradabad, by name Alum Alee, who, according to the ceremonies of Islam, made all the Clerks converts of Mahomedanism. Nothing was so mortifying to Mrs. Hill as the new tonsure of her husband. Thus the Christian Clerks became converts of *Islam*, and were thus saved from immediate destruction. One Meeyan Khan, a Jemadar of Cotwalee, and a few other budmashes, were very clamorous to seize the two elder daughters of Mr. Hill. The poor Clerks bore every insult and indignity with patience. They were very kindly treated by Moulvee Alum Alee, who also raised a subscription for their support. During the incumbency of the Nawab of Rampore, I returned to my house within the city. Doorga Pershad, Zillah Visitor, also took up his abode in my house. Tara Chund Pyne, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, hired a house close to mine. One evening, Hafiz Alee Ahmud, as bad as Moulvee Moonnoo, came to my house with armed men, and extorted Rs. 28 from Doorga Pershad. Mujjoo Khan, instead of punishing Hafiz Alee Ahmud, summoned me, and began to rebuke me. He told me that if there would be again any disturbance at my house, that he would certainly punish me. Mujjoo Khan also told me that he suspected me of my loyalty to the British Government, and that if he would ever find me holding any kind of communication with any European Officer, he would order my right hand to be cut off. Previous to this occurrence I deceived the 29th Native Infantry by creating a false alarm. One evening I went upon the Meerut road, and after going a little distance, turned and fled towards the town, crying that the European soldiers were coming. Two or three sepoys, who were going to answer the calls of nature, on hearing my screams, hastened to their lines, and informed their comrades that the Europeans were coming. The assembly was sounded, and the whole Regiment stood ready for action. Nawab Abdool Alee Khan had not then left Moradabad. His guns were also dragged towards the parade ground, and the Puthans were forced to join the battle array. I quietly returned home, without being suspected by any body that I was the originator of this false alarm. The Artillery men on horseback rode to the town, loudly exclaiming "Deen, deen!" and inviting the good folks to assist the sepoys. Nujeeb-ood-deen Khan, one of the illegitimate sons of Mujjoo Khan, soon collected some 500 Mussulmans from Nawabpoorah, Moghulpoorah, &c., and with this force he marched to oppose the Feringees, and assist the sepoys. Whole night these miscreants remained watching. Thus ended my first trick to worry the mutineers, and I would have practised similar tricks to harass them, but finding the repetition of such tricks unsafe and unadvisable, I desisted. At last, on the morning of the 14th June, the Bareilly mutinous Brigade, consisting of 18th, 28th, and 68th Regiments Native Infantry, and the 8th Irregular Cavalry, with nine guns, arrived under Bukht Khan, Soubadar of Captain Kirby's Battery. Bukht Khan, who styled himself "General," was mounted upon a charger. As he was passing, his right hand was constantly upon his forehead, saluting every body, thereby pretending that he was a very good and humble man. Immediately a proclamation was heard, announcing the government of the native soldiers. The city budmashes, headed by such villains as Hafiz Alee Ahmud and Moulvee Moonnoo's brother, went beforehand to receive the mutineers. They complained to the so-called General Bukht Khan, that certain natives had concealed in their houses Christians. The sepoys accordingly plundered Moulvee Alum Alee's house, and carried away the Clerks with their families as prisoners to their camp. Poor Mr. Kitchen and family were still concealed in the house of Shunkur Lall, a *Kayeth*, in mohullah Deewan-ka-bazar. Mr. Fanthome, with his family, had already sought refuge at Rampore, where they remained in concealment. Under the pretence that a Christian was concealed, the sowars and sepoys entered the houses of several natives to plunder them. The sowars, on reaching the Jail, liberated all the prisoners, and then, at the instigation of the budmashes, plundered the Government Dispensary and the Sub-Assistant Surgeon's property. Goolzar Alee's brother set fire to the thatched part of the

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Dispensary. A search was made now for the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, and all those who knew English. We all got timely information of the impending danger. The Deputy Post-master went away to a neighbouring village. At my request Doorga Pershad, a very honest draper, concealed the Sub-Assistant Surgeon in his house. Saidh Mull, a *bunneeah*, concealed the Zillah Visitor in his house; and I concealed myself in the sitting-room of the abovementioned draper. Even our servants were ignorant of our respective places of concealment. Our protectors however kept us informed of everything which was transpiring, and very kindly supplied us with food.

The son of Moulvee Qasim, late Principal Sudder Ameen of Allahabad, anticipating the approach of his grand uncle, Mahomed Noor, Moonsiff of Powyne, and of Abid Alee Beg, Moonsiff, had sent that morning, before the arrival of the Bareilly Brigade, an elephant for the above mentioned individuals. Upon this the budmashes went and told Bukht Khan that there were Europeans concealed in Moulvee Qasim's house, and that they were sent away early in the morning on an elephant towards Nynee Tal. Moulvee Qasim's son, Mahomed Abid, was accordingly seized and confined. Bukht Khan seemed highly offended with Moulvee Alum Alee for protecting a number of Christian Clerks, and not murdering all of them, as the Mahomedans did at Bareilly. Mujjoo Khan, the new Nawab of Moradabad, was then summoned by Bukht Khan, and the following charges were preferred against him:—1st, Forberance in not causing the murder of certain Christians at Moradabad; 2nd, Connivance at the distribution of the Moradabad Government treasure among the sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry, and not issuing the pay of the men of the 29th Native Infantry from his own coffer. Mujjoo Khan being thus charged, was confined in the quarter-guard. With a view to appease the wrath of the Brigadier Bukht Khan, who, on his arrival at Moradabad, received a salute of 17 guns, Sajid Alee Khan, a wicked Mahomedan, rode towards the town, and exhorted every one to seize every Christian concealed in the town. At last a clue was found to discover Mr. Kitchen and his family. And it was this Neaz Alee Khan, Deputy Collector, knew the *Kayeths* in whose house Mr. Kitchen was concealed. Sajid Alee Khan, Ayoob Khan, mookhtar, and the sons of Mujjoo Khan, were immediately told the names of those *Kayeths*. They went and seized the *Kayeths*, and gave them a good beating. But they denied all knowledge of Mr. Kitchen. At last Qazee Puchowree, a Mussulman, pointed out the house in which Mr. Kitchen and his family were concealed. There were three male adults in the party of the refugees; viz., Mr. Kitchen, Arthur Kitchen, his eldest son, aged 16 years, and Mr. Carberry. They had fire-arms with them, and were ready to defend themselves. However the assaulting party swore by the Quoran that they would not harm any of the refugees, but that they would only be taken to the General, who was so kind-hearted, that he would soon set them at liberty. No sooner they surrendered their arms, than the perfidious Mussulmans pinioned them with a cord, and led them as prisoners to the camp of Bukht Khan. Moosee Ruzza discharged the functions of Cotwal during the incumbency of the mutineers. No attempt was made by him, or by any other native, to rescue the unfortunate gentlemen. The procession (the pinioned gentlemen in the front, and their family in the middle, and the *Kayeths* in the rear) started from the Cotwalee at 8 P. M., amidst the scoffs and reproaches of the Mussulmans. My restless soul would not let me remain in my place of refuge; I immediately went out in disguise, and by the light of a torch that was burning at the head of the procession, I was enabled to see the faces of the unfortunate gentlemen. There was no sepoy in the party, except Mujjoo's sons and his Mahomedan followers. At last, when they went on the other side of Nurhutgunj, the gentlemen were taken aside, shot and sabred. This happened on the night of the 14th June. They were not killed by any order from Bukht Khan, but Mujjoo's sons and Ayoob Khan are alone guilty of such foul murders. The family of these victims were made over to Bukht Khan. The Kayeths were tied to a gun, and remained in that posture in burning sun, till the evening of the following day, when, by bribing Bukht Khan, they got liberty. Next day we changed our respective

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places of concealment. Some four or five budmashes succeeded in tracing Tara Chund's place of concealment. However they were soon pacified on receiving a douceur of Rs. 30. On the 15th June Bukht Khan sent an advanced guard, consisting of two companies of Infantry, one troop of Irregular Cavalry and two guns, to collect boats for crossing the Ganges. But boats were already secured and sunk by Mr. Wilson. There prevailed a rumour now that the British had erected a Battery at Gurhmooktaisur, to prevent the crossing of the mutineers. As I had received no regular food for the last three days, I was very hungry on the morning of the 17th; so I secretly came to my house, Doorga Purshad, with his family, having previously entered it. I cooked some bread, and while I was eating, my bearer informed me that some sepoys were knocking at my doors, and telling that the house contained English-knowing Baboos and Christians. The foolish servant, without my permission, opened the doors, when five sepoys entered the house, muskets in their hands with fixed bayonets. The buttons of their coats discovered to me that they belonged to the 28th Native Infantry. They told me that a tall Mussulman, with a long beard, showed this house, and said that it contained Christians and Baboos. The sepoys now desired me to show them the refugees. I immediately guessed that it must be Hafiz Alee Ahmud. As the sepoys could not discover any Christian or Baboo in my house, they asked me who I was. "A mendicant Brahmun," was my reply. The sepoys then, after plundering all our goods, went away. I immediately went after them, to try if possible to recover our plundered property. I only wanted to discover the place, unperceived, where the sepoys might keep our plundered property. While I was going along in disguise, I happened to come in contact with a farrier of the Artillery, who previous to mutiny often came to the office, and requested me to permit him to shoe my horse. This villain had also a trooper with him. On recognising me, they took me to their lines, where I was insulted and scoffed at by the other troopers, as being the same person who once drew a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem under Mr. Wilson. Knowing that I was a Brahmun, they desisted from teasing me any more. They then took me to that monster Bukht Khan, and addressed him thus: "General "Sahib, we have brought here Mr. Wilson's Baboo." Bukht Khan, with a view to excite the laughter of his company, rose from his seat, and made me a low bow, saying at the same time, "That no human mouth, but only the mouth of a "gun, was able to honor such men as the Baboos of the English gentlemen." He then told his orderly sepoys to tie my hands and lash me to a gun. A sepoy immediately began to pull me, when, in despair of my life, and like a crafty Brahmun of Oudh, I began to make loud lamentations. I loudly told the sepoys, that I was a Brahmun of the holy city of Benares, and was going to be murdered by order of a Mussulman tyrant, in the presence of my fellow Brahmuns. The Brahmun sepoys were astonished to hear my speech, which did not at all resemble the language of a Bengalee Baboo, but was just like that of a Brahmun of Oudh. Moreover, seeing my sacerdotal thread, a party of sepoys, in the presence of Bukht Khan, wrested me from the hands of my guards. They loudly began to cry that they would not allow the General to murder a Brahmun. Taking advantage of this confusion in my favor, I used all my art to excite the pity of the Hindoo sepoys towards me. Bukht Khan was highly offended with the sepoys, and ordered them to disperse, and allow him to have his own way. He addressed the sepoys thus:—"Sepoys, as I am "your Commander, you ought not to transgress my orders. Let this Baboo be "tied to a gun, until he reveals to us the treasure left by the British Officers "of Moradabad." A Brahmun sepoy of the 18th Native Infantry stepped forward, and thus answered:—"We won't allow you to touch a single hair of "this Brahmun; it is a great disgrace for us if you thus trifle with Brahmuns. "Don't you remember, because the British Government hanged two Brahmuns, "Mungul Panday and Seetul, of the *Biruncha* Regiment, (*i. e.* 34th Native "Infantry) that the whole Bengal Army mutinied?" Bukht Khan then wanted to exercise his authority over them as General, when loud abuses were uttered. "Let the General be shot, if he still persists," cried a sepoy; "he forgets that *we* "have made him General, and not that he was born a General." Bukht Khan

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being thus insulted by his own men, sent for me quietly, and began to ask me in a very kind way where Mr. Wilson's cash was. "Mr. Wilson had no cash "when he left Moradabad," was my reply; and if he had any, that it was impossible for me to know his private concerns, as I was not his private servant, but rather a public Court official, though subordinate to Mr. Wilson. "Well, tell me "the name of the banker," was the next question of Bukht Khan, "with whom the "British Officers had pecuniary transactions." I immediately guessed that the villain was seeking a pretext to plunder some rich banker. "I neither know "any such banker," was my reply. Upon this Bukht Khan was very angry, and wanted to strike, but a Hindoo officer, who was called a Colonel, sitting by his side, prevented him. Surfraz Alee, the leader of the *Ghazees*, next spoke. "These Baboos, on account of their English education, are all Christians, and "they deserve no other punishment than death, as their whole soul is English." Fearing that the arguments of this Moulvee might not tend to exasperate the barbarous sepoys against me, to whose protection I had no other claim save that of being a Brahmun, I answered him boldly: "Yes, you Moulvees have always "been inimical to Brahmuns. When this country was in the hands of your Ma- "homedan Emperors, you carried away your hatred against the Brahmuns so "far, that you demolished all their principal temples, and forcibly converted "thousands of Hindoos to Mahomedanism. Many of the sepoys now present "here must have gone to Benares, and seen a large mosque near the golden "temple of Bisheshurjee. That mosque," I said, "was built upon the site of the "former Hindoo temple destroyed by the Mussulmans. And how could English "education alone make a man Christian, unless he is not duly baptized. If "English education makes a man Christian, then Persian education makes a "man a Mussulman." I then turned towards Bukht Khan and addressed him: "The Moulvee has used such arguments, by which he means to say that you, "General, are also a Christian." "How can that be?" cried the *Ghazee* Moulvee. "Stop, stop," said I, "I will explain every thing immediately. General," said I, "according to the Moulvee's argument, a man who knows English is a Christian. "General, you also know many English words, because you learnt your drill "from youth in English. We both learnt English words for bread only. The "only difference between me and yourself is, that I know many English words, "and you don't know so many. According to the Moulvee's argument I must be "a big Christian for knowing many words, and you, General, ought to be called a "petty Christian, for knowing not so many words. Therefore Christianity "depends upon the amount of English knowledge one possesses. But again, "General, there is a precept among the Mussulmans, that 'when you kill a "wolf, don't cherish her whelp.' I am that wolf, General, because I know much "English, and your sepoys, including yourself, General, are whelps. If the Moul- "vee's argument is valid for killing me, then according to the same argument hang "yourselves also. Remember, General, as the Moulvee is advocating my death, "he will do so for the destruction of all the Hindoo sepoys, when he will see "himself strong enough to do so. It is strange, General, that the English lan- "guage is profane, because, in the opinion of the Moulvee, it is the language of "infidels. I am condemned because I know English, which it is impossible for "me to banish from my comprehension. The Moulvee wants me to do a thing "which is impossible; viz., to forget the English language utterly. But how is "this that the very cloth which the Moulvee is using is of English manufacture? "I see a percussion pistol in his belt; moreover I see all the sepoys, not exclud- "ing yourself, General, that they have all got percussion muskets, and guns of "English make, and most of them are still using their regimentals, given them "by Europeans. How is this that you all don't like to fling away these things, "manufactured by the English unbelievers?" The sepoys had a hearty laugh; nay, some of them sorrowfully murmured about their folly in mutinying. The sepoys began to say that "You Mussulmans always called your religion superior "to the Hindoo religion in our presence, because we, being unlettered men, could "not rebut your arguments. Now why do you not go on arguing with this Pun- "dit of Benares?" This circumstance fully convinced me that the sepoys would never have mutinied, had not the Mussulmans instigated them. Bukht Khan and his Moulvee were bewildered at my spontaneous logic. They wanted to get

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rid of me. Bukht Khan called me a clever boy. He gave me a rupee, a frock and a sheet, because I was naked, and besides my *dhotee* had no other cloth. The sepoys compelled me to accept the traitor's reward. I then had recourse to another trick; I began to weep, and told the sepoys that I would commit suicide, if my property, plundered by some men of the 28th Regiment Native Infantry, should not be restored to me. Bukht Khan was obliged to send me to the camp of the 28th Native Infantry, to recognise the criminal parties. But in this I failed. Two sepoys of the 18th Native Infantry volunteered to escort me to my house, in spite of the efforts of Bukht Khan and Moulvee Surfraz Alee to kill me. When I was leaving Bukht Khan's camp, two deserters of the Meerut garrison were introduced; they gave a brief account of the defences erected at Meerut, and requested the General to lose no time in marching for Dehli. An officer then informed Bukht Khan that in his camp there were 3,000 Infantry, 475 Cavalry, 11 guns, and 500 Ghazees. From the above total it is manifest that desertions must have been considerable. Another officer came and informed Bukht Khan that the ferry *Darogah* at the Gurhmooktaisur having seized Mr. Wilson, made him over to the advanced guard. I returned to my house, and met the villain Hafiz Alee Ahmud, who seeing two sepoys with me, retreated precipitately. I entered my house with a heavy heart, and gave the rupee given to me by Bukht Khan to the two sepoys who escorted me. The two sepoys, although they were so kind to me, did not make the least refusal in accepting the only rupee which I then had in my possession. From this circumstance it is manifest that the avarice of the sepoys for cash must have always been very great. I had no rest till midnight. I was consoling myself like Robinson Crusoe. At last noise was heard in the direction of the cantonments, and after a few minutes the huts of the 29th Native Infantry were set on fire. Thus the station of Moradabad got rid of these mutineers, who would have certainly plundered the town, if they had not with them Mahomud Shuffee, the mutinous Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, who, as he was a native of Moradabad, considered a great disgrace to himself to allow his native town to be plundered by strangers. The mutineers marched at midnight of the 17th June. Bukht Khan was Brigadier, but his authority was not very great. In fact every sepoy considered himself a Brigadier. All the native officers, and an English Sergeant of the 28th Native Infantry who had embraced Islamism, were his councillors. Moulvee Surfraz Alee was the Judge of the military tribunal, and Nawab Niamut-oollah, of Moradabad, was the second leader of the Ghazees. At the instigation of Mujjoo Khan, the male grown-up Christians were taken to Dehli as prisoners. The Christian ladies and children were made over to the charge of Mujjoo Khan. Mr. Phillip, for refusing to embrace Islamism, was shot at Gujrowlah. With two boats and rafts supplied by the rebel Goolzar Alee, who came to the ghaut from Malagurh, the mutineers crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Dehli.

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## PART II.

HAVING brought the first part of my Narrative to a close, I now commence upon the second part, which embraces a period between the 18th June 1857, and the date on which Mr. Henry Ricketts assumed charge of the district. Bukht Khan gave charge of the district of Moradabad to Mujjoo Khan. At 8 P. M. on the 17th June, on which night the Bareilly Brigade marched from Moradabad, Mujjoo Khan issued a proclamation by tom-tom "that the "people were God's; the country the King of Dehli's, and Mujjoo Khan was "Viceroy of Moradabad; and that whoever shall fail to attend next day the "durbar of the Viceroy, he shall be guilty of treason, and shall be blown away "from a gun." Abbas Alee, with his father Assud Alee, followed Bukht Khan, and by his entreaties succeeded in getting a *sunnud* from Bukht Khan, appointing his father Viceroy of Moradabad. On his return to Moradabad, some Mahomedan nobles sided with Mujjoo Khan, and some declared for Abbas Alee Khan. In fact the rebel Government was about to be ruined by faction, when an event occurred by which political differences were set aside. Moosee Ruzza acted as Cotwal; Neaz Alee, Deputy Collector, as Magistrate; Abool Fuzzul, as Secretary of State; and Mujjoo's sons, as Generals and Members of the Administrative Council. The event alluded to was, that the residents of Beejna sent a challenge to Mujjoo Khan, that they would plunder the town. To avert this common danger Mujjoo Khan reconciled himself to all his enemies. The towns-people were ordered by Mujjoo to arm themselves against their common foe. Every mohullah sent a party, so that a sufficient force collected in the direction of Beejna, under Kulla, a wrestler. The inhabitants of Beejna were true to their promise. They paid the projected visit. Immediately the alarm was given, fresh bodies of towns-people repaired to the rendezvous. A party of the Beejna robbers succeeded in penetrating the town as far as mohullah Nawabpoorah. A stout robber entered the house of a goldsmith, in which he was surrounded and killed. After a little firing, and the exchange of missiles, the Beejna robbers were defeated. The darkness of the night alone favored their retreat. The towns-people, elated with this victory, threw the dead body of the robber on a sand bank, and sent a challenge to the Beejna men to take away the corpse. However the Beejna men had not the pluck to recover the dead body, which putrified, and jackals fed upon it. The Beejna men, and the surrounding villagers, being thus cawed, now promised obedience to Mujjoo's authority. But Mujjoo Khan had fresh difficulties to contend with. Although he was a great landed proprietor, he had no cash; not even so much as to defray the expenses of his new establishment. His sons were all of profligate character, he himself being a stubborn fool, and his principal advisers were a set of cut-throats. He therefore had recourse to the aid of the *Moollahs* of Moostapore. These villagers, who were the greatest rebels after the suspension of the British rule, now promised to assist Mujjoo in all his enterprises. He first resolved to bring the Hindoo nobles of Moradabad to obedience, all of whom being convinced of his downright treason against the British Government, evaded attending on him, in spite of his threatening proclamation. He first had recourse to mild measures. He sent Abool Fuzzul, Serishtadar, and Sheo Suhae, Tehseeldar, to request the bankers to raise a subscription for the maintenance of his Government. Abool Fuzzul used all kinds of arguments to induce the bankers to agree to the contribution. But Rae Purdoomun Kishen peremptorily refused to give him any money. At last a circumstance occurred, which caused an open rupture between him and the Hindoo nobles. One night, as the burkundazes of Moosee Ruzza, Cotwal, were patrolling the town, a Nujeeb of the Jail guard (all the Jail guards had taken service under Mujjoo Khan) was instructed by Nujeeb-ood-deen Khan, a turbulent son of Mujjoo Khan, to go and create a row at the doors of Purdoomun Kishen. The lane in which Purdoomun Kishen's house is situated was secured by gates, which always closed at night. At so late an hour as midnight, the Nujeeb persisted that the gates should be opened. Purdoomun Kishen's men would open the wicket only, and not the gates; upon which both parties

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abused each other and came to blows. The Nujeeb was slightly wounded. He complained to the Cotwal Moosee Ruzza, who on his part sent a formal report, in his capacity of police officer, to the rebel Nawab Mujjoo Khan, animadverting upon the conduct of Purdoomun Kishen. Next morning Purdoomun Kishen was summoned to appear before the rebel. He refused to do so. Both parties began to make preparations for a bloody struggle. The city Mussulmans joined Mujjoo Khan, and the Hindoos embraced the cause of Purdoomun Kishen. Couriers were despatched by Mujjoo Khan to invite the *Moollahs* of Moostapore to come and lend their hands in the plunder of the house of Purdoomun Kishen, the wealthiest and the most influential Hindoo *Talookahdar*. Bands of ruffian Mussulmans were seen on that day under such turbulent men as Ayoob Khan and Hafiz Alee Ahmud, lining the principal streets, and ready to storm the house of Purdoomun Kishen. The Hindoos also prepared themselves to act on the defensive. The Thakoors of Kutgurh came to the assistance of Purdoomun Kishen. The Mussulman nobles, to avoid a deadly struggle, and seeing that the Hindoos were too formidable to be vanquished, interfered. Saeed-ood-deen Khan remonstrated with his half-brother Mujjoo Khan. Be it known here, that Mahomud Meeyan, father of both, had fallen in love with a Hindoo prostitute, whom, after converting to Islamism, he married. Saeed-ood-deen Khan is the offspring of this union, but Mujjoo Khan was the legitimate issue of Mahomud Meeyan. The early days of Saeed-ood-deen were passed in amorous and romantic enterprises, which frequently brought upon him the reproof of the late Mr. Okeden. However he reformed himself whilst the district of Moradabad was in the hands of Mr. J. C. Wilson. He is very much given up to oriental luxury; generally sleeps all day, and holds his durbar at night. His estates are neglected, and he is generally in debt. However he followed the example of the Hindoo nobles, and remained loyal throughout the disturbances.

Purdoomun Kishen was obliged to satisfy the Nujeebs by paying them a douçeur of Rs. 50. He was also obliged to pay a visit to the rebel Mujjoo Khan, at the special recommendation of Saeed-ood-deen Khan. The ill feelings between the Hindoos and Mussulmans seemed now to subside, and circumstances from without always occurred, which required the union of both nations necessary. But Mujjoo Khan was now to be deprived of his ill-acquired power by a very formidable rival, the Nawab of Rampore; and the few days of power which he had only to enjoy, were spent by Mujjoo in recruiting a force, in entreating the Hindoo bankers to lend him money, and in collecting ammunition for future services. A large quantity of gunpowder was purchased for him by Afzul Alee, now a Tehseeldar in the district of Moradabad, and son of Mudud Alee, the murdered Thannahdar of Amroha. Now let me take a retrospective view of the state of affairs after the march of the Bareilly Brigade. All danger from the side of the mutineers being over now, Doorga Purshad, Zillah Visitor, removed himself to another house. Baboo Tara Chund, Sub-Assistant Surgeon, who had very narrow escapes from the stratagems of his enemies, preferred remaining in the house in which he last took refuge. I was left alone in my house *minus* all my property, except my English books, and a few coarse beddings. I had not a single pice of which I might purchase any thing. I had nothing to eat the whole day of the 18th June. In the evening, being very hungry, I ventured out for an airing. I wore the frock given to me by Bukht Khan, for I had no other clothes except a *dhotee*, which even belonged to the Zillah Visitor, and tying upon my head the same sheet which Bukht Khan had given me, I went out with a stick in my hand. In the way I met a particular friend of mine, who either seeing me in a miserable and awkward dress, or wishing to avoid a demand of assistance on my part, turned his attention towards another side. After turning backward, he stood again for a few seconds, as if he was recollecting some forgotten thing. He then turned, and suddenly drew out a letter from his pocket, and resumed his walk, reading that letter. Thus without any exchange of compliments, we both avoided speaking to each other. I first went to see the dead bodies of Mr. Kitchen and his relations. Poor Mr. Kitchen was a great friend of mine. Ah, poor Arthur

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Kitchen, son of Thomas Kitchen, the Deputy Collector, lying murdered by his side. He was a very promising boy, and used to attend the Judge's office to learn business. At the request of his father, I often went to his bungalow to teach European sciences to him and the other children. I was so much horrified at the sight of the dead body, that I thought I really saw his ghost. I also saw the dead body of Mr. Carberry, who was formerly a writer in the Secretariat, but came to Moradabad in those days to be appointed Foujdaree Clerk. He was scarcely 15 days in the station when he was murdered by Mujjoo's Mussulmans. Woe to Neaz Alee Khan, Deputy Collector, who betrayed them to the rebels. Although the dead bodies had putrified, and spread around a very offensive smell, I remained standing there, mourning over the remains of my friends. Only a few days before the outbreak, young Arthur Kitchen read with me "The murdered Traveller," a poetical piece, published in a work which Mr. Saunders (now Commissioner of Dehli) had as a prize, and which Mrs. Saunders had lent the boy for reading. The state of the murdered traveller mentioned in that poem was now the same in which I found young Arthur and others, with this addition that a few Mussulmans of low origin, whose faces I still see now and then in the town of Moradabad, had in my presence the audacity to make water upon those murdered gentlemen. I asked the Mussulmans if it was fair and right, according to Islam, to make water upon the dead bodies of the followers of Christ, whom their Qoran even mentioned as a prophet. Conceive what was their bigoted reply,—"Damned be these Christians," said they. "The ghost of this hellish Deputy Collector rises every night and clamours for biscuits and tea, and even frightens jackals and dogs from feeding upon his dead body. Alas! this very chemerical idea of these Mussulmans ought to have excited pity in their breasts, and they should have considered that if the ghost of the murdered Deputy Collector really rose every night, and the murderers thought that they saw it clamouring for biscuit and tea, they ought to have pitied him the more, on the supposition that probably he might have been in some distress of food and drink before he was murdered. But instead of pitying his fate, the Mussulmans profaned their dead bodies with urine. I went then further, and saw the desolation in the cantonments;—tottering walls only standing;—even *peepul* trees, considered very sacred among the Hindoos, were consumed when the lines were burnt by the sepoys themselves. Even *shiva-lingums* and *toolsee* plants, half-burnt, caught my eye. Even on account of these objects of Hindoo worship the sepoys ought to have, out of veneration spared the lines from fire. Next I went to the burial ground, and saw there the demolition of the Christian tombs. Some of the tombstones were lying on the ground, and their epitaphs, half disfigured, could be scarcely read. O ye polished Mussulmans! how could your conscience permit you to offer insults to the memory of the deceased. But I know you all well. You are all hypocrites. By your low *salams* and vile courtesy, you will soon convince some simple-minded British Officer that you were innocent, and with the guilty conscience of Macbeth before Banquo's ghost, you will all say, "We did not do it, but the universally detested mutinous Pandays (once your tools) did it." I know very well you all know the value of giving a dinner to European Officers, thereby propitiating yourselves into their favor; you will amuse them with *nautches*, when a dancing girl will skip off singing "Jhil mil puneeâ jâ ray nunuddeeâ.' But you will never find in your company your indignant friend Gunesh Purshad Chowbey, whom you persecuted so unmercifully, and who follows no established religion, but worships one true God, who alone saved him from the clutches of ye polished Mussulmans, and ye mild Hindoos! I next turned towards the race-course, viewed with grief Tonnochy's famous bungalow in utter ruin. But, strange to say, the *kothee* of the Nawab of Rampore was not the least injured. I then returned to the Cutcherry compound, and saw the Church quite damaged, no longer fit now for the Revd. Mr. Price to deliver his sermons. The Cutcherry building was quite injured. I then went to see the *kothees* of Mr. Wilson, Lieutenant Warwick, and Mujjoo Khan, which were partially injured. Night coming on, I returned home, was very hungry, and had nothing to eat: sleep forsook me, so I began to read. Next mrning I accidentally found two rupees in one of the recesses in my house; I must have left them

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formerly there, and forgot to take them back, because the two coins were not rusty, but looked fresh. Upon this I thanked God. I began to spend this money now very sparingly. Saidh Mull, a *bunneeah* in the neighbourhood, who rendered us the greatest assistance in time of need, knowing my distress, forced me to avail myself of the loan of a few rupees from him, which I thankfully, though reluctantly, accepted.

A few days after the marching of the Bareilly Brigade from Moradabad, Mahomud Mooneer, brother of Mahomud Shuffee, the mutinous Rissaldar of the 8th Irregulars, spread a report that the few Europeans at Meerut, on the approach of the Bareilly Brigade, spiked their guns, and fled towards Paneeput. To neutralise this, I caused a counter-report to be spread, to the effect that the Bareilly Brigade, after being much harassed by Goorsahae's Jâts, was partly destroyed at Gurhmooktaisur, and partly at Baboogurh, by the European force of Meerut. Both these reports were false. The Hindoos believed mine, and the Mussulmans believed Mooneer's report. I then went to Doorga Purshad, Zillah Visitor, and consulted him to open a communication with Meerut. Doorga Purshad succeeded in inducing Sahoo Luchmun Doss, a banker, to send a man to Meerut with English letters, containing news for Messrs. Wilson and Saunders. I was successful in my endeavours with Sahoo Roop Kishore, another banker, and so simultaneously I also sent English letters, containing important news from the side of Roop Kishore to Messrs. Saunders and Wilson. I also sent my own letter to Mr. Wilson, and one to the late Honorable Mr. Colvin at Agra. Hardly a *cossid* could be got in those days, willing to go to Meerut, when the road was so dangerous to travellers, particularly to those who might be known friendly to the British Government. At last Shere Khan, an old Puthan in the service of Roop Kishore, voluntarily undertook the office of *cossid*. From the latter days of June, up to the end of November 1857, this old faithful *cossid*, without even murmuring, carried our letters to the British Officers at Meerut. On several occasions he had narrow escapes from the hands of the *Toorks* of *Dhukeea*, and the budmashes of Amroha. Both Roop Kishore and Luchmun, bankers, received replies in English from the above-mentioned gentlemen with thanks. Mr. Wilson sent me a letter, exhorting me to write to him constantly, but to take every step not to make myself a victim of the Mussulmans. Thus the correct news of the Dehli siege began to reach us regularly, and we were thus enabled to maintain the British supremacy in the district of Moradabad, even under unfavorable circumstances. The accounts of actions before Dehli, until its fall, after being translated, used to be privately circulated by me among the natives. And thus most of the influential Mussulmans were prevented from openly going to Dehli, which they would have surely done, if Moradabad had remained ignorant of the doings before Dehli. For some time our news were treated as mere forgeries, and the informations sent by Mahomud Shuffee were generally believed. But when other natives followed our example, and received purwanahs from Mr. Wilson through their own *cossids*, they were assured then that the British Râj was not gone. But still our efforts to spread a spirit of loyalty towards the British Government were generally frustrated by the reports of designing men. The most mischievous agents of the rebels were Kifaet Alee, a Moulvee in the service of Mahomud Shuffee, Rissaldar, and Inayet Hossein, Serishtadar of the Moradabad Principal Sudder Ameen's Court, who was news-writer to the Nawab of Malagurh. The principal and constant instigators of revolt were Mujjoo Khan and his sons; Ayoob Khan, his Mookhtar; Neaz Alee, Deputy Collector; Ala Alee Khan, Shubbeer Alee Khan, Ahid Alee Khan, and Sajid Alee Khan, Mahomedan nobles of Moradabad. There were others also of inferior note. They were no doubt afraid of the British power. As long as Dehli bade defiance to the British forces, these men were open rebels; but after the fall of Dehli, some of them became quiet. All of them did all in their power to injure the British Government, either directly or indirectly. The Nawab of Rampore is an Asiatic statesman. He did not throw off his allegiance to the late Honorable East India Company, to whose power his father, Saeed Khan, owed his elevation, and he was also afraid of the

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wife of his rival; so he played the double game. He regularly sent money and supplies to the British station of Nynee Tal, and bribed the King of Dehli and other rebels at the same time. He took into his service thousands of rebels, who would not allow a loyal native even to utter the name of an Englishman. Every day his Puthans cursed the Feringees; every day there was a rumour that the Puthans killed the Nawab, and were marching for Dehli. The conduct of his brother seemed strange. Until the fall of Dehli, he always advocated the cause of the rebels, but when that stronghold ceased to contain any rebel force, he became loyal to the British Government. Wise men say, that all such tricks were resorted to out of policy only. While one Wakeel of the Nawab, with Hindoo escorts, attended Mr. Alexander, the Governor General's Agent for Rohilkund, his other Wakeel, Nehal-ood-deen, graced the Court of Dehli with a present of Goldmohurs. In fact, until the fall of Dehli, the Nawab did nothing to suppress the rebellion; on the contrary, he harboured a host of rebels and mutineers. After the fall of Dehli, he threw off the mask, and the time-serving policy, and openly declared for the British Government. But when we take into consideration his difficult position, (*viz.* Khan Buhadur on one side, and his rebellious subjects in the heart of his kingdom on the other,) we must excuse him, and do him justice on the line of policy pursued by him, though at the same time we must not forget to mention that he was fully convinced of the cowardice of his own Puthans, of the loyal disposition of the majority of the Hindoo population, and of the delicacy of his own position, owing to the proximity of the British stations of Nynee Tal and Meerut.

But to return to my Narrative. It was perhaps the 23rd or 24th June 1857, that the Nawab of Rampore again sent his uncle to take possession of Moradabad. Mujjoo Khan was heartily mortified at this, but he could not help it. He was obliged to yield, but the Nawab thought proper to treat him leniently. Mujjoo Khan was made Nazim of Sumbhul, and the Nawab took his recruits into his own service. The recruits, whom the Nawab would not take, now clamoured upon the doors of Mujjoo Khan for their pay. The Nawab's Puthans began now to taunt both Mujjoo and his partisans. At last Mujjoo was obliged to resign, but still he was exempted from paying the revenue of his villages. The Puthans became now bolder and unruly. They began to insult and oppress the people of Moradabad. Nothing could exceed their pride now; arming themselves from head to foot, and vociferating their national song, *Churbyt*, they cursed everybody, including their Nawab even, and calling every body a coward. On the 29th July 1857, a quarrel arose between a Puthan and Abdoolah Khan, a miscreant Puthan of Rampore, about a pumpkin, which each wanted to purchase. The Puthan struck Abdoollah Khan, and he struck the Puthan. Thus ended the first day's quarrel. Next day the Puthans waylaid and wounded Abdoolah; who fled to his house, and placing himself on a *dolee*, was going to the Cotwalee to complain, when he was again assaulted by the Puthans. He left his *dolee*, and wanted to run away, but from loss of blood he fainted, and was unmercifully cut down in the same Mohullah in which I live, at 8 o'clock, the 30th of July 1857. The body remained lying till one o'clock, nay, it was (like the body of Lucretia,) allowed to be gazed upon by the spectators, to excite their pity and revenge. By four o'clock that day the whole population of Moradabad rose against the Puthans of Rampore, and a cowardly and indiscriminate massacre of those Puthans took place. No less than 40 Puthans lost their lives, though Rampore men, through shame, reduced the above number. The Puthans were obliged to entrench themselves within the town, in that well known large building, called *Deewan Kán Mull ki Havailee*, and outside of the town, in the kothee lately occupied by Mr. Wilson. All communication was stopped with Rampore; the ferries of the Ramgunga were carefully watched by the townspeople. The river had risen considerably in those days, and it was not fordable in any part. At last, by the interference of Dhowkul Singh, the principal leader of the Kutgurh men, the Nawab made his peace with the townspeople, in spite of the endeavours of Mujjoo and his agents to prolong the rupture. This row is called by the N[illegible]s "Kuddoo Gurdee."

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The Nawab's supremacy being restored, and the pride of the Puthans being humbled, justice again began to be administered after the Rampore fashion. The Nawab, who on his second assumption of power, took the families of the Christian Clerks under his own protection, (after they suffered all kinds of troubles and privations, while confined in the cantonments, and afterwards at Mujjoo's house,) gave them regular stipends. They were as follow:—

1. (Of Mr. Hill, Head Clerk Moradabad Collectorate, taken as prisoner to Dehli.)

Mrs. Hill, with six or seven children.

2. (Of Mr. MacGuire, Foujdaree Clerk) Ditto.

Mrs. MacGuire, with some five children.

3. (Of Mr. J. Warwick, Head Clerk Judge's Office) Fled to Nynee Tal.

Mrs. Warwick, with three children.

4. (Of Mr. Kitchen, Deputy Collector) Murdered.

Mrs. Kitchen, with five or six children.

5. (Of Mr. J. Dorington, writer) Taken to Dehli.

Mrs. Dorington, with two children.

6. Mrs. Humphreys, with daughter.

The town of Sumbhul, from Deepa Surae to the bazar, was, as report goes, plundered on the 7th June by the *Moollahs* of Belalpoor, Mewatees of Heerapoor, Jâts of Lukhoree, and other villagers. The town of Chundowsee, a place of considerable trade, was also plundered by the neighbouring villagers, who plundered it from the 16th to 24th June 1857. It is true that the Nawab sent forces to relieve these towns, but the leaders of these forces, instead of doing any good, enriched themselves with the spoils, and sent a considerable amount of the recovered plundered property to their homes in Rampore. It is even reported that the Rampore men, instead of protecting, extorted money from a banker of Sumbhul, by name Missur Ramjee Mull. Two other events are also of much importance, viz. the two *Jahad* expeditions from Moradabad to Malagurh and Dehli, to fight with the English infidels. One was headed by Shubhur Alee Khan, a young Mahomedan noble, and the other started under Zyn-ool Abdeen Khan. This happened in the month of August 1857. These crusaders were everywhere greeted and welcomed. They crossed the Ganges at Poot.

The other event was the passing of Khan Buhadur's party through Moradabad, with a present to the King of Dehli. This party carried a cup of emerald, to indicate that, like a beggar, cup in hand, Khan Buhadur begs the King of Dehli to give him the land of Rohilkund. Many budmashes of Moradabad were with this party. At last the fall of Dehli was announced by Mr. Wilson's purwanahs to several loyal natives. For some time the Mussulmans would not believe it, but seeing many fugitives from Dehli, they became sure of its fall, though they considered it a sin to tell the same themselves. The period, from the 18th June up to the end of September, was most hazardous; large parties of rebels and mutineers passed through this station; and this circumstance, combined with unfavorable reports of the massacre at Cawnpore, and the retreat of the 5th July at Agra, made the Mussulmans to believe that the British Government was maintained by a native army only, and by the mutiny of that army the British raj was for ever gone. Although the Nawab always gave hush-money to the principal instigators of revolt, but those beasts could not be controlled. For some time I was considered an impostor, and was often proscribed, but for my services during such trying days, a large number of natives began to respect me, and often consulted me on important affairs. In fact, take them as a body, and I as their Secretary. I

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always wrote their letters in English to Mr. Alexander, Commissioner of Rohilkund, Mr. Wilson, late Judge of Moradabad, Captain Ramsay, Commissioner of Kumaon, Mr. Saunders, now Commissioner of Dehli, &c. &c. When the Commissioner, Mr. Alexander, wrote to several Hindoo nobles for funds, I was consulted, and I used all my arguments, and induced the money-loving Mahajuns to show their loyalty by advancing money, and not by mere chits. The result was, that they all acted just as I told them. The faithful men of the 8th Irregulars, as they were going to Meerut viâ Moradabad, were suspected by the Moradabad rebels as escorting the Commissioner, Mr. Alexander, and Mr. E. B. Thornhill in disguise. A large body of the rebels wanted to surprise them, but the men were all on the alert. Dhowkul Singh of Kutgurh at last accompanied those men to prevent any clash with the insurgents. Nay, some even spread a rumour that the Commissioner, Mr. Alexander, was caught, and his head severed from the body by a butcher of Moradabad. As long as Dehli did not fall, many a time reports were spread of the death of Messrs. Alexander and Wilson, and of the utter annihilation of the Christians in all parts of India. The Mussulmans were heartily inimical to the British Government, and would not scruple to swear falsely in maintaining their lies. On every Friday, *Jahad* was privately preached in mosques. Among other lies, the Mussulmans gave out one day that the Bombay troops having mutinied, went to London viâ Constantinople, pulled Her Majesty from her throne, and that she was on her way to Dehli as a captive, to answer before the King how she dared to introduce forcibly greased cartridges. Another false report got much circulation, that a Fakeer of great sanctity, with 1,00,000 Ghazees from Persia and Affghanistan, had arrived in Dehli, and performed a miracle there, by converting all the shells and balls of the Feringees into drops of water. In spite of all these reports, showing deep hatred of Mahometanism against Christianity, Her gracious Majesty has been pleased to pardon the rebels. Pundit Deena Nauth (now a Tehseeldar in the Bareilly district,) son of Pundit Aftab Rae, of Allygurh notoriety, being a Cashmeeree Brahmun, of fair colour, was one day mounted on a horse, and wearing a coat of the English fashion; he was stopped by a friend, and began to smoke *hookka* there. The Mussulmans, on seeing him, began to assemble at a distance. One of them was about to shoot Pundit Deena Nauth, when his friend, perceiving the danger, cried out, "Stop, stop; don't shoot the rider; he is not a Christian as you all suppose." They then desisted and dispersed. I must observe here that the correspondence of Messrs. Wilson and Alexander with the natives of Moradabad (particularly Mr. Wilson's correspondence) alone prevented the fire of rebellion from increasing; and every credit is due to Sahoo Roop Kishore and his faithful cossid Shere Khan for taking the lead in opening the communication with the British stations of Meerut and Nynee Tal. The English-knowing natives, with their usual fortitude, maintained the supremacy of the British Government in Moradabad, while British rule was in abeyance there.

The members of the educated native association stood as follow:—

1st. Myself.

2nd. Doorga Pershaud, Zillah Visitor.

3rd. Nund Kishore, Superintendent of Roads.

4th. Baboo Tara Chund Pyne, Sub-Assistant Surgeon.

5th. Baboo Jugurnauth, Deputy Postmaster.

With the assistance of Lalah Luchmee Narain, banker of Bareilly, we also opened a private dawk, and thus we were enabled to send news very regularly and quickly to Meerut. Nund Kishore and Doorga Pershad also went to Nynee Tal in those days to see the Commissioner.

At first Sahoo Roop Kishore was considered a fool, even by his own relations, for opening a correspondence with Meerut, and thereby bringing upon

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himself the wrath of the Mussulmans. Nay, some of them even told him, "Don't listen to the Translator's pernicious advices. What will be your fate when a *Soobah* of the King of Dehli comes to Moradabad!" He, however under all the trying circumstances, remained staunch and true to his promise, and if he would have not boldly undertaken the opening of communication, I dare say no one would have dared to address a single line to any Christian before the memorable 20th of September 1857. But this Rubicon was passed by Roop Kishore, and every nigger is now ready to establish his loyalty by producing a *purwanah* of some European Officer received by him during the late troubles.

Shere Khan, his *cossid*, from June to November 1857, traversed the land constantly as far as Meerut, Haupper, Baghput, Thannah Bhowun, and Dehli.

Goor Suhae, a most daring officer under the Nawab of Rampore, always held out for the British Government from May 1857 to June 1858. His position was a critical one, and his services invaluable.

The same remark is applicable to Rajah Sheo Raj Singh of Kasheepoor.

The minor events are the Nawab's remonstrances with the Syuds of Amroha, to induce them to acknowledge his authority; his appointing, and again abolishing, certain establishments, and the casting of guns in different disaffected places by the braziers of Moradabad.

I left Moradabad in the early part of October 1857, and joined Mr. Wilson at Meerut. During my absence, the Nawab was always trying to convince his people of their error in opposing the British Government, as it was projected by some ruffians of Moradabad, after the fall of Dehli, to oppose the English when they went to enter Moradabad. In November 1857, the families of the Christian Clerks were sent by the Nawab to Meerut under a strong escort, and I am glad to state here that Government has given them pensions.

Feroze Shah, a rebel prince of Dehli, assisted by a force of Khan Buhadur Khan of Bareilly, defeated the Nawab's force, and was master of Moradabad for a few days. Most of the Nawab's Mussulman servants, and also the city Mussulmans, joined him. But the rising of the Hindoo population against him, under Roy Purdoomun Kishen, and Kazim Ali Khan's attack upon him, but more particularly the approach of General Jones's column, compelled the rebel Prince to retire towards Bareilly, with all his booty and guns. General Jones's column arrived at Moradabad on the 25th April 1858, when most of the principal rebels, including that arch rebel Mujjoo Khan, were executed. The column left Moradabad for Bareilly, leaving the administration of the district into the hands of the Nawab of Rampore, with Willayat Hossein Khan as Deputy Collector from the side of the British Government. This native gentleman, who was formerly Deputy Collector of Moradabad, had lost his appointment in consequence of a row which took place between him and the city Mussulmans. At the special recommendation of Mr. Wilson he was restored to his office for his loyalty during the disturbances.

The following natives have got promotion for not doing any disloyal act.

Willayat Hossein, an ex-Thannahdar, has been made Tehseeldar of Sumbhul; Afzul Alee, late Thannahdar, Darogah of Nuzool, and Tehseeldar of Thakoordwara respectively; Moosee Ruzza, late Jailor, is also Cotwal of Moradabad; Imam-ood-deen, late Cotwal, is now Tehseeldar of Moradabad. The last mentioned individual deserves promotion, but not in this district. He should be posted somewhere on the other side of the Ganges. The following is a list of the loyal men who rendered useful services to the State during the past critical days:—

1. Nazim Goor Suhae.
2. The educated native community, as specified above.

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3. Shunkur Lall and other Kayeths, who protected Mr. Kitchen and others.

4. Sahoo Roop Kishore.

5. The Rajah of Kasheepore.

6. Chowbey Girdharee Lall.

7. Purdoomun Kishen.

8. Sahoo Luchmun Dass.

9. Qoorban Alee, Jemadar.

10. Shere Khan, Cossid.

11. Willayet Hossein Khan, Deputy Collector.

12. Saidh Mull, Pundit Byj Nauth, Soondur Lall, and Doorga Purshad, *Khetrees*, my informers and coadjutors.

13. Missur Shunkur Lall, Sahoo Roop Kishore's Gomashtah.

14. Buhar Buksh, Sowar.

I forgot to mention above, that I always sent consolatory letters and English newspapers to Mrs. Warwick and others, when they were under the protection of the Nawab, or rather when they were in confinement. The dead bodies of the Christians, who were murdered on the 4th June, were carried away on a hackery by Mr. Dorington, by the Nawab's order, and interred in the burial ground. The remains of Mr. Kitchen and others were buried in the same place where they were murdered, by a sweeper sent by the Nawab. Another report goes to the effect, that at the request of Mrs. Kitchen, the remains, after lying exposed for several days, were removed to the burial ground. To me the former story appears more probable.

After the fight at Nukuteea, close to Bareilly, on the 5th May 1858, Mr. Wilson visited Moradabad, and remained there till October 1858. Mr. Henry Ricketts took charge of the district from the Nawab, perhaps on the 15th June 1858. Thus the Nawab bid farewell to Moradabad. Thus the Nawab's Government breathed its last—

"Nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving it."

SHAKSPEARE.

While war was raging between Mahmood Khan of Bijnore and the loyal Hindoo Talookahdars, the so-considered loyal Afzul Alee, because he is the son of a murdered Thannahdar, stopped the supply of gunpowder from Moradabad for the loyal Chowdhrees of Bijnore. The above is a notorious fact, and a clear proof that every Mahomedan heart wished for the success of the rebel cause. The Government service, in the district of Moradabad, is still swarming with those who were once open rebels. Herewith are annexed copies of my certificates.

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COPIES OF TESTIMONIALS.

I certify that Baboo Gunesh Purshad Chowbey has been with Mr. Wilson, Special Commissioner for tracing and punishing mutineers and rebels, since the beginning of November up to this date. During that period he has accompanied him in the various expeditions in the field, on service. He has all this while been carrying on the duties of the office as a Translator, and been of great service. He has been with Mr. Wilson when that gentleman was at the battles of Gungeeree, Puteealee, Kukralah, and Bareilly. He now returns to his situation as Translator in the Judge's office, and, in Mr. Wilson's absence, I have given him this certificate.

(Signed) J. Y. GOWAN, CAPTAIN,
*Assistant Commissioner on Special Duty.*

*Camp Moradabad, 18th Sept.* 1858.

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Baboo Gunesh Purshad Chowbey was Translator of the Moradabad Judge's Court when the mutiny in May 1857 commenced. During the mutiny and rebellion he constantly corresponded with me at Meerut by means of *cossids*, and I was thus enabled to furnish the loyal people of Moradabad with correct information, and to neutralise the effect of the lies daily transmitted by Mohumud Shuffee and other mutineers at Dehli.

The amount of good which the Baboo effected in this way was perfectly incalculable, and he deserves every credit for organising constant communication with me. He joined me early in October 1857, and I made him my Translator. He accompanied me in my wanderings from November 1857 till the 12th May 1858. I now give him up to the Judge, who is about to re-organise the Moradabad Judgeship, in order that he may be replaced in his old situation.

(Signed) J. C. WILSON,

*Commissioner on Special Duty, late Judge.*

*Camp Moradabad, the 26th October* 1858.

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# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

IN THE

# DISTRICT OF BIJNORE,

IN 1857-58.

No. 106.

To

R. ALEXANDER, Esquire,

*Commissioner of Rohilcund*

*Bareilly.*

Sir,

I have the honor to supply the Narrative of events attending the outbreak of disturbances in this District, as required by the Government Circular Order No. 212, of the 30th April last.

2. Although only 40 miles from Meerut, we remained in profound ignorance of the startling occurrences at Meerut of the 10th of May 1857 until the 13th, and even then it was only by Native report, we learnt that some frightful calamity had befallen our Countrymen at that station. To put an end to the trying state of uncertainty and alarm which pervaded all classes, I dispatched Suwars to Meerut, and such was the condition of the Country, between Bijnour and that place, that the first communication which the Jemadar of the Police station of Bysoomah had with his headquarters, was by means of the Suwars dispatched by me at this time. The whole of that part of the Country was swarming with Goojurs and escaped Convicts, who stopped and plundered every one not even sparing the meanest traveller, and fortunate it was for us, that they had at this time plenty to occupy them nearer home, and that the river, which during the first few days following the outbreak was fordable at many points, suddenly rose, for before the vast numbers of these marauders, who shortly afterwards appeared on the opposite bank, eager to pillage the rich marts of Daranuggur and Dhunourah, could cross I had been enabled to collect and guard the boats on the Bijnour side and make arrangements for preserving this district from the threatened inroad.

3. On the 16th, the Suwars returned from Meerut, bringing me letters confirming the Native accounts and the tales told of all they had seen, and of the state of things in the "Dumdumah." The news was immediately followed by overt acts of violence which until then had been averted. The first case of highway robbery occurred on this day, being committed by the Goojurs of Jhal and Oleynda in open day 8 miles from Bijnour, and this was immediately followed by an attack on Shabazpoor Khudder, a village, inhabited by Rowahs, a class of first rate cultivators, which was likewise pillaged by Goojurs.

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4. On the 17 a *Surburah*, sent forward to lay a Dák for Mr. Robert Currie, who was on his way to the hills, was attacked and the money taken from him within a few miles of Bijnour, and although measures were taken which resulted in the immediate seizure of the parties concerned in this and in the case of highway robbery, it was quite evident the evil was growing upon us and it was necessary to adopt stringent measures if we hoped to retain our authority. I accordingly required the principal landholders to aid me to the best of their ability, and I also circulated a notice calling upon all Military men on leave at their homes in this district, to come in and do service. To these requisitions the Chowdrees of Huldour and Tajpore instantly responded; and as the Police had been considerably strengthened and a few Non-commissioned Officers and men chiefly belonging to the Irregular Cavalry had come in, we felt pretty certain of being able to keep the district in hand.

5. But during this eventful month when the minds of men were so unsettled that the slightest thing affected them, alarm was taken at circumstances which in ordinary times would have passed unheeded. Thus when on the 18th a company of the 29th Native Infantry, en route to rejoin their Corps from duty at Suharunpore, suddenly made their appearance without any intimation having been received, the fears of the people were greatly excited more especially as the Sepoys did not care to conceal their anger at two untoword circumstances which had occurred in the Saharunpore District whilst on their march. The first of these was the unfortunate rencounter with the Sermoor Battalion on its way down the Ganges Canal to Meerut, and the second, the loss of their baggage upon which a band of Goojurs made a sudden descent, wounding some of their rear guard.

6. Notwithstanding the dangerous mood in which they were, our position at this time was such that it was simply a choice of evils, and as an inroad of the Goojurs was hourly expected, I was urgent with the Soobadar to retain his company at Bijnour for the usual halting period of 24 hours to enable me to obtain from Mooradabad the sanction of the Commanding Officer of the 29th Native Infantry, to their remaining for a few days to assist us in our need. At first I induced them with considerable difficulty to agree to this, but they suddenly changed their minds and when the permission from Mooradabad reached me they were well on their way to join their comrades at that station. One of the excuses they made for not remaining was that they were short of Ammunition, and with the temper they were in, it was extremely fortunate for us that such was the case.

7. On the 19th, the Moradabad Jail was broken, and as the worst prisoners connected with the Bijnour District were imprisoned there, the return of many of them to their villages caused the greatest alarm and the roads became immediately extremely unsafe, and to add to the sense of insecurity about three hundred of the Sappers and Miners after mutinying at Roorkie, suddenly made their appearance at Nujeebabad. With these a negotiation was opened by Mahmood khán (known as the Nawáb of Nujeebabad) who, though he was anxious to avoid any disturbance at that place, was favorable, as appeared subsequently, to an attack being made on us at Bijnour and we so fully expected their arrival that we began to put the upper story of my house into a state of defence.

8. Fortunately for us the Sappers came to the determination of making straight for Moradabad, where they hoped to obtain Ammunition and the assistance of the disaffected men of the 29th Native Infantry. With this view they marched on the 21st to Nugeenah, where they pillaged the Tahseel Treasury of all it contained in Cash, Stamps and Opium,* and after throwing the whole town into confusion and joining the bad characters of the place in looting the Bazar and principal Mahajuns, they proceeded on to Dhampore, where they hoped to repeat the outrage. Here, however, news of their approach had been received, and the Tahseel being well adapted for defence they were compelled to go away without securing any treasure. In fact the want of Ammunition appears to have increased their anxiety to join, as they supposed, the Mutinous 29th Native Infantry at Moradabad, but this Corps had not up to this time altogether thrown off its allegiance though it had been guilty of gross excess in releasing some men of the 20th Native Infantry, who had been confined in the Jail at that station. Unfortunately for the Sappers, the 29th was on its good behaviour and apparently anxious to make amends when the fugitives from Roorkie arrived, and the result was that I had the satisfaction of learning that they had not long enjoyed their ill gotten spoil, two companies of the 29th with some Suwars

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Cash, | 10167 | 0 | 11 |
| Stamps, | 126 | 14 | 0 |
| Opium, | 55 | 0 | 0 |
| | 10348 | 14 | 11 |

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and two Guns having gone out against them, and after stripping off their regimentals and relieving them of all their property, had sent them adrift.

9. Whilst these events were occurring elsewhere, at Bijnour itself we had much cause for anxiety, our Jail having broken on the day when the Sappers entered Nugeena. The Jail, miserably insecure and most inadequately guarded by 16 men, contained at this time 341 prisoners including those under trial. I had just finished raising the outer wall 3 feet, and inside, alterations were in progress which armed the prisoners with missiles, and about mid-day of the 21st they attacked the main Gate, which they soon succeeded in removing from its hinges. It was clearly a preconcerted affair in which the prisoners were encouraged by the breaking of the Moradabad Jail two days previously, whilst the extreme alarm which prevailed consequent on this and the presence of the mutinous Sappers in the District made the Guard acquiesce quietly in the attempt, which they believed it useless to oppose. The consequence of this feeling was that many of the guard were absent at the time of the outbreak, having left their Muskets and Ammunition in the guard room, near the gate of the Jail. Of this circumstance the prisoners were evidently well aware for they at once broke into this place, and there secured 11 Muskets and several pouches full of Cartridges. When I arrived on the spot, which I did almost immediately, all further egress was stopped, some of the prisoners being shot in the attempt, and Mr. G. Palmer, my Joint Magistrate, coming up shortly afterwards mounted, I despatched him, with the few Suwars, who had by this time assembled, to pursue the fugitives and the result would have been most satisfactory had not the prisoners succeeded in getting on a Sandbank in the river before a re-inforcement sufficient to secure them could arrive, night favoring their escape.

10. On this occasion, 215 prisoners escaped, 7 were killed and 126, of whom 12 were wounded, were re-captured or prevented breaking out.

11. This preconcerted plan had, I have no doubt, for one of its objects the *looting* of the Treasury, which was within a short distance, and I therefore at once decided to throw all the coin, except what was actually necessary for current expenses, down a well close at hand, the mouth of which could be defended from the top of the Treasury building, and this I accordingly did whilst Mr. Palmer was in pursuit of the prisoners, and had the satisfaction of finding that this measure had a most quieting effect, for all felt that we were altogether unable to guard the Treasure so long as it remained above ground.

12. After this the Goojurs of the Mundawur Pergunnah commenced systematic plundering and great excesses were committed all round Bijnour, which I was utterly unable to prevent. I had already called upon the principal men of the District to assist me in preserving the peace and to send me trustworthy men into Bijnour, but before any of these arrived, on the very day the Jail broke and fortunately after the money was down the well, Mahmood khán arrived with a number of empty Carts to carry off (as he told the Deputy Magistrate) the Treasure to Nujeebabad, and he was much disconcerted when he learnt what had been done with it. As we were ignorant of the change of plan which had led the Sappers to go direct to Moradabad, it may readily be conceived what great cause we had for anxiety at this time, for as the Chowdrees of Huldour and Tajpore had not then arrived I had no force to set off against the Puthans who were evidently in an unsettled and dangerous state of mind. The next two days passed off well, and then I had retainers of the chief Hindoo Zemindars round me, and having raised some horse and made arrangements for the safety of the station, I felt myself in a position to act on the offensive. Bunjaras had to be dealt with in the neighbourhood of the Jungles, Goojurs were swarming all along the river and committing all sorts of atrocities in concert with their brethren of the opposite bank, and the very troublesome and powerful classes of Mewatees and Bilochees were in large numbers along the boundary of this and the Mooradabad District.

13. To check the outrages daily occurring, I at this time appointed some of the most influential Mahomedans to responsible posts, hoping thus to retain them on the side of order, and as it was very necessary to strike a blow somewhere I sent out all my available Suwars under a Naib Risaldar of the 1st Bengal Irregular Cavalry to save the town of Chandpoor, which was seriously threatened; but the village at which the Mewatees had collected having been burnt, the attack was averted and the south of the District restored to comparative quiet.

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14. All this time I had been urging on the Authorities at Meerut, Bareilly, and Moradabad, to send me a trustworthy force, however small; for the new Levies, I had got together would clearly be of no use in the event of a determined attack, and on the 28th an efficient party of 14 Suwars, nearly all leave men, under command of a Resaldar of the Gwalior Contingent made their appearance and were followed by 25 Suwars of the new Moradabad Levy and 40 Sepoys of the doubtful 29th Native Infantry.

15. The arrival of these men enabled me to depute my Joint Magistrate Mr. G. Palmer with the Tuhseeldar of Bijnour and the whole of the above Sepoys, and 30 Suwars under Buhadur Ali, the Gwalior Contingent Risaldar, to coerce a large gathering of marauders in the Mundawur Pergunnah and ward off an attack which was threatening the town of Mundawur and a large village, Mahomedpore, inhabited by wealthy Bishnoees. I annex copy of the report of Mr. Palmer's successful operations on this occasion. The blow struck was a very important one and brought the disturbers of the peace in that part of the District to their senses and would have assisted materially in effecting a diversion in our favor, had not the occurrences at Bareilly and Moradabad necessitated the sudden re-call of the party, as noted below.

16. After the Nuwab found his plans had miscarried, and that the loyal Hindoos were ready to check any overt act of his, he was most urgent to be allowed to return to Nujeebabad. He consequently left on the 23rd, but on the 1st of June he re-appeared unbidden and accompanied by at least two hundred well armed Puthan matchlockmen, and it was quite evident he felt it was merely a matter of a few days and then he would be in possession of the District. As his presence in this mood was far from agreeable, I induced him after some trouble to go to settle a matter with some Mewatees a few miles off and I fully anticipated during his absence to be able to do much towards restoring confidence, but all these hopes were blighted by the serious occurrences elsewhere which followed quickly on each other at this time.

17. The first authentic report of the outbreak at Bareilly reached me on the 3rd of June, but it had been rumoured since the 1st, the bad news having flown with its usual rapidity. I immediately sent out to re-call Mr. Palmer, and we at this time had a most gloomy prospect with a force of Puthans in the compound against which we could not hope to stand, whilst a new danger existed in the presence of the Sepoys of the 29th Native Infantry, in whose fidelity we could have no trust as the Regiment had distinctly given out that they could only remain loyal so long as the Bareilly Regiments did. When communicating this important intelligence, the Magistrate of Moradabad informed me that their party would probably have to fly on the night he wrote (the 2nd) and recommended me to make for Roorkee without attempting to hold on longer as doing so would be utterly useless. Mr. Palmer came in at once and on the arrival of the Sepoys I got rid of them immediately before they had become aware of what had occured at Bareilly. Their departure on the morning of the 5th was a great relief, for though we had others ready and willing to work us ill, there was some hope of talking them fair and restraining them from proceeding to extremity, but against a rise of disciplined troops we should have been altogether helpless.

18. During these last days, in addition to urging the Meerut Authorities to send assistance, I had pointed out that there was Treasure which they could have if they would send for it, and accordingly, there being a great want of money at Meerut at this time, Lieutenant Gough with 19 Suwars of the 4th Irregulars escorting 22 Camels, arrived for this purpose at Bijnour on the 2nd of June.

19. At this time the direct road between Bijnour and Meerut was in the highest degree unsafe, and I was satisfied that this small party would never have been allowed to pass unmolested by the Goojurs, if they had not calculated upon pillaging the Treasure on the way back. It was well known to all the Country round for what purpose this party had come, and had it been attempted to employ this string of Camels in the transport, I am quite sure there would have been opposition and nearly certain loss on the road. I accordingly determined to substitute Elephants for Camels, and in this manner, by making a forced march, Rupees 50,000 was safely conveyed to Meerut, and at the same time I wrote to the Assistant Adjutant General to the effect that when I reported a few days previously the danger to which my Treasure was exposed, I had received no aid from any quarter, but that since then assistance had reached me from Bareilly and Moradabad, which had made me feel much more at

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ease, but that I should be ready to make over the rest of my available Cash, when a sufficient force was sent for it. The fact was that when I wrote this, I was in great hope we should be able to whether the storm, in which case money would have been of great importance to us on this side, and thinking I could keep it safely I was indisposed to run the risk of sending it laden on Camels insufficiently guarded.

20. Mr. Saunders' letter of the 2nd of June, was the last communication I had from him. The Dáks in every other direction had been for some time closed and now we were entirely cut off from all knowledge of what was occurring at Moradabad, though from what Mr. Saunders had written, we could not but feel that Moradabad must have met the same fate as Bareilly. The first positive information was conveyed in Major Waterfield's of the 5th which reached me on the following day, and informed us that the Moradabad Civil Officers had reached in safety, but that we were not to look for any assistance from Meerut, as they would have enough to do to hold their own.

21. Whilst matters were in this state, Muhmood khán suddenly returned from Jahanabad, in consequence of a report having reached him that I intended to make over the Treasure to the Chowdrees of Huldour. The idea had been started but never seriously entertained, for the Rajpoots had expressed themselves unable to protect it, and such a measure would at once have produced the crisis which it was of such vital importance to postpone as long as possible.

22. The animus shown by the Nuwab in this instance, taken in connection with all that was passing around us, proved clearly that he and his retainers were not to be trusted for a moment and that an outbreak might be precipitated by the smallest accident. It was, therefore, highly necessary to keep him in good humour and in effecting this the Sudder Ameen of Bijnour, Syud Ahmad khán, afforded me the most valuable assistance. This officer's belief is that the Nuwab had been so worked upon by the representations of his advisers that when in great alarm he hastened to see him on his sudden return, he (the Nuwab) was fully prepared to commit himself openly, and even after he had been pacified and assured that there was no intentation to make over the Treasure to the Haldour Chowdrees, he remained for the rest of the day in a very dogged and perverse humour, refusing to come to me though twice sent for.

23. This was on the 7th of June, and in the evening of that day Chowdree Purtab Sing received authentic intelligence from Moradabad of what had occurred there and at Bareilly, and it became clear that every Christian's life was sought for. I also obtained information of an intended rising on the part of the Puthans on that night, whilst it was confidently believed by the officials about me that the Sepoys of the 29th of whom we had got rid on the 5th. having been refused any share in the Treasure pillaged at that Station (Moradabad) and being twitted with having allowed the Bijnour Europeans and money to slip out of their hands, were on their way back to rectify their mistake.

24. As this was probable enough and the distance was not great, I determined to send off Mrs. Shakespear and the rest of the party that night across the river, I and Mr. Palmer remaining to see what turn things would take; but as it was clear that to attempt to do this without the knowledge and consent of the Nuwab, would not only be impossible but probably occasion an outbreak, about mid-night I sent the Sudder Ameen to Mahmood khán to tell him what was in contemplation. On his asking to speak with the Nuwab apart, the reply was that those about him were all Puthans, and had no secrets from each other, but on being pressed he went aside and when the Sudder Ameen told him of our intentions to send the rest of the party off at once and follow ourselves afterwards, he replied that he could not longer answer for his followers, and that all must leave together, and he refused to come to me, saying he had already advised our going and had nothing more to say. On hearing this I was satisfied that there was nothing to be done but to quit the District, and as a last resource, I asked the loyal Hindoo Chowdrees of Huldour and Tajpore whether they could not manage to hold the District against the Nuwab, and eventually, on their expressing their utter inability do so, I prevailed upon the Nuwab to come to me about 2 A. M. of the 8th of June, and then informed him that I had decided to see my wife and the rest of the party across the river, but hoped not to be absent for more then 10 days or so and that I trusted he would do his best to preserve order during my absence, and at the same time I gave him a paper stating that I made over the Zillah to him for the present and looked to him to keep all public and private property safe until my return. In this document I carefully avoided giving the

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Nuwab any authority to collect Revenue, but I told him, as he would have to incur heavy charges he would be at liberty to expend money from the Treasury and all that would be required from him would be a regular account. In common with most Englishmen in the North-west Provinces I was in the belief that our troops had only to appear before Delhie to ensure its fall, and when I calculated upon returning in 10 days or so I fancied I was allowing a good margin. The speedy re-capture of Delhie would have at once disipated all the Nuwab's hopes, and a small reliable force, which I fully calculated upon obtaining, would have brought us back in sufficient strength to enable us to hold our own.

25. It was now about 3 A. M., in the morning and every thing was ready for a start, but on my looking round for an escort I found that though the compound was full of armed men none would accompany us, except a small party of Suwars under Kootub-ood-deen the Risaldar, who had been sent to our aid from Bareilly. A few of my own Suwars started with us but turned back from the river. The Thánadár of Bijnour with all the rest of the Bareilly and Moradabad men, had already quitted the Station before we left. The Christian portion of our party consisted of the following individuals:—

Mr. Shakespear, Magistrate and Collector.
Mrs. A. Shakespear, and Child.
Mr. G. Palmer, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector.
Doctor Knight, Civil Surgeon,—Mrs. Knight.
Mr. Robert Currie, C. S.
Mr. Lemaistre, Head Clerk Collector's Office.
Mrs. Lemaistre and 3 Children.
Mr. Johnson, Clerk Collector's Office.
Mr. Murphy, Clerk Magistrate's Office.
Mrs. Murphy and 4 Children.
Mr. Cawood.

26. My object was to reach Roorkee, distant about 43 miles, before nightfall, but we were seriously delayed in getting across the river, as our departure was so sudden that I had been unable to make any previous arrangement about boats, which to allow of their being more easily guarded, had been run up a creek, and the consequence was that we were obliged to make for Moozuffernugger instead, at which Station we arrived after a most trying march. Here doubts arose as to the fidelity of our escort and consequently after resting one day we marched to Roorkee with our party strengthened by 12 Suwars of the 4th Irregulars, a party of whom were at this time stationed at Moozuffernugger under the Command of the Adjutant Lieutenant Smith. We arrived safely at Roorkee on the night of the 11th of June and within a few days afterwards, Lieutenant Smith was murdered by his men, whilst our party of Suwars were tried for mutinous conduct in refusing to obey orders, disarmed, and turned out of the Cantonment.

27. As my only chance of being able to re-occupy my District, I now applied for a hundred of the Goorkhas, stationed at Saharunpore, but it was not found possible to spare a single man, and thus all hope of an immediate return was at an end. I need not here notice all the attempts that were subsequently made to organize a sufficient force, or how the unexpected length of the Campaign and the magnitude of the operations before Delhie, entirely frustrated all our plans. It will suffice to notice in the continuation of this Narrative the most prominent events which occurred in the Bijnour District during our absence from it.

28. But before doing so, it may be as well to give in this place a brief account of the antecedents of the family of Muhmood ḳhán the so called Nuwab of Nujeebabad, to whom the District was made over at my departure.

29. The grandfather of Muhmood ḳhán was Nujeeb ḳhán who was a retainer of Doondeh ḳhán one of the Sirdars of the Kuthair Puthans, and in 1748, A. D., held charge of the Daranugger portion of the District, as a kind of Tuhseeldar, and, having married his patron's daughter, obtained possession of what is now comprised in the Bijnour District. Within a few years after, he increased his influence by the capture of a noted Dacoit in the Suharunpore District and obtained the title of Nujeeb-oodowlah, Ameer-ool oomrah. In 1755 he built the town of Nujeebabad and the neighbouring fort of Putthurgurh.

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30. Najeeb-ood-dowlah was succeeded in 1774 A. D, by his son Zabita ḳhán, but this individual was soon compelled by the Nuwab Vizeer, Soojah-ood-dowlah, to quit this side of the Ganges, and having subsequently obtained a portion of the Saharunpore District in Jagheer from Alumgeer II, he took up his residence at Ghousgurh in that Zillah. The son of Zabita ḳhán was Abdool Qádir, who put out the eyes of Shah Alum, and having been caught by the Mahrattas was imprisoned in an iron cage and put to death by being deprived gradually of his limbs. On this occuring his brother Mooenood-deen, better known as Bumboo ḳhán fled to the Punjab from which, on the occupation of the Delhie Territory by the British in 1803, he returned and obtained a pension of Rs. 5,000 per mensem, with orders at first to live at Bareilly, but on the recommendation of the Local Authorities he was allowed in 1812 to make Nujeebabad his place of residence.

31. After the death of Bumboo ḳhán, his sons Mahmood ḳhán and Jullal-oodeen ḳhán with whom we have now had to do, received a pension of Rs. 1,000 a month for the support of the family, many members of which attained to responsible posts under Government.

32. I now return to my Narrative, which until our re-occupation of the District is founded on the most trust-worthy native information I have been able to obtain.

33. On the 8th of June, the day of our departure Mahmood ḳhán proclaimed himself in the following terms:—"The people are God's, the country the Padshah's and the order (or Government) Nuwab Mahmood ḳhán's," in which his own name was substituted for the "Company," the usual proclamation running thus, "The people are God's, the country the Padshah's, and the order (or Government) the Sirkar Company Buhadoor's." And with reference to this I would here remark that it is strange such a style of Proclamation should have been allowed to have obtained throughout the country for half a Century (as I believe, will be found to have been the case) without any of our native officials having brought to notice the misuse of the term "Padshah" which must undoubtedly have tended to keep alive in the minds of the people the idea that an Emperor at Delhie, was still their ruler and the Company only Teekadars or farmers of the Government. The announcement to which I refer is made on all occasions on which any notice has to be given in public places, and would naturally pass unnoticed by an European even should he happen to be in a position to hear it.

34. One of the first things done by the Nuwab was to take up the Treasure from the well and dispatch it to Nujeebabad, and then, having stopped the Dáks placed guards at all the Ferries, and increased his forces as much as possible, he proceeded to dispatch a confidential servant to Delhie to obtain authority from the Ex-king to his holding the District in his name. These proceedings naturally alarmed the Hindoos, but matters did not reach a crisis until Uhmud-oolah the Nuwab's Nephew and Tuhseeldar of Nujeebabad came to open feud with the Chowdrees by marching in force upon the town of Sherekote, with a view to punishing Oomrao Sing of that place.

35. At this time amongst other acts of direct treason towards the British Government the Nuwab directed the abolition of the established weights throughout the District ordaining that in future instead of the Seer being held to weigh 80, its equivalent should be 100 Tolahs, the form of the weight being altered and a stamps with these words "Mohur-i-Shahee," (imperial stamps) being placed on each.

36. The Nuwab's party, however, found a dangerous opponent at the commencement of its rule in Mareh ḳhán, who being a noted *Budmash* had collected a large number of bad characters, and lost no time in pillaging a wealthy Muhajan of Sherekote. All classes, except the worst, were at first unanimous in their wish to deprive March ḳhán of this dangerous power, but Uhmud-oolah soon found it more to his advantage to make a friend of him as with his assistance the fall of the Hindoos would be more speedy.

37. On this coalition being effected, there remained no hope for the Hindoos except absolute subjection or direct opposition, and the fate of Chowdree Oomrao Sing at Sherekote, who towards the end of July was compelled to fly, losing a large amount of property, clearly foreshadowed what they must all come to unless they stood by each other. A plan was therefore formed for attacking the Moosulmans and

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turning them out of Sherekote, and this was so successfully managed that Uhmud-oolluh after sustaining a complete defeat fled to Nujeebabad during the night of the 5th of August.

38. Whilst this was occurring at Sherekote, Muhmood ḳhán remained at Bijnour with only a few followers, and the youngest of the Huldour Chowdrees taking advantage of this, suddenly made his appearance on the morning of the 6th August, and with the assistance of the Chowdrees of Bijnour attacked the Nuwab, who, finding himself unable to hold his own fled precipitately to Nujeebabad. The result was that though the town of Bijnour was saved, all public private property outside fell into the hands of the rabble who had joined the Chowdrees simply with the hope of plunder and were altogether beyond control.

39. For some time after quitting the District I attempted to keep the Nuwab to some extent straight, but eventually from the bad accounts which reached me from time to time and in consequence of the Nuwab's determined silence, I came to the conclusion that it only remained to put the Nuwab's authority aside by a written order, and consequently on the 7th August, I addressed the Chowdrees directing them to consider themselves responsible for their respective properties, and the quiet of the District, forwarding an intimation to this effect to the Nuwab, and prohibiting him from leaving Nujeebabad or interfering any further in the management of affairs, as he had so grossly exceeded the authority given him on my departure. My object in this was to strengthen the hands of the loyal Hindoos and leave the Nuwab without excuse. At the time of writing I was of course not aware of the events of the 5th and 6th, which had given temporary success to the Hindoos, but on this favorable change being known, it became desirable to delegate the entire management of the District to Muhmood Ruhmut ḳhán, the Deputy Collector, and Syud Uhmud ḳhán, the Sudder Ameen, two officers who throughout had proved themselves conspicuously loyal, and not having succeeded in quitting the District were available on the spot. Under the authority thus conveyed, these officers assumed charged on the 16th of August, and the daily reports forwarded by them showed that they acted with zeal and judgment; but circumstances had just occurred at Nugeena, which so much aggravated the ill feeling between the Hindoos and Moosulmans that the Mahomedan flag was raised by the Nuwab, and this attempt to recover our last prestige was brought to a sudden close by the advance of the Moosulmans to within a few miles of Bijnour on the 23rd of August. A large Ját village was then burnt and plundered by them and as there was no sufficient body of Hindoos at Bijnour to oppose them, the greater portion having gone to Nugeena, it was considered hopeless to attempt to hold the place, and the Government officials above noted retired to Huldour, where they continued until after the fall of that place on the 27th idem. In the meantime, the Musulmans under the order of Ahmed-oollah had been to Nugeenah to punish the Hindoos there, and on this occasion the entire Mohullah of the Bishnoees was sacked and burnt; after which an advance was made on Huldour, where the Hindoos having gone out to meet their opponents sustained a complete defeat, and after retiring to the town were only saved from total destruction by the breaking out of fires in all directions, which prevented the Mosulmans from following up the blow. Ahmed-oollah then marched to Bijnour, of which he took possession without opposition, the Ját Chowdrees having fled across the river. The Chowdree of Tajpore, Pertab Sing, also at this time quitted the District and went to Kánt in Zillah Moradabad and subsequently to Meerut, where his followers did excellent service in taking out-post duty; and the Deputy Collector Ruhmut ḳhán and the Sudder Ameen, Uhmud ḳhán, likewise took advantage of the opportunity to effect their escape across the river.

40. On the departure of the Moosulmans, the Hindoos again collected in force at Huldour and retaliated on their enemies by killing all that fell into their hands, but on the Musulmans again attacking the place, they were driven to take shelter in their dwelling house which was fortunately strong enough to enable them to hold out, though by this time they had lost two out of three of their own guns and one belonging to the Kánt Chowdree. On the Moosulman's retiring, the Chowdrees took refuge for a few days in the large village of Pheena belonging to their brethren, but they subsequently returned to their own town where it suited the rebels to leave them unmolested pending an attempt which was now made to induce the Hindoos to acknowledge their authority.

41. In the hope of effecting an adjustment, it was proposed to appoint Jullal-oodeen ḳhán, the youger Nuwab, Plenipotentiary, but Ahmed-oollah, was so opposed to this as detracting from his authority that it was finally arranged on the 13th of

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September, that a council should be appointed consisting of Uhmud-oollah, Uhmud-yar ḳhán (better known as Kullun ḳhán), Shuffee-ollah, Akhoon-ubdool Ruhman and Uhmud Shah of Nujeebabad by whom matters were to be referred for final orders to Mahmood ḳhán, and an attempt was made by Sad-oollah ḳhán (late Moonsiff of Umrohah and father-in-law of Jullal-oodeen) to induce the Chowdrees to meet him and come to settlement, but this fell to the ground, as the principal Hindoos would not meet him.

42. The fact was, the Hindoos were still bent on trying their strength once more with the Nuwab and accordingly another fight took place on the 18th of September, which ending unfavorably as before, the Hindoos were again obliged to take refuge in Pheena. This was followed by another attempt at reconciliation, and Chowdree Rundheer Sing of Huldour met the Nuwab's eldest son, but nothing could tempt the younger Chowdrees to put themselves in the power of the Moosulmans, and eventually in the end of September these two latter made their escape across the Ganges to Meerut.

43. About this time a most wanton massacre of unoffending Hindoos, chiefly Putwarees, was committed at Sherekote, and the Moosulmans so completely asserted their supremacy that they were now allpowerful throughout the District. As was to be expected, however, disputes immediately arose as to the division of authority, the notorious Mareh ḳhán, backed by all the bad characters of the District, wishing to supersede Uhmud-oollah ḳhán's authority altogether; but it was at last arranged that Muhmood ḳhán should have an allowance of Rs. 12,000 a month, that the Nugeena, Dhanpore and Chandpore Tuhseels should be made over to Mareh ḳhán and Ghuzunpur Ali ḳhán, the Nuwab's eldest son; and Nujeebabad and Bijnour Tuhseels put under Uhmud-oollah; 8,000 Rs. of the allowance to the Nuwab being contributed by the former and the remainder by the latter. This arrangement continued in force until the 22nd of February 1858.

44. In the meantime Bhood Sing of Huldour, having reached Meerut, most urgently pressed the feasibility of a re-occupation of Bijnour, and as we had at this time no force available it was determined to send some Troops belonging to Rao Goolab Sing a powerful Zumeendar of Kooteysir in the Bulundshahur District, who with the aid of Goorsahae Nazim of Hussunpore in Zillah Moradabad would, it was hoped, be strong enough to recover Bijnour for us.

45. It was in the end of October, when this move was decided upon, but the Moosulmans collecting at Chandpore in great strength, the Hindoos were never bold enough even to enter the District, whilst the rebels, encouraged by this, surrounded Rundheer Sing at Huldour, and after a gallant defence on his part took him prisoner and sent him off to Nujeebabad, where he was kept, until our arrival in April, enabled him to effect his escape and join our camp.

46. The prospect of the Moosulmans was now considered so favorable that several noted rebels of the Moozuffernugger and Meerut Districts came over and joined them, and amongst the rest came the noted Goojur Chiefs Kuddum Sing and Dulail Sing, the Cazee of Thana Bhown, Inayut Ali, and the outlaw Ruza Hussun, otherwise, known as Chootun. Three of the Delhie Princes (so called) also came over, and the rebels now took it into their heads to make raids across the river, which they did with some success on several occasions. Chootun burnt the Chowkee of Dhurumpoora, killing four Burkundazes and carrying off two horses; Sirdar ḳhán, and Dulail Sing Goojur surprised a picket of our Cavalry at Runjeetpore, and took away horses and accoutrements; Dulail Sing burnt the Chowkees of Allahabas and Bhookurharee; Cazee Inayat Ali pillaged the Police outposts of Nijabutpore seizing two Burkundazes, one of whom was killed, and the other made a Moosulman; and, being encouraged by these petty affairs, a considerable force with two Guns, under Inayut Ali, Dulail Sing and Chootun crossed on the 5th of January 1858, and burnt the Thanah at Meeranpore proclaming the Nuwab, and retreating to their own side of the river before our Troops could intercept them. Two days after this the rebels made a similar move in the extreme North of the District, surprising the Ganges Canal Chowkee at Myapore and carrying off a lad employed in the Electric Telegraph office and other Government servants. After burning the Bungalow, and proclaming the Nuwab at Kunkhul and Hurdwar, they re-crossed the river, but when on the 9th emboldened by their success they were again rash enough to come over under Shuffee-oollah they were met and signally defeated by a small party sent out from Roorkee under Captain Boisragon.

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47. This failure had the effect of dispersing the rebels considerably, and Uhmud-ollah to regain his influence gave out on the 16th of January, that all rent-free holdings resumed under our rule would be released, but this does not appear to have helped him much, and the disputes between the several leaders were still so great, that a fresh arrangement became absolutely necessary. This was accordingly made on the 22nd of February and by it Mahmood ḳhán's eldest son Ghuzunfur Ali ḳhán was declared heir apparent, the Nuwab's own allowance was reduced to 8,000 Rupees per mensem; Uhmud-oollah was nominated to represent the Nuwab; Shufee-oollah and Mareh ḳhán were made General's and a Jagheer in the Sherekote Pergunnah valuing 19,000 Rupees per annum was assigned to the latter with an allowance of 600 Rupees a month, and a promise of further reward on the conquest of the Dooáb being completed. Kullun ḳhán was appointed Commander-in-chief, and stipends set a part for all members of the Nuwab's family, and an engagement taken from Uhmud-oollah that he would not aspire to the Musnud or interfere with Ghuzunfur Alí ḳhán's succession on the Nuwab's death.

48. But these idle dreams were not destined to remain long unbroken, for at this very time when in his wilful blindness and crass ignorance the Moosulman was flattering himself in the belief that his power had the element of stability, a British force was collecting at Roorkie which in a few short days was to send high and low flying for their lives from the District in which they had presumed to exercise their usurped authority.

49. On the 17th of April 1858, all the arrangements being completed we crossed from a little below Kunkhul near the head of the Ganges canal into the Bijnour District, and within five days all their bright visions were dispelled and the rebels driven homeless wanderers from the scene of their short liver misrule.

50. Since the fight at Nugeena on the 21st of April, there has not been the smallest show of opposition, and, though of course cruelly shaken by what they have undergone during ten months of violence and disorder, the people are gradually regaining their confidence in our rule, but it will be long indeed before they can altogether recover the shock they have sustained.

51. Having brought down the Narrative to the date of our re-entering the District, it does not appear necessary for me to do more than refer to the several reports noted in the margin* which contain full particulars of every important occurrence from that date until the District had resumed its former state of quiet and good Government.

* My report to Govt., N. W. P. No. 55, dated 30th April, 1858.
Ditto No. 63, dated 9th May, 1858.
Ditto No. 71, dated 16th idem.

I have, &c.

A. SHAKESPEAR,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

ALLAHABAD MISSION PRESS:—1858.

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# APPENDIX

TO THE

# BIJNOUR NARRATIVE.

*From*

G. PALMER, Esquire,

*Offg. Joint Magistrate.*

*To*

A. SHAKESPEARE, Esquire,

*Magistrate of Bijnour.*

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you the details of an expedition yesterday to the village of "*Fuzulpoor*," which I am happy to say was completely successful.

2. I left this place with the force under my command as per margin,* about 3 P. M. yesterday, with the intention of proceeding against the village of "*Timurpoor*;" but from information I received on leaving Mundawur, I changed the direction of my march and arrived at the village of "*Sheikhopoorah*," distant about half a mile from "*Fuzulpoor*," about 4 P. M.; finding that it was a Goojur village, I took the Pudhan as a prisoner with me, his village was quite empty.

* Detachment of 29th Native Infantry under Subadar Didarbux; 30 Suwars Irregulars under command of Rissaldar Bahadoor Ali khan.

3. I had taken care that the troops should be at the head of the column well in advance of the multifarious crowd who followed nominally to aid, but in reality to look on and plunder.

4. When about 700 yards from "Fuzulpoor," I dispatched a Duffadar and eight Suwars to a point on the extreme left of the village to reconnoitre with orders to intercept fugitives in that direction. Immediately after they left me the alarm seems to have been given in the village: a large number of men about 400 or 500 turned out with drums-beating, and from the flashing of their weapons apparently well armed: their line extended along the whole length of the village and a tope of trees on its right.

5. When we were about 350 yards distant they began to fire upon us, I immediately deployed the Sepoys who advanced steadily supported on the right flank by the Cavalry in a column of threes. When we got within 250 yards of the village, I received intelligence from my reconnoitering party on the flank that the rioters were beginning to run: and by the time the Sepoys were within 70 yards of the tope (when I gave them the word to go in with a rush) there was not a man to oppose them.

6. As soon as I perceived that the Infantry no longer required immediate support, I directed the Rissaldar to gallop round the village to the right with his Suwars,

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which he did very smartly taking up the reconnoitering party sent there in the first instance; and by the time I emerged with the Sepoys (who skirmished through the tope) on the other side after firing the village, he met me having made the circuit of the whole and taken several prisoners.

7. I then pushed on with as many Suwars as I could muster after the groups of armed men flying in all directions: and succeeded in securing a good number. Meanwhile the Sepoys had fired the two Ját villages of "*Bhoojpoor*" and "*Jehangeerpoor*" on either side of "*Fuzulpoor*," and stragglers in the rear the two Goojur villages of "*Shekhopoora*" and "*Hosseinpoor*".

8. Getting together what force I could I pushed on to the Chohan village of "*Narainpoor*" for which many of the fugitives made in the first instance: by the time we reached it, it was deserted both by them and by its inhabitants. These circumstances together with the quantities of grain and cattle in and about it satisfied me that its inhabitants had been sharers with their neighbours in the recent maraudings, and I accordingly burnt it down.

9. The sun was then setting, and it was with the utmost difficulty that our scattered forces were collected together; but we returned without accident by moonlight reaching Mundawur about 9 P. M.

10. I have reason to believe that about 20 of the rioters were killed chiefly by the Sepoys. The whole number of prisoners taken was 32, including the Pudhan of "*Sheikhopoorah*" and the two Pudhans of "*Fuzulpoor*."

11. On our side the only serious casualty was the loss of a Suwar's horse which was disabled by a blow from a tulwar. One Sepoy of the 29th "*Mohumud Ali*" received a slight tulwar wound on the fore-finger and the Subadar an injury on the forehead, not serious, from the rearing of his horse.

12. I am much indebted to Rissaldar "*Bahadur Ali ḳhán*" to Subadar "*Sheikh Didarbux*" to "*Torab Ali*" Tehseeldar of Bijnour who accompanied the force, for their exertions on this and all occasions since we left Bijnour: and last but not least, to "*Moonshee Meer Amanut Ali*" of Mundawur whose exertions in providing our Commissariat were of the utmost use.

13. I annex a list of the Prisoners, of the villages burnt, and of the arms taken; the latter I have allowed to remain in the hands of the captors with the exception of the Guns and a "*Drum*" which I have retained for Government service, as also a pair of "*Zumbooruks*" which I took from the Pudhan of "*Kherec*" on the previous day.

14. The exposure and fatigue to which both men and horses were subjected yesterday, and the consequent illness of the Tehseeldar, the Rissaldar, and the Subadar have rendered it impossible to do any thing to day. But I trust that this severe but well merited punishment will have taught the Játs (who have been the principal disturbers of the peace of this district) a lesson which they will not easily forget.

15. I very much regret that the absence of any compact force after the dispersion of the rioters at Fuzulpoor rendered it impossible for me to proceed regularly to examine the other villages; or to prevent indiscriminate pillage.

I have, &c.

GEORGE PALMER,

*Offg. Joint Magistrate.*

ZILLAH BIJNOUR:
*Camp Mundawur,*
*The 2nd June,* 1857.

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# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

ATTENDING THE OUT-BREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

IN THE DISTRICT OF

# SHAHJEHANPOOR,

**IN 1857-58.**

---

No. 21 OF 1858.

G. P. MONEY, ESQUIRE,

*Magistrate and Collector of Shahjehanpoor,*

*To*

R. ALEXANDER, ESQUIRE,

*Commissioner of Rohilkund,*

*Dated 9th September,* 1858.

SIR,

IN compliance with your Circular No. 20, dated 13th May, forwarding a Government Circular No. 212, dated 30th April, 1858, I have now the honor to submit a narrative of events attending the out-break of disturbances in this District, and the subsequent progress of events until its re-occupation.

2. Intelligence of the Meerut and Delhie out-break reached Shahjehanpoor towards the middle of May 1857, and about that time, one or two incendiaries occurred, which clearly showed the Civil and Military Authorities, that the Native troops sympathised with the mutinous acts at other Stations, and the attention of the authorities was keenly roused by the reports which continually reached them of the manner in which the Sepoys talked of the new Cartridges that had been served out to the men. There were also idle stories circulated about the "Otta," which they were using for their food, and which was said to be mixed with pounded bones.

3. On the 17th May, Mr. Ricketts, the Magistrate and Collector of the District, returned from leave, and relieved Mr. Bramley who had been acting for him the last three months. On his taking charge, he issued strict orders to the principal Ministerial Officers, to be on the alert, and keep him well acquainted with any thing that might come to their knowledge regarding the Sepoys. On the 25th May, the first day of the Eede festival, the Sepoys told their Officers, that they had heard a rumour, that the next day, being the occasion of a large annual fair called "Cheenour ka Mela," which was held near Cantonments by a Village of that name and close to the burial ground of some of the principal Puthans) the city people intended to plunder the Government Treasury. The Officer Commanding the Regiment, thinking it would show the Sepoys that they still put confidence in them, ordered the several Station Guards to be increased, and the Sentries to be doubled.

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4. This order appears to have had quite a contrary effect to that intended, for the Sepoys immediately caught hold of it as a grievance, and said that they were being punished for refusing to bite the Cartridges. Mr. Ricketts, hearing this, went to the Officer Commanding, and suggested, that the extra Sentry should be taken off; but he was told in reply that, the order could not then be cancelled, as it had been entered in the Order Book, but that the following day, as the fair would be over, the extra Sentries should be removed. It is possible that the Sepoys who, clearly, were then plotting mutiny, were annoyed at not being able to get to the fair, owing to their extra duty, aud vented their ill humour in remarks about the Cartridges. The report made to the Officers of the intention to plunder the Treasury, was perhaps an exaggeration of some half conceived design, and may have been brought to the notice of the Officers by some Sepoys not implicated in the intended mutiny. It was generally believed among the Officers of the 28th Regiment, that in case of a mutiny, about 500 of the Sepoys would remain faithful, and this confidence was strengthened from the fact that out of that number, there were about 150 Sikhs.

5. Two or three days previous to the out-break, the following circumstance occurred, which plainly shewed the state of feeling among the Sepoys. A Bill to the amount of 2,000 Rupees was cashed, and as the money was being taken out of the Treasury, the Sentry was heard to "I will let the money go *this* time, but no more shall be taken out." The above was brought to the notice of the Magistrate by the Deputy Collector Hamid Hussun Khan, but it does not appear that any further notice was taken of the matter, probably from the fear of precipitating events. This state of things went on until the eventful morning of Sunday 31st May, when the Regiment broke out into open mutiny, and commenced the murderous attack upon the Europeans, who were, at the time, assembled in the Church. This circumstance has been fully related by the late Mr. Jenkins in his letter to Secretary to Government North Western Provinces, written from Mohomdee on 2nd June, and consequently, I have not thought it necessary to enter again into the particulars; but a copy of the letter is sent as an Appendix for reference.

6. The Tuhseeldar of Shahjehanpoor, Mohomud Umjud Ulee Khan, who has remained faithful throughout the disturbances, has stated before me, that on the morning of the 31st hearing from the City the noise of people shouting in the direction of Cantonments, he at once rode off to the house of Mr. Ricketts, but hearing he had gone to Church, he went there, and saw about 9 or 10 Europeans assembled outside the Church. Some of them had guns, and their servants were bringing others, he also observed several Sepoys taking the part of the Europeans. It will be observed in Mr. Jenkins' letter, that only six or seven Sepoys formed the attacking party on the community assembled in the Church, this fact coupled with the speedy arrival of a body of Sepoys (about 100) apparently with the intention of preventing the shedding innocent blood, renders it probable that the idea of murdering the Europeans was not with the unanimous consent of the whole Regiment. The Tuhseeldar learnt from Mr. Jenkins what had happened, and he then saw the lifeless body of Mr. Ricketts laying near the Church, with a severe sword wound almost severing his head from the body, Mr. Jenkins desired him to fetch the Sowars, saying, that with the assistance of the Sepoys who were faithful, he hoped to quell the disturbance; but if he could not succeed, he and the rest of the party would start for Powayan.

7. Out of the four Sowars on duty at the Magistrate's house, two remained with Mr. Jenkins, and as stated in his letter, accompanied the party the whole way to Mohomdee. One of these men afterwards joined the rebels; but the other steadily refused to accept any service with them, and has received a reward from Government of Rs. 300, and been promoted by me to the rank of Duffadar.

8. Whilst the party were outside the Church, the mutinous Sepoys kept firing at them from some distance, but did not make any advances upon the small number of Europeans assembled. Their chief object, after the first out-break, apparently, being the plunder of the Government Treasury, and in which direction they were seen hastening in separate parties. As soon as the Bungalows were set on fire, and there being no longer any hope of successful opposition, Mr. Jenkins told the Tuhseeldar, that he purposed proceeding to Powayan with the rest of the party; and desired him to go to the city, and make the best arrangement he could for restoring order, and that when the Regiment had marched from the Station, he was to let him know. With the exception of the Tuhseeldar, no other Government Official, or any person of influence in the city proceeded to the assistance of the authorities.

9. About this time, the Sepoys went to the Jail and let the Prisoners loose.

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The Government property is said to have been chiefly plundered by the Jail guard and Burkundazes.

10. It appears that Mr. Arthur Smith, the Assistant, was not one of the party in Church, he was ill with fever and in his Bungalow at the time the mutiny broke out; his idea seems to have been to avoid Cantonments, and make for the City, and it is said he attempted to get admittance into the house of Hamid Hussun Khan Deputy Collector; but, not succeeding, and being told by the servants that Hamid Hussun had gone to the house of Abdool-raoof Khan, he went direct to the Tuhseelee and Cotwalee from which place it appears he was taken by Muhzur Kureem (Foujdaree Shurishtehdar) to the house of Mohomud Hossein Khan (Bukhshee of Chowkeedars) who left him there by himself. It it stated that this person would not, however, allow Mr. Smith to remain, and sent his nephew to turn him out, Mr. Smith being thus forcibly ejected, again proceeded to the Cotwalee, and concealed himself in a small hut where a Hindoo Chuprasee, belonging to the Moonsiff's Office, joined him and remained with him to the last.

11. His hiding place was shortly after discovered by the Sepoys who had by this time entered the city, they killed him and his faithful and voluntary attendant. I have been credibly informed that after he was shot by the Sepoys his body was hacked with swords by some of the city people.

12. After this, the Sepoys proceeded to the house of the Treasurer for the sake of plunder. It so happened that this morning about Rs. 6000 had been sent in by the Tuhseeldar of Tilhur, and the Chuprasees in charge hearing of the out-break, as they were entering the Station, conveyed the money straight to the Treasurer's house.

13. After the Sepoys entered the city, they proclaimed Nizam Ulee, formerly Cotwal and then a Pensioner of Government, to be Cotwal of the city; his favorite son-in-law (Hedaut Hosein) had this day been released with the other prisoners from the jail. Among the city people who joined the Sepoys in the work of plunder, the most conspicuous were Mungul Khan and Uzzoo Khan, both noted bad characters, the latter of whom had been imprisoned several times. The Sepoys then set up Kadir Ulee Khan and Gholam Hosein Khan to be Nuwabs of the city; that same evening the former of these went in procession towards the Cantonments to pay their respects to the Subadars of the Regiment, among whom Ghunsam Singh appeared to take the leading part.

14. Whilst the Bungalows in Cantonments were being plundered, the people of the villages in the neighbourhood of Rosa Factory, together with the Budmashes from the city, were actively employed in plundering the valuable works connected with the Sugar Refinery and Rum Factory of Messrs. Carew and Co., and the two dwelling houses adjoining. The Factory was afterwards set fire to, and no less than 70,000 Gallons of Rum, together with a large quantity of Loaf Sugar and other produce were destroyed. The villages, which are said to have been chiefly concerned in this work of destruction are as follow, Dillawurpoor, Rusruthpoor, Zein-oodeen-nuggur, Nubbeepoor, Surrowra, Misreepoor, Rosur, Azeezgunj, Ullarpoor, Sehramow, Dhunneeapoor, Shahbazpoor, Bijlapoor, Nuvada, Eendapoor, Oodopoora, Karee, Mukrundpoor, and Choundeira.

15. The two persons in charge of the Factory, Mr. G. Carew and Mr. Brand managed to escape with their lives from the place; but both subsequently perished, the former is said to have been one of the party with Sir M. Jackson, who were sent on to Lucknow by the Raja of Methoulee, and there cruelly murdered; the latter, after having undergone all kinds of privations in the Oude jungles, at last fell a victim to fever on 6th January, 1858.

16. This evening the Sepoys went off in a body towards Barreilly and a Molvee by name Surfuraz Ulee, a resident of Goruckpoor, accompanied them; it appears that this man had arrived at the station about 20 days before the mutiny, and doubtless was chiefly instrumental in exciting the Sepoys to revolt; Surfuraz Ulee was frequently in the habit of coming to Shajehanpoor where he had several disciples in the city, among the number Koodrut Ulee (Naib Foujdaree Shurishtahdar) and his brother Neaz Ulee, both of whom are with the rebels. This Surfuraz Ulee afterwards went to Delhie with the Barreilly Brigade, and was appointed Chief of the Ghazees.

17. On the day of the mutiny, there were seven Europeans massacred at the Station, vizt. Mr. Ricketts, (Magistrate and Collector,) Mr. Arthur Smith, (Assistant to

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Magistrate and Collector,) Captain James, (Commanding 28th Regiment,) Dr. Bowling, (Surgeon to 28th Regiment,) Revd. J. MacCallum (of the additional Clergy Society), Mr. Lemaistre, Clerk in Magistrate's Office, and Mr. Smith, Head Clerk in Collector's Office. Of this number, Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Lemaistre were killed by the Sepoys in their first attack upon the party assembled at Church. Dr. Bowling was shot by the Sepoys as he was driving up to the Church in his Carriage. Captain James was killed on the Parade ground, in attempting to reason with his men. Mr. Arthur Smith was killed in the City by the Sepoys. Revd. Mr. MacCallum, after making his escape from the Church, was murdered by some villagers in a melon field within a mile of the Station, and Mr. Smith (Clerk) was killed near Mr. Rickett's house by some of the city Budmashes. It is a satisfaction to add that with reference to the last two victims, the principal murderers have been seized and convicted. In the case of Mr. MacCallum, seven persons have been hung, and four transported for life, and two out of the three murderers of Mr. Smith have been apprehended, and capitally sentenced.

18. On the day following two or three natives, amongst whom the names of Nasir Khan and Ameer Ulee are most prominent, caused the dead bodies of our poor fellow countrymen to be collected and interred in one spot, near the Church, but in separate graves. A plain masonry slab covers the whole, on the surface of which parrallel lines indicate each separate grave.

19. On the following day (1st June) the Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan and Nizam Ulee, Cotwal, began to make their own arrangements for nominating the subordinate Officers, first appointing as many of the former servants of Government as they could muster, and whom they found willing to take service. Hamid Hussun Khan (Deputy Collector) and Nizam Ulee Khan (formerly Tuhseeldar) gave their advice in the different arrangements to be carried out. These two men took possession of the sum of Rs. 4,900, which was part of the amount which had arrived the day of the mutiny from the Tuhseelee of Julalabad, and divided it among several Government servants as their pay for the past month. The money was paid away in public at the Cotwalee, and the Sowars and Burkundazes, who were willing, were kept in their former situations. As soon as the news of the mutiny at Barreilly reached this place, the Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan headed a procession through the Town proclaiming the overthrow of the British rule, and Proclamations were put forth by order of Nezam Ulee, Cotwal, stating, that for the future the name of the English should not be mentioned, and any one being heard to do so, should lose his life.

20. About 22 days after these arrangements had been made, there were some turbulent villages in the neighbourhood who assembled together, with a view of making an attack on the city, and plundering it. One of the most foremost of the villages in this matter was "Buttehlee" about five or six coss distant, the inhabitants of which are chiefly Rajpoots. With a view of putting a stop to this, and making an example of the leaders, Nizam Ulee Khan, sent out some armed retainers, and attacked the village of Buttehlee and killed some of the inhabitants, and brought back three of their heads, and had them exposed in the city. The inhabitants of the following villages, Uthburra, Sehramow, Khanpoor, Bunturra, Shahgunj, Sirtoulee, and Umrora, were chiefly noted for plundering, and for committing all kinds of violent crime; these people were a terror to the inhabitants of the City and to the neighbouring villages.

21. Kadir Ulee Khan, during the short time he held the Office of Nazim, committed great oppression, one instance of which is I hear of his having caused the death of a "Sonar" who refused to give up the jewels, which had been pledged to him by the Nuwab. On being superseded by Gholam Kadir Khan, he proceeded to Barreilly to lay his case before Khan Buhadur Khan, and remained there about two months.

22. About the 8th June, the mutinous 41st Regiment from Seetapoor passed through the Station en route to Futtehgurh, and encamped at Azeezgunj; the Sepoys attempted to extort money from Hamid Hussun Khan. A party of them surrounded his house, and demanded the sum of 5,000 Rupees. The request was refused and Hamid Hussun Khan managed to muster on his side a large force of both Musalmans and Hindoos, and together with some men of the town; he went down to the "Gurra" river, on the other side of which the 41st were encamped, prepared to prevent their entrance into the city, the Sepoys finding the whole of the town's people against them, went off in the direction of Futtehgurh and did not further attempt to commit any depredations in the city.

23. On the first breaking out of the mutiny, the Nuwab Gholam Kadir Khan was absent in Oude, at a place called "Bansee," and he was speedily informed of what had

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occurred through Muhzur Kurreem, (Foujdaree Surishtehdar,) and invited to come and assume charge of the district. He arrived at Shahjehanpoor about 15th June, and the following day proceeded to Barreilly in company with the following persons, Abdool-raoof Khan, (formerly Deputy Inspector of Education,) Nukhshbund Khan, Fyzab Khan, Willaut Ulee Khan, (son of Fyzab Khan,) Gholam Ulee Khan, (Muhurrir, Magistrate's Office,) Nasir Khan, (resident of Mohulleh Khulleel,) Nizam Ulee Khan, (of Shahbaznugur,) Nizam Ulee Khan, (Cotwall,) Seetul Singh, Doulut Raee, Zahoor Khan, Mohomud Hossein Khan, (Bukhshee of Chowkeedars,) Fuzul Khan, Hukeem Muhzur Ulee Khan, and Wajid Ulee, (formerly Nazir in Moonsiff's Office.) They presented themselves before Khan Buhadur Khan, and petitioned that Gholam Kadir Khan might be appointed Nazim of the district of Shahjehanpoor.

24. Their request was granted, and in addition, the following appointments were made. Nizam Ulee Khan, (of Shahbaznugur,) Naeb Nazim; Khan Ulee Khan, (Tuhseeldar of Beesulpoor in Barreilly district,) who had taken the treasure from the Shaee Tuhseelee, and presented it as a Nuzurana, was also appointed Naeb Nazim; and Hamid Hussun Khan, (formerly Deputy Collector) a third Naeb Nazim; the salary of each Naeb Nazim was fixed at 500 Rupees per month. Abdool-raoof Khan was made Commander of the forces, on a salary of 400 Rupees, and Seetul Singh (Dewan,) on 200 Rupees.

25. The party returned to Shahjehanpoor on 23rd, and commenced to make arrangements for carrying on the Government. Several Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry were raised. The following are the names of those who were most active in raising the Cavalry and after whom the Risalahs were named. Zahoor Khan, Usrar Khan, Koodruthoolah Khan, Mehndee Ulee Khan, Nuwab Hushmut Khan, Hydur Khan, Ultaff Khan, Fujjo Khan and Rujub Ulee Khan. The following, who are noted characters, also had command of Regiments of Infantry:—Willaut Ulee Khan, (son of Fyzab Khan,) Nasir Ulee Khan, (afterwards killed at the battle of Ullagunj) Ulee Hussun Khan and Mungul Khan, (brother-in-law of Abdoolraoof Khan.)

26. Besides these, Zahoor Ahmud and Raoof Ahmud (brother) and both in Government employ, the former being Peishkar of Hattras in the Allygurh district, and the latter a Mohurrir in the Foujdaree Office at this Station, took a most active part in the rebellion; they were in constant attendance on the Nuwab, and had unlimited power; they are both of them now with the rebel force in Oude.

27. Nuwab Gholam Kadir Khan, now turned his attention to casting guns, and made eight brass pieces; there were also four others constructed by Nizam Ulee Khan, (Naeb Nazim,) who had a manufactory at his house for the purpose. The gun factory was entrusted to Nuwab Hushmut Khan, who had also charge of one of the Risalahs, and had formerly been in Government employ, and was on the receipt of a pension, in one of the Irregular Cavalry Regiments.

28. Abdool-raoof Khan is said to have held the post of Commander of the forces for about two months, and to have resigned, on hearing of the fate of Ram Sahai Deputy Collector of Cawnpoor, who was hung on the arrival of the Force under General Havelock, and who was well known in this district, from having held several important offices, and was promoted from being Tuhseeldar of Shahjehanpoor to the Office of Deputy Collector of Banda, from whence he was transferred to Cawnpoor; several others also are said to have resigned their offices about that time for the same reason. Among whom are Seetul Singh, (Dewan,) and Shummoo Khan, (Naeb Foujdaree Surishtehdar.)

29. On the resignation of Abdool-raoof Khan, Wajid Ulee, (formerly Nazir of Moonsiff's Office,) was appointed to the chief Military Command, which he continued to hold until the arrival of the British Forces.

30. Hamid Hussun Khan, (formerly Deputy Collector,) held his post, as one of the three Naeb Nazims, for about one and a half months, and during the time he was in Office, is said to have seldom attended the Kuchehree, where his colleagues were to meet, and to have done as little duty as he could help. On the arrival of his brother Mohomud Hussun Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen of Agra, who had been allowed to return to his home, and who himself would take no part with the rebels, he was easily persuaded to relinquish his duties altogether.

31. On the resignation of Hamid Hussun Khan, orders were received from

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Nuwab Khan Buhadur Khan to appoint Nujeeb Khan Naeb Nazim in his stead. This man had some years previously held the situation of Naeb Chuklehdar under the Oude Government, and was now residing at his house in Julalabad, 20 miles south west of Shahjehanpoor. Soon after his accession to office, he was appointed to collect the revenue from the villages in the direction of Kant, and which, up to that time, had not attended to the demands made upon them by the Officials under the rebel government. One village, (Ladhpoor,) inhabited by Thakoors steadily resisted payment, notwithstanding they were overpowered by the Force sent against them under Nujeeb Khan, and after several of their number had been killed, they were compelled to give in.

32. Another village, (Sehramow,) was also attacked by the rebel Forces under Nizam Ulee Khan, but they were compelled to get assistance from Barreilly, when a Force under the immediate command of Murdan Ulee Khan, (Commander-in-Chief to Khan Buhadur Khan,) came and overpowered the Thakoors, several of whom were killed, and their heads cut off, and exposed over the gateway of the Fort. The village was afterwards plundered, and also several others. It was on this occasion that a large quantity of property belonging to the Rosa Factory was found in Sehramow, and carried off to the Fort to the Nuwab.

33. In the place of Seetul Singh, (Dewan,) whose resignation has been noticed above, Enayet Hossein, resident of Barreilly, was appointed, and appears to have remained in Office about three months.

34.—The following lists are appended to this report:—

I.—Government servants who took service with the rebels.

II.—Ditto who did not take service.

III.—Principal persons not in Government employ, who joined the rebels.

35. I would now proceed to advert to the events which occurred in the several Pergunahs.

TILHUR.—The news of the mutiny of this Station reached Tilhur towards the evening, whereupon Gholam Mohomud Khan, one of the "Ruees," went to the Tuhseeldar, and told him he had better quit the place, and he then caused the gang of prisoners which were there, employed in building the Government school, to be released. After this, Gholam Mohomud Khan turned out the Thanehdar and the Police, and destroyed the records, and overthrew all Government authority. The following morning (1st June,) the mutinous Sepoys arrived on their way to Barreilly, and were entertained by Gholam Mohomud Khan; they made an active but fruitless search for the Tuhseeldar, who was concealed in the house of one of the Puthans, but they failed to discover his retreat.

36. Gholam Mohomud Khan was appointed Nazim of that part of the district by Khan Buhadur Khan, which appointment was obtained through his friendship with Syfoola Khan, (formerly Jailor at Barreilly,) and who had great influence with the Nuwab. He was further directed to raise troops of Horse and Foot; he made the following appointments. Abdool Guffoor Khan, (Naeb Nazim and Oolushdar,) Gholam Russool Khan, resident of Barreilly, (Oolushdar,) and Nussuroolah Khan, Commandant of the forces. Gholam Mohomud Khan continued in power for about six months, when Kefautoollah Khan and Hedautoollah, who had been appointed Tuhseeldars under him, proceeded to Barreilly, owing to some disagreement, and made an offer of a farming lease of the Tilhur Pergunnah to the Nuwab Khan Buhadur Khan, which was accepted, and Gholam Mohomud Khan superceded. He still continued, however, to hold the Office of local Commander, and as such, took a most active part; he accompanied the Troops on their expedition to Huldwanee at the foot of the hills, and was with Fuzul Huq on the occasion of the fight with the British Troops. He also headed his Troops at the battle of Bichpooreea.

37. Kefautoollah and Hedautoollah continued to hold the lease of the Pergunnah until the re-occupation of the district, when they fled the place, and are said to be still in company with the rebels. In this Pergunnah there were two other men of some notoriety among the rebels. Wuheedoollah Khan and Reeautoollah Khan residents of Umurpoor, (a suburb of Tilhur.) These persons both went to Barreilly to the Nuwab, the former accompanied the Troops to Huldwanee, where they went with the purpose of attacking Nynee Tall; but on his return to Tilhur, in the month of October, he died of fever.

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38. At Kutra, the chief persons who joined in the rebellion were Fyz Mohomud Khan, and Gholamee Khan, both of whom commanded Regiments of Infantry, the former was assisted by his son Mohomud Hussun Khan, (who, before the mutiny held the Office of Itlaq Nuwees in Tuhseelee Jelalabad.)

39. In this Pergunnah several of the Thakoors in the neighbourhood of Khera Bujheireh shewed their fidelity and loyalty to the British Government in protecting Captain Gowan of the late 18th Regiment Native Infantry, and several other fugitives from Barreilly. The following have already received suitable rewards from Government for their faithful conduct. Bhikho Singh, Bhooreh Singh, Hurkoo Singh, and Sheogholam, (sons of Bhooreh Singh,) Gungaram Misser and Chundun Purshad. The names of others have been entered in the statement of persons "eminent for loyalty," submitted by me to Government.

JELALABAD.—40. At Jelalabad when the news of the mutiny reached that place, the prisoners were released by order of Ahmudhyar Khan (Tuhseeldar,) but no further open demonstration of rebellion then took place; this was probably owing to the fact of the mutiny not having spread to Futtehgurh, from which Jelalabad is only 24 miles distant. As soon as Nuwab Gholam Kadir Khan arrived from Barreilly, after being appointed Nazim, Ahmudhyar Khan came to Shahjehanpoor to pay his respects, and requested to be allowed to remain as Tuhseeldar of Jelalabad, this being granted, he returned to his post, and about a month after he forwarded a Nuzurana to Nuwab Khan Buhadur Khan, and petitioned to be made Nazim of the Pergunnah; he obtained a sunnud of appointment, which was afterwards found among the papers in the Tuhseelee of Jelalabad on the arrival of the British Force towards the end of April.

41. Ahmudhyar Khan was most attentive in collecting the revenue from the Zumeendars, and committed several acts of oppression and tyranny; this was chiefly I hear in the treatment of the Thakoors of Khundur, whom not being able to bring into submission with the force at his command, he got the assistance of some more rebel Troops from Barreilly under the command of Ishmaeel Khan, and plundered and destroyed their villages, and killed several of the inhabitants.

42. As soon as the advance of the British Troops upon Futtehgurh was known at Shahjehanpoor Nizam Ulee Khan proceeded at once with a Force of Cavalry and Infantry said to amount to about 2,500 and four guns to Bichpooreea on the river Ramgunga, and threw up some earthen defences, he was joined from Barreilly by a force of 2,000 men and two guns and Ishmaeel Khan, and here the rebel force remained until their defeat at Ullagunj by the British Troops under General Walpole on 22nd April, in which engagement, Nizam Ulee Khan their leader was killed.

43. The rebel Ahmudhyar Khan on the arrival of the Rohilkhund force at Jelalabad on 28th April, finding the game was up, presented himself before us; he was at once placed upon his trial for aggravated rebellion, and having been found guilty on the fullest proof was sentenced to be hung, and the execution was carried out on the spot. On this occasion, the neighbouring Zumeendars, who were on attendance at my Camp in large numbers, gave expression to their feelings by saying "jaisa keea waisa paya."*

44. The Thakoors of Khundur and Bangaon in this Pergunnah shewed themselves loyal throughout the disturbances, and being a powerful and numerous tribe were able to hold out against the continued oppression of the Musulmans. After the defeat of the rebels at Bangaon, the latter end of January, the Thakoors of that part attacked them as they were retreating, and cut up a good many of them.

POWAYN.—45. I would now turn to the state of affairs in the Pergunnah of Powayan. It has been stated by the late Mr. Jenkins in his public letter written from Mohomdee on 2nd June to Mr. Thornhill, that on his arrival at Powayn with the other fugitives from Shahjehanpoor, Rajah Jugurnath Singh received them but coolly, and rather shewed a wish to get them away as soon as he could, and with this view he assisted the party with means of conveyance to take them on to Mohomdee, and sent some of his people to accompany them. The Rajah, from what I have seen of him, is evidently of a most timid and nervous temperament, and appears to have no will of his own being guided almost entirely by his brother, "Buldeo Singh." I believe therefore, that his not showing any desire to keep the fugitive in his house at Powayan, is to be ascribed to the fear he had of not being able to protect them, and also from the dread that his own life might be sacrificed.

* *i. e.* "He has been rewarded according to his deeds."—*Ed.*

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46. Just after the out-break the Rajah proceeded to make his own arrangements for the management of the Pergunnah. He commenced raising a large Force of Horse and Foot, and cast some ten guns, and set about strengthening his "Gurhee" at Powayn by digging a broad deep ditch, the whole way round the boundary of the town. He collected the rents of the several villages in the Pergunnah on his own account. After he had gone on for a few months, Khan Buhadur Khan sent a Force from Barreilly to demand the revenue from the Rajah, upon which his brother Buldeo Singh moved out with his men to oppose the troops; but no engagement came off, and a compromise was effected by the Rajah agreeing to give on the spot a Nuzurana of 30,000 Rupees, and afterwards to pay this sum annually, and also one lac of Rupees from the revenue collections of Pergunnah Powayn, Poorunpoor and Khotar.

47. Lahkun Rao, (son of Rajah Khoshial Singh, formerly a large Talookehdar,) hearing of the arrangement proceeded to Barreilly, and is said by means of a bribe given to Sobharam to have managed to get the Pergunnah of Poorunpoor and Khotar transferred to him. Lahkun Rao, according to a narrative drawn up by Mr. Bremmer attached to the Superintendent of Irrigation and Embankment in Rohilkhund, who for sometime was taken care by Mohomud Noor Khan, Zumeendar of Sheirpoor, showed himself any thing but a loyal and faithful subject. Mr. Bremmer states that on the occasion of a force being detached from Barreilly under Beharee Lall to seize him, that Lahkun Rao joined his Force to that of Beharee Lall, and they made a combined attack upon Sheirpoor, but were beaten back, and Beharee Lall's Troops were utterly routed.

48. Lahkun Rao wholly denies the part attributed to him by Mr. Bremmer, and the fact of his presence is not proved in any way; still, there is very little doubt that he sent his own Troops to assist those of Khan Buhadur Khan.

49. Another charge is brought against Lahkun Rao by Mr. Lallemand, 2nd Clerk in the Collector's Office, who states that, whilst he and his family were under the protection of the Rance Indulkoomar of Nurainpoor, he did his utmost to compel her to give them up, and that they were at length compelled to flee to another place of safety.

50. When the report of the fall of Delhie reached Shahjehanpoor, there was considerable consternation among the principal rebels; and, to allay this feeling, Qazee Surfuraz Ulee, who held the Office of Moonsiff, attempted to hoist the Musulman flag; but he could not find sufficient supporters. This plan failing, he, together with the Mooftee, (Muhzur Kureem,) assembled at the Eedgah, and for three successive days prayers were offered up that the British rule might not be restored.

51. Some days after this, the noted Soobadar Bukht Khan arrived from Delhie on his way to Lucknow, his force consisted of about 400 Sowars (chiefly 8th Irregulars) 1,500 Sepoys and four guns, he had also 30 Elephants and 75 Stud Colts from Hauper, and there is said to have been with his Camp, no less than 1,200 women from Delhie, he remained only a day or two, and was feasted by the Nuwab.

52. When our Troops got possession of Futtehgurh, the Nuwab of Furrukhabad, together with Feroz Shah and Ishmaeel Khan, came to Shahjehanpoor with a small Force, and remained with the Nuwab for a few days, and then proceeded to Barreilly.

53. About the time of the capture of Lucknow, the rebel Nana Rao Doondee Punt arrived, and had with him a force of about 500 Cavalry and some Infantry, and remained some ten days encamped in the mangoe grove near the Church. He was accompanied by Ushruff Ulee (brother of Mohomud Ishak, formerly a Thanahdar in the Cawnpoor district, and who joined Tanteea Topee,) and also by Baba Bhutt his chief personal attendant. From here the Nana went to Barreilly and joined Khan Buhadur Khan.

54. During the period of the rebel power, the following servants in Government employ in this district, were in the habit of occasionally sending information to Mr. Alexander, the Commissioner of the Division residing at Nynee Tall. Umjud Ulee (Tuhseeldar of Shahjehanpoor,) Jugurnath, (Mohurir of Cotwalee,) Guneish Race, (Mohurrir in the revision of Settlement Records,) Kasim Ulee Khan, (Tuhseeldar of Powayan,) Lakhputh Race, (Qanoongo of Poorunpoor,) Wuzeer Sing, (Naeb Darogah Goohreea,) Ladlee Dass, (Qanoongo of Buragaon,) Kishun Chund, (Mohurrir, Deputy Collector,) Wuzeer Ulee, (Jemadar,) Omrao Singh, (Qanoongo of Jelalabad,) and Kefautoolah

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Khan, (Nephew of Ulee Ahmud Khan,) Naeb Rissaldar of 8th Irregulars, who shewed his fidelity and loyalty in accompanying the Officers from Barreilly to Nynee Tall. Of the above Government servants, Omrao Singh, (Qanoongo of Jelalabad,) is the only one who is proved to have taken service with the rebels.

55. In addition to those whose names are above mentioned, their were others, who were in the habit of sending letters to the Civil Authorities at Agra, and elsewhere, amongst whom was Hamidh Husun Khan, (the person who at the commencement of the out-break held the Office of Naeb Nazim for a short time,) and his brother Mohomud Husun Khan, (late Principal Sudder Ameen of Agra.) This fact becoming known to the Nuwab Gholam Kadir Khan, towards the end of January, by one of their Cossids having been seized with a letter, he summoned both these persons to his presence, they, at first declined to attend; but on the solemn assurance of Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan, and Zahoor Khan, that no harm would happen to them, they consented to attend, and, accordingly, accompanied them. After the interview had taken place, and they were leaving the Fort, they were treacherously attacked by the Nuwab's soldiers, Hamid Husun Khan, and one of his servant were killed on the spot, and Mohomud Husan Khan was so severely wounded, that he died a few days afterwards.

56. Having, I believe, touched upon the several points of interest connected with the narrative of events attending the out-break and disturbances at this Station, I would, in conclusion, remark on the fact of the rebels, when organizing their Government retained very much of the routine of our own system, and adopted the Official designations of the several subordinate employés.

57. Our Civil Law authorizing the sale of landed property in execution of decrees for debt, being so much opposed to the idea of the people, led, as might have been expected on such an opportunity, to the dispossession of many purchasers. It is to be hoped that this fact, which I believe, is a marked one in every District, may attract the attention it deserves, and lead to a careful consideration of our Civil Code.

58. On 30th April, the Rohilkhund Force under the Commander-in-Chief advanced upon Shahjehanpoor, the place was found deserted, the rebels having fled the previous day towards Mohomdee, the Troops encamped at Azeezgunj, about a mile short of the city and strict orders were issued by his Exceellency to prevent plundering. Two Companys of 79th Highlanders were sent to occupy the Fort, which had been the residence of the Nuwab and which commands the approaches to the city.

59. On the 2nd May, the Commander-in-Chief proceeded with the rest of his Force towards Bareilly, leaving a Wing of Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment and a detail of Artillery under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hale. C. B. The following day, however, the rebels in considerable Force headed by the Mouleevee Ahmudoolla Shah, made an attack and obliged our small Garrison to retire within the walls of the Jail, which was invested by the rebels for a space of nine days, at the end of which time we were relieved by a Force under Brigadier General Jones, C. B. On this occasion, the rebels having offered opposition to the advance of the Troops, the town was given up to plunder; but the loss of life among the inhabitants was very small owing to the place being nearly deserted.

60. In consequence of the rebels having still possession of that part of Oude, which bounds the eastern side of this district, they have been frequently able to enter it and burn and plunder several villages, more especially in the northern Purgunnahs of Poorunpoor, Powayn and Khotar, and also to drive in some of the Police Chowkees: and until our Troops again take the field, and the dispersion of the rebels is complete, one cannot expect the perfect restoration of peace.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

G. P. MONEY,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

SHAHJEHANPOOR
*Magistracy,*
*The 9th Septr.* 1858.

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# APPENDIX A.

TO THE

# SHAHJEHANPOOR,

# NARRATIVE.

*From*

CHARLES JENKINS, Esquire,

*To*

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT N. W. PROVINCES.

*Dated Mohumdee, June 2nd, 1857.*

Sir,

I have the honor to report on the lamentable occurrences at Shahjehanpoor on the 31st ultimo, Mr. Ricketts and myself, together with most of the Officers and Ladies of 28th Native Infantry, where attending Divine Service, when, with a yell, six or seven Sepoys, armed with tulwars and lathies rushed in upon us. Ricketts received one tulwar wound as he stood by my side, when he ran through the Vestry door, and must have been cut down by some mutineers, who were waiting outside; Captain Lysaght, with some other Officers, and myself, succeeded in closing the Church doors, against our murderous assailants, who ran, on the approach of a single man (Captain Sneyd) with a gun. About 100 Sepoys rallied round us, and our servants brought us guns and pistols, &c. We placed all the Ladies in the turret, and for rather less than an hour held our position, and were joined by all the Officers of the 28th Native Infantry, except Captain James, who was shot on the parade. Docter Bowling, was shot dead, while driving up to the Church to join us, I found poor Ricketts body, about 35 yards from the Church Vestry door. I then strongly advised the whole party to escape to Powayn, the post guns having been taken by the insurgents, and all the Bungalows in a blaze, this they agreed to, and started off, the Ladies all in a Carriage, and Buggy, I then accompanied by two Sowars, whose names I will hereafter forward, for their fidelity and courage deserve no mean reward, went down to Mr. Ricketts house, and took a horse from his stable, I then went and met some twenty of the Sepoys, who stood by us at the Church, and told them, I was going to Powayn, and those who were faithful could follow, I then accompanied by two Sowars rode down by the chur of the river, and about two miles from the Station, came up with the fugitives, after accompanying them some miles, I rode on ahead to make arrangements with Beijnath Singh, the Raja, for their reception. He received me but coolly, and though I think he himself is true in heart to the British Government, yet his conduct on the following day, in almost forcing us to leave his place, though he supplied us with Carriage and an Escort, showed me but too truly the animus of his people. His excuse to me was, he was unable to protect so large a party, and that in the event of the insurgents coming up, what could he do? He further refused to take charge of the Tehseel Treasury, under such circumstances, and in consequence of the flight of most of the Tehseel Chuprassees, through fear of the released prisoners, who were fast coming in, I could do nothing but advise our party, and myself accompany them, over to Mohumdee, as Mr. Thomason had, in reply to a note I sent him from Powayn stated, that they were still safe there, and we accordingly reached there in safety yesterday

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morning at 11 A. M. I have this morning, dispatched two Sowars with a letter to Ahmud Hussun Khan, the Deputy Collector to immediately despatch to me, all the available Sowars and a full and true account of the state of the district and city. should such be favorable, I will myself return to the district. From what Mr. Thomason has heard, it appears that, some Nuwab has set up as King there. Immediately, on receipt of further information, I will send a further report. The Treasury was looted, and the insurgents, I hear, afterwards went to Delhi, Via Bareilly. I enclose a list of the killed, missing and escaped. Mr. Thomason has already sent a list from me to Mr. Christian. The Jail, I forgot to mention, was broken open.

I have, &c.

CHARLES JENKINS.

---

*The following is the List of killed.*

Mordaunt Ricketts, Esquire, C. S.
Dr. Bowling, Civil Asst. Surgeon.
Captain James, 28th N. I.
Mr. Lemaistre, Clerk Magistrate's Office.
Mr. Smith, Head Clerk.

---

*The fate of the following is doubtful.*

Revd. Mr. MacCallum.
A. C. Smith, Assistant Collector.
*Mr. Sheilds, Timber Agent.
Mr. Brand, Sugar Boiler.
Miss Lemaistre.

---

*The following Officers and Ladies escaped.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Captain Lysaght. | Mrs. Lysaght. |
| Captain Sneyd. | |
| Lieut. Key. | Mrs. Key. |
| Lieut. Robertson | |
| Captain Salmon. | Mrs. Bowling, Mrs. Pereira's Servant. |
| Lieut. Rutherford. | Mrs. Scott. |
| Lieut. Scott. | Miss. Scott. |
| Lieut. Pill. | |
| Ensign Spiers. | Wounded. |
| Ensign Johnston. | |
| Ensign Scott. | Mrs. Sheilds, wife of Lieut. Sheilds. |
| Sergeant Grant. | Mrs. Grant and two children. |

CHARLES JENKINS.

*2nd June*, 1857.

---

*Just reached in safety.

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# APPENDIX B.

TO THE

# SHAHJEHANPOOR,

# NARRATIVE.

## No. I.

*List of Government Servants who took Service with the Rebels.*

| Number. | Name. | Office held under the British Government. | Office held under the Rebel Government. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | REVENUE. | |
| | | *Sudder Office.* | |
| 1 | Kudrut Ulee. | Naeb Serishtehdar. | Peishkar of Tilhur. |
| 2 | Abid Ulee. | Nazir. | Nazir, and lately Thanehdar of Kutra. |
| 3 | Ulee Ahmud. | Ahlmudh, Mehrabad. | Munsurim Neelam. |
| 4 | Ubul Hussun. | Ditto, Pawayn. | Tuhseeldar, Pillibheet. |
| 5 | Kalkapurshad. | Munsurim Nilam. | Commandant of Infantry. |
| 6 | Khursheid Hosein. | Naeb Nazir. | Not known, a resident of Bareilly. |
| 7 | Hubeeb-ool-rehman. | Mududgar. | Sowar. |
| 8 | Itquad Ulee. | Do., Roznamcheh Navis. | Do., went to Delhi to join in the "Jehad." |
| 9 | Shaab-ood-deen. | Ditto, Mehrabad. | Not known. |
| 10 | Fyz-ood-deen. | Ditto, Tilhur. | Ditto. |
| 11 | Krishn Sahae. | Ditto, Pawayn. | Ditto. |
| 12 | Ahmud Khan. | Dufturee. | Held the same Situation. |
| 13 | Fyz-oollah Khan. | Muhafiz Duftur. | Dismissed, and whilst his case was under investigation fled to the Rebel Camp, and is reported to have been killed as a Spy. |
| 14 | Ulee Mohomud. | Dufturee. | Jemadar. |
| 15 | Enait-oolah. | Mohurrir Duftur. | Not known. |
| 16 | Mool Chund. | Ditto, do. | Mohurrir. |
| 17 | Villaut Ulee Khan | Ditto, do. | Not known. |
| 18 | Doorgapurshad. | Ditto, do. | Ditto. |
| | | DEPUTY COLLECTOR, Regulation IX. 1833. | |
| 19 | Kiffaut Ulee Khan. | Munsurim Paymaish. | Case pending. |
| 20 | Uleem-oollah Khan. | Mohurrir. | Not known. |
| | | TUHSEELDAREES. | |
| | | *Shahjehanpoor.* | |
| 21 | Bhujun Lall. | Wasil Bakee Nuvees. | Held the same Situation. |
| 22 | Churun Beharee Lall. | Seea Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 23 | Jankeepurshad | Qanungo. | Ditto. |
| 24 | Buldeo Sahae | Ditto, | Ditto. |

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*List of Government Servants who took Service with the Rebels.—(Continued.)*

| Number. | Name. | Office held under the British Government. | Office held under the Rebel Government. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | TILHUR. | |
| 25 | Ram Sahae | Peshkar. | Held the same office. |
| 26 | Moonnoo Lall. | Seea Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 27 | Girdharee Lall. | Qanoongo, Negohee. | Ditto. |
| 28 | Shunkur Sahae. | Do., Kheira Bujheireh. | Ditto. |
| 29 | Buldeo Sahae. | Ditto, Julalpoor. | Ditto. |
| | | MEHRABAD. | |
| 30 | Ahmudyar Khan. | Tuhseeldar. | Nazim of Julalabad district, executed on 28th April 1858. |
| 31 | Omrao Singh. | Qanoongo. | Held the same office. |
| | | PAWAYN. | |
| 32 | Cheim Ram. | Peishkar. | Ulushdar in one of the Regiments. |
| | | FOUJDAREE. | |
| | | *Sudder Office.* | |
| 1 | Muhzur Kureem. | Serishtehdar. | Muftee; Reward of 1000 Rs. proposed for his apprehension. |
| 2 | Shumu Khan. | Naeb ditto. | Serishtedar Muftee's Court. |
| 3 | Khub Chund. | Nazir. | Naeb Dewan Reward 200. Rs. |
| 4 | Gouree Shunkur. | 2nd Naeb Serishtedar. | Serishtedar. |
| 5 | Rauff Ahmud. | Izhar Nuvees. | Son-in-law to Muftee, held several offices, Reward of 200 Rs. |
| 6 | Fuzul Emam. | Purwaneh Navees. | Purwaneh Nuvees. |
| 7 | Doorgapurshad. | Nukhsha Nuvees. | Mohurrir Muftee's Court. |
| 8 | Vuzeer Khan. | Naeb Nazir. | Nazir ditto. |
| 9 | Ruheem Bukhsh. | Kulundur Nuvees. | Mohurrir ditto. |
| 10 | Hedaet-oollah Khan. | Naeb Purwaneh Nuvees. | Purwaneh Nuvees. |
| 11 | Fuzul Hosein Khan. | Mohurrir. | Mohurrir Muftee's Court. |
| 12 | Muthrapurshad. | Muhafiz Duftur. | Muhafiz Duftur ditto. |
| 13 | Suleem-oollah Khan. | Naeb ditto. | Izhar Nuvees. |
| | | COHOALEE. | |
| 14 | Gholam Nubee. | 1st Mohurrir. | Mohurrir. |
| 15 | Roostum Khan. | Jemadar. | Jemadar. |
| | | THANEHS. | |
| | | *Puthra.* | |
| 16 | Yarmohomud Khan. | Jemadar. | Itlaq Nuvees. |
| | | KANT. | |
| 17 | Nutthoo Khan. | Jemadar. | Thanehdar. |
| | | TILHUR. | |
| 18 | Shahbaz Khan. | Mohurrir. | Sowar. |
| 19 | Unvur Ulee. | Jemadar. | Ditto. |
| | | KUTREH. | |
| 20 | Uleem-oollah | Mohurrir. | Vukeel. |
| 21 | Sheirundaz Khan. | Jemadar. | Sowar. |

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*List of Government Servants who took Service with the Rebels.—(Concluded.)*

| Number. | Name. | Office held under the British Government. | Office held under the Rebel Government. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | Hussun Khan. | Jemadar, Chokee Khudagunj. | Jemadar. |
| 23 | Lullapershad. | Mohurrir, ditto Joumra. | Tumundar. |
| | | POWAYAN. | |
| 24 | Karamut Khan. | Jemadar. | Duffadar. |
| | | PURUNPOOR. | |
| 25 | Saad-oollah Khan. | Mohurrir. | Uraez Nuvees. |
| | | KHOTAR. | |
| 26 | Burkut-oollah Khan. | Mohurrir. | Ulushdar. |
| 27 | Ubdool Raheem Khan. | Jemadar. | Jemadar of Infantry. |
| 28 | Meerbaz Khan. | Do., Chokee Sehramow. | Sowar. |
| | | JAIL ESTABLISHMENT. | |
| 29 | Ouseiree Singh. | Naeb Jemadar, Guard. | Commandant of Nujeebs. |
| 30 | Gholam Mohee-ood-deen Khan. | Jemadar, Chalee. | Duffadar of Sowars. |
| 31 | Matadeen. | Duffadar, Najabat. | Ditto, of Nujabut. |
| | | BUKSHEE KHANEH. | |
| 32 | Mohomud Hosein Khan. | Bukhshee. | Naeb Cotwal. Still at large. |
| 33 | Chotey Lall. | Mohurrir. | Bukhshee of the forces. |

G. P. MONEY,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

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# No. II.

*List of Government Servants who did not take Service with the Rebels.*

| Number. | Name. | Office. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | REVENUE. | |
| | | *Sudder Office.* | |
| 1 | Babu Denobund Mokurjee. | 3rd Clerk, Coll. Office. | Reinstated. |
| 2 | Raee Hur Suhaee. | Serishtedar. | Ditto. |
| 3 | Ishreepurshad. | Wasil Bakee Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 4 | Kalkapurshad. | Purwaneh Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 5 | Matapurshad. | Roznamcheh Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 6 | Mohun Lall. | Ahlmudh, Shajehanpur. | Ditto. |
| 7 | See Kishun Suhaee. | Mududgar do. | Serving at Basulpoor of Zillah Bareilly. |
| 8 | Birj Billas. | Ahlmudh, Tilhur. | Now appointed Munsurim Nilam. |
| 9 | Chotey Lall. | Ahlmudh Putwarees. | Reinstated. |
| 10 | Lullapurshad. | Itlaq Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 11 | Myku Lall. | Nuqul Pur. Nuvees. | Owing to old age and blindness his nephew Kalkapurshad has been nominated. |
| 12 | Jummyuth Raee. | Naeb W. B. Nuvees. | Reinstated. |
| 13 | Ajudeeapurshad. | Nagree Nuvees. | Reinstated. |
| 14 | Baukey Baharee. | Naeb Purwaneh Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 15 | Kuramuth Ulee. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 16 | Teekeith Raee. | Naeb Muhafiz Dufter | Now appointed Ahlmudh, Tilhur. |
| 17 | Durgapurshad. | Mohurrir Dufter. | Promoted Naeb Muhafiz Dufter. |
| 18 | Kullean Mull. | Do. | Reinstated. |
| 19 | Golab Raee. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 20 | Chunee Lall. | Treasurer. | Ditto. |
| 21 | Bindrabun. | Naeb do. | Ditto. |
| 22 | Sheo Churn Lall. | Juma Khurch Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 23 | Kisshun Chund. | Seea Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 24 | Cheida Lall. | Stamp Vender. | Ditto. |
| 25 | Sohun Lall. | Naeb Seea Nuvees. | Promoted to Naeb Nazir. |
| 26 | Mohun Lall. | Mohurrir Foujdaree. | Attached to the Treasury Dept. |
| 27 | Amanauth Khan. | Dufturee. | Reinstated. |
| | | DEPUTY COLLECTOR, Regulation IX. 1833. | |
| 28 | Monur-uz-zuman. | Dy. Coll. Sudder. | Deputy Collector. |
| 29 | Shunker Sahaee. | Serishtedar Settlement Department. | Reinstated and appointed Peishkar Huzur Tuhseel. |
| | | TUHSEELDAREES. | |
| | | *Shahjehanpoor.* | |
| 30 | Mohomud Umjudh Ulee. | Tuhseeldar. | This person was the only one of the Government officials who proceeded to the assistance of the civil authorities on the day of the mutiny. He has remained faithful throughout the disturbances, and been reinstated in his former appointment. |
| 31 | Meer Futteh Hosein. | Peishkar. | |
| 32 | Ram Bux. | Khuteonee Nuvees. | Reinstated. |
| 33 | Buldeo Suhaee. | Araez Nuvees. | Apptd. Mohr. Sudder Office. |

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*List of Government Servants who did not take Service with the Rebels—(Continued.)*

| Number. | Name. | Office. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 34 | Kulleean Mull. | Tuhveeldar. | Reinstated. |
| 35 | Kalkapurshad. | Mohurrir Dak. | Ditto. |
| 36 | Ram Bahadur. | Itlaq Nuvees. | |
| | | TILHUR. | |
| 37 | Syud Ahmud Hosein. | Tuhveeldar. | Reinstated. |
| 38 | Rupnarain. | W. B. Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 39 | Runher Lall. | Itlaq Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 40 | Gursuhaee. | Khuteonee Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 41 | Jankeepurshad. | Tuhveeldar. | Ditto. |
| 42 | Bunsgopal. | Qanoongo. | Ditto. |
| 43 | Budreenath. | Mohurrir Mudursa. | Appointed Sudder Office. |
| | | MEHRABAD. | |
| 44 | Bhowanee Suhaee. | Peishkar. | Reinstated. |
| 45 | Rampurshad. | W. B. Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 46 | Durbaree Lall. | Khuteonee Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 47 | Kunhea Lall. | Araez Nuvees. | Appointed Qanoongo of Julalpoor. |
| 48 | Radeh Lall. | Tuhveeldar. | Reinstated. |
| 49 | Kumlaputh. | Qanoongo. | Ditto. |
| | | POWAYAN. | |
| 50 | Kasim Ulee Khan. | Tuhseeldar. | Gone to Allygurh district. |
| 51 | Ramdyal. | W. B. Nuvees. | Reinstated. |
| 52 | Bhowanee Shunkur. | Seea Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 53 | Bukhshee Ram. | Khuteonee Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 54 | Chunee Lall. | Itlaq Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 55 | Sheopurshad. | Araez Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 56 | Uthsukh Raee. | Qanoongo. | Ditto. |
| 57 | Ladleedass. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 58 | Lukhputh Raee. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 59 | Munu Lall. | Madudgar. | Ditto. |
| 60 | Dya Shunkur. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 61 | Than Singh. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 62 | Rampurshad. | Mohurrir, Jungle. | Ditto. |
| 63 | Mohun Lall. | Tuhveeldar. | Ditto. |
| | | KHOTAR. | |
| 64 | Raee Purm Sukh. | Peishkar. | Reinstated. |
| 65 | Dilsukh Raee. | W. B. Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 66 | Gouree Shunker. | Seea Nuvees. | Ditto. |
| 67 | Keedar Nath. | Tuhveeldar. | Ditto. |
| | | ROAD FUND. | |
| 68 | Babu Kaleedass. | Clerk. | Appointed in the Foujdaree Department. |
| 69 | Sheikh Cheida. | Superintendant. | Appointed Superitendant at Allahabad. |
| 70 | Deibeepurshad. | Mohurrir. | Reinstated. |
| 71 | Hur Nurain. | Do. | Ditto. |
| 72 | Dulputh Raee. | Madudgar. | Ditto. |

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*List of Government Servants who did not take Service with the Rebels.—(Continued.)*

| Number. | Name. | Office. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | FOUJDAREE. | |
| | | *Sudder Office.* | |
| 1 | Duarkapurshad. | Jumakhurch Nuvees. | Reinstated. |
| 2 | Gungapurshad. | 2nd. Naeb Nazir. | Ditto, and promoted to 1st Nazir. |
| 3 | Ramdeen. | Mohurrir, Chokeedaree. | Reinstated. |
| 4 | Zeea Ulee. | Roznamcheh Nuvees. | Ditto, and promoted to Muhafiz Dufter. |
| 5 | Fida Ulee. | Madudgar do. | Reinstated. |
| 6 | Jewun Ram. | Mohurrir Dak. | Ditto. |
| 7 | Raj Koomar. | Do. Dy. Magt.'s Court. | Ditto. |
| | | COTWALEE. | |
| 8 | Sheikh Sunna Ulee. | Cotwal. | Is said to have remained quiet at his home at Tilhur and not to have joined the rebels. |
| 9 | Jugurnath. | Mohurrir. | Taken service in the Bareilly District. |
| | | THANEHS. | |
| | | *Puthra.* | |
| 10 | Hufeez Ulee Khan. | Thanehdar. | |
| 11 | Sheoraj Singh. | Madudgar. | Reinstated. |
| | | JULALABAD. | |
| 12 | Man Singh. | Thanehdar. | Reinstated. |
| 13 | Manu Lall. | Mohurrir. | Ditto, but since dismissed. |
| 14 | Kulleean Singh. | Jemadar. | Ditto, ditto. |
| 15 | Nazim Ulee. | Jemadar, Chokee Kulan. | Reinstated. |
| 16 | Hur Sahaee. | Mohurrir do. | Ditto. |
| 17 | Jhow Lall. | Do., Thaneh Khas. | Ditto. |
| | | TILHUR. | |
| 18 | Sheikh Ahmud Husun. | Thanehdar. | Is a resident of Budaon. |
| 19 | Sohun Lall. | Jemadar, Cho. Negohee. | Reinstated. |
| 20 | Oolfuth Raee. | Mohurrir. | Appointed to Sudder Office. |
| | | KUTREH. | |
| 21 | Budur-ood-deen Khan. | Jemadar, Cho. Jounra. | |
| | | POWAYAN. | |
| 22 | Shunker Sahaee. | Mohurrir. | Reinstated and promoted. |
| 23 | Vuzeer Singh. | Naeb Daroga, Chokee Gullurreea. | |
| | | PURUNPOOR. | |
| 24 | Kumu Khan. | Thanehdar. | Reinstated. |
| 25 | Durga Singh. | Jemadar. | Ditto. |
| 26 | Gholam Nubee Khan. | Ditto, Chokee, Mahdo Tandeh | Ditto. |
| 27 | Dya Shunker. | Do., Chokee Jutpureh | Ditto. |

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*List of Government Servants, who did not take Service with the Rebels—(Concluded.)*

| Number. | Name. | Office. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | KHOTAR. | |
| 28 | Cheida Khan. | Thanehdar. | Re-instated and Promoted. |
| 29 | Hazaree Lall. | Mohurrir. | Re-instated. |
| 30 | Enauth Ulee Khan. | Naeb Daroga, Chokee Pulleea. | |
| 31 | Doree Lall. | Mohurrir, Chokee Pulleea. | Re-instated. |
| 32 | Ghasee Ram. | Mohurrir, Chokee Sehramow. | Ditto. |
| | | JAIL ESTABLISHMENT. | |
| 33 | Shah Karamuth Ulee. | Daroga. | Re-instated. |
| 34 | Shew Gholam. | Naeb Daroga. | Ditto. |
| 35 | Ishreepurshad. | 1st Mohurrir. | Ditto. |
| 36 | Enauth Ulee Khan. | Mohurrir Godown. | Ditto. |
| 37 | Chubeela Ram. | Mohurrir. | Ditto. |
| | | SOWARS. | |
| 38 | Zahur Khan. | Sowar. | Promoted for loyalty as Duffadar, and a reward of 300 Rupees given for good conduct. |

G. P. MONEY,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

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## No. III.

*List of Principal persons, not in Government employ, who joined the Rebels.*

| Number. | Name. | Residence. | Nature of service taken, and subsequent order. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Nuwab Kadir Ulee Khan. | Town of Shahjehanpoor. | Vide report para. 21. Reward of 1,000 Rupees proposed for his apprehension. |
| 2 | Gholam Hosein Khan. | | Vide report para. 13. |
| 3 | Gholam Kadir Khan. | | Vide report para. 23. Reward of 3,000 Rupees proposed. |
| 4 | Nezam Ulee Khan. | | Naeb Nazim; was killed at the battle of Bichpureea. |
| 5 | Kasim Ulee Khan. | | Commandant; killed at ditto. |
| 6 | Neaz Ulee Khan. | | Tuhseeldar Shahjehanpoor. Reward of 100 Rupees; presented himself on the strength of the G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April, 1858. |
| 7 | Rujub Ulee Khan. | | Rissaldar of Cavalry. |
| 8 | Nujeeb Khan. | Julalabad. | Naeb Nazim. Pending investigation. |
| 9 | Usrar Ulee Khan. | Town of Shahjehanpoor. | Rissaldar. |
| 10 | Kudruth Ulee Khan. | | Presented himself on the strength of G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April. Security 500 Rs. |
| 11 | Uzmuth Ulee Khan. | | Ditto. Ditto. |
| 12 | Fuzul Ulee Khan, urf Fuju Khan. | | Rissaldar. |
| 13 | Villaut Ulee Khan. | | Commandant. Reward 100 Rupees. |
| 14 | Zahur Khan. | | Rissaldar. |
| 15 | Nuwab Hushmuth Ulee Khan. | | Do. Vide para. of report. |
| 16 | Mungul Khan. | | Commandant. Vide Magistrate's report No. 16, dated 23rd June, 1858. Reward of 1,000 Rupees proposed. |
| 17 | Gholam Ulee Khan. | | Rissaldar. |
| 18 | Ulee Husun Khan. | | Commandant. |
| 19 | Villaut Ulee Khan. | | Rissaldar. |
| 20 | Shahjehan Khan. | | Ditto. |
| 21 | Mehndee Ulee Khan. | | Do. Reward of 500 Rs. proposed. |
| 22 | Gholam Mohomud Khan. | Tilhur. | Nazim and Comdt. Reward 500 Rs. proposed. |
| 23 | Khadim Hosein Khan. | | Tuhseeldar Tilhur. Reward 500 Rs. proposed. |
| 24 | Kifaeth Ulee Khan. | | Nazim Tilhur. Reward 200 Rs. proposed. |
| 25 | Hedaeth Ulee Khan. | | Ditto. Ditto. |
| 26 | Gholam Hosein. | | Naeb ditto. Ditto. |
| 27 | Abdool Guffur Khan. | | Ditto and Ulushdar. Still at large. |
| 28 | Reaeth Ulee Khan. | | Nazim Tilhur. Reward 200 Rs. proposed. |
| 29 | Vahud Ulee Khan. | | Headed the Forces to Nyneetal. Since dead. |
| 30 | Fyz Mohumud Khan. | Kutreh. | Commandant. Still at large. |
| 31 | Gholamee Khan. | Luchmeepoor. | Ditto. Ditto. |
| 32 | Beharee Shah. | Town Shahjehanpoor. | Ditto, Shahjehanpoor. |
| 33 | Ahmudyar Khan. | Muhulla Bhurgaon. | Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April, 1858. |
| 34 | Mohumud Hosein Khan. | Town. | Ditto. Ditto. |
| 35 | Syud Neaz Ulee. | | Serishtehdar. Reward 100 Rs. proposed. |
| 36 | Rampurshad. | | Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April, 1858. |

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*List of Principal persons, not in Government employ, who joined the Rebels—(Concluded.)*

| Number. | Name. | Residence. | Nature of service taken, and subsequent order. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 37 | Seetul Singh. | Town. | Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April, 1858. |
| 38 | Doulut Rae. | | Bukhshee. Killed at Bichpureea. |
| 39 | Gholam Husun Khan. | | Daroga of Pilibheet. |
| 40 | Ahmudjan Khan. | | Nazir of Julalabad; since hanged. |
| 41 | Surfuraz Ulee. | | Moonsiff; since transported for 14 years. |
| 42 | Syud Mohomud Hosein. | | Muftee Pilibheet; case pending. |
| 43 | Nusur Ulee Khan. | | Commanding at Tilhur. Is still at large. |
| 44 | Sultan Hosein Khan, Nephew of Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly. | | Moonsiff Tilhur. Ditto. |
| 45 | Ussud Ulee Khan. | Town. | Rissaldar. |
| 46 | Ultaff Ulee. | | Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April, 1858. |
| 47 | Nezam Ulee Khan, Pensioner. | | Cotwal. Is still at large. Reward 500 Rupees. |
| 48 | Fyzab Khan. | | Aide-de-camp. Presented under G. C. O. No. 1068, dated 28th April, 1858. |
| 49 | Khan Ulee Khan. | | Naeb Nazim. Reward 300 Rs. proposed. |

G. P. MONEY,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

SHAHJEHANPOOR:
*Collectorate,*
*The 9th September,* 1858.

Allahabad Mission Press:—1859.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING

THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AT

# BUDAON.

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*25th to 27th May, 1857.*

The news of the outbreak at Meerutt, and of the simultaneous disturbances in the Country circumjacent to that Station, would appear to have become known in the Budaon Zillah about the 15th of the month. Men's minds became excited and unsettled, and it may be presumed that there were not wanting either bad or ambitious characters who hoped by the introduction of, "the good old rule, the simple plan that he may take who has the power, that he may keep who can," to better their existing condition, and to attain either to power and eminence as well as more generally to gratify their individual love of cupidity or desire for revenge from a new and disordered state of Society. The seeds of anarchy are easily sown, and the Magistrate to arrest the popular agitation, which he doubtless saw was progressing, strove both by politic as well as defensive measures to ward off the storm of rebellion from his district. For this purpose conciliatory and reassuring letters were addressed to very many landholders, and the police of the district, horse and foot, was also largely augmented.

The first sign of the approaching tempest showed itself in the village of Bihtah Goosaieen in the Bilsee Pergunnah. A hackery load of melons was plundered there, and on the Thanadar and his myrmidons proceeding to the spot to make enquiries, they were sent, like Macaulay's Appius Claudius of unhappy memory, "with shivered fasces home." The Magistrate's hands would not appear to have been sufficiently strong to punish this outrage, and it consequently led to others. About the 21st of May the inhabitants of Neora Beora and other villages in the Goonour Thanah adjacent to the high road, commenced plundering travellers, whilst those of Mouzahs Futtehpoor Goonour and others, plundered the boats laden with grain belonging to Beoparees, which were moored on the Ghâts of the Ganges.

The Aheers of Nundpoor Lawur and others banded together and murdered Heera Singh and Kulloo Singh, Zemindars of Putheria, and wounded Gopal Singh the brother of the above, plundering their property at the time. The Aheers of Mouzah Azeezpoor, Dhuneepoor and other villages formed a gathering, and sacked and burnt the village of Joona Maiee, murdering

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Pursram and Kullion Singh the Zemindars, and one Buldoo Goshaieen of Futtehpore robbed and wounded a police peon of Thanah Goonour.

At Suheswan, the Thakoors of Kumurpore robbed a Government Sowar of his horse, and a police peon of his property, and at Binawur the Thakoor murdered Yosuf Khan the karendah of Mohoun Ally, the Zemindar of the village.

*8th May,* Mr. Phillips the Joint Magistrate of Etah, crossed over from his own district on the right bank of the Ganges, and came first to Sheikhoopoor and afterwards into Budaon.

*1st June.* Intimation was received on the morning of this day in Budaon, of the march of a portion of the Bareilly mutineers for Budaon. Mr. Phillips left to join Mr. Bramley at Puttialee, and in the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Edwards the Magistrate determined upon evacuating the station. The Sepoy Guard stationed at the Treasury had meantime broken into open Mutiny, (their conduct had been most insubordinate for some days previous) seized the Treasure under their charge, released the prisoners in the Jail, and commenced a desultory fusillade with their Muskets. They were joined as a matter of course, by all the bad characters in the City, and all kinds of excesses were committed.

The Magistrate, in company with Mr. Alexander Donald and his Son, and Mr. Gibson, a Patrol in the Customs, retired from the Sudder Station by the Futtehgurh road, being escorted on their way by Sheikh Shurfoodeen, Zemindar of Sheikhoopoor, and a body of his retainers, and passing through Sheikhoopoor they went and stopped for the night at Kukora, a village situate on the banks of the Ganges, and belonging to the Sheikhoopoor Zemindar.

*2nd June.* The Mutineers from Bareilly then reached Budaon, and set fire to the Bungalows, and took possession of the Government Treasure. The Magistrate and Collector and party set out for Puttialee, leaving Kukora for that purpose, and crossing over to Kadirgunge in the Etah District, by the Zemindar of which place, Gholam Nubee Khan, they were well and hospitably received. One Bijjee Singh, a Thakoor of Kukora, deputed by Sheikh Shurfoodeen for that purpose, saw them safe across the Ganges. Most of the inhabitants of Budaon meantime had joined with and entertained the mutinous troops from Bareilly. Others again, the better disposed, wishing to get rid of their presence, disseminated a report that a European Force was at hand, and this had the desired effect of causing the Sepoys to march immediately back to Bareilly with their treasure. After their departure Mr. Stewart, the Treasury Clerk of the Budaon Collector's office, who had up to this time been hiding about the suburbs of the City went to Chekhoopoor with his family ; Sheikh Shurfoodeen immediately gave them protection, and had the family conveyed in safety to a neighbouring village of his, Sookhee, where he protected them notwithstanding the threats and demands of the rebels for many months, and eventually succeeded in seeing them conducted safely to Allygurh. Mr. Erith also, the Head Clerk, went to the village of Nugla Shurkee and obtained protection from the Koormees of the place, and afterwards moved to Gudhoul, the Zemindar of which, Hemmut Singh, gave him every protection and assistance. Mr. J. Peters the Foujdaree Clerk, Mr. T. Peters the Road Superintendent, and Mr. M. Peters, another brother,

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also about the same time obtained protection from the Zemindars of Mouzahs Doondrie, Pergunnah Budaon, and Bichoula Nizamabad, Pergunnah Oojhanee.

When the Mutineers came to Budaon from Bareilly the inhabitants of Surai Jullundri, Surai Miran, Naee Surai and Surai Nahr Khan and Mohulla Brahempoor, all Mohullas in the City of Budaon, and those of Nugla Shurkee, Rusoolpoor and of other adjoining villages united with them in plundering the furniture and property in the Bungalows of the European Officers and residents in the Station, and one Mirza Munsoor Beg, who afterwards became a noted Risaldar under the Rebels, plundered the Government Dispensary and the College, both situate in the City. The villagers of Nugla Shurkee also, in unison with the residents of the Brahempoor, Puttialee Surai and Naee Surai Mohullas of Budaon, plundered and destroyed the records of the two Moonsiffees as also those of the Kotwalee.

On the news of the outbreak at the Sudder Station becoming known in the Pergunnahs of the district disturbances broke out in every direction, and anarchy and misrule completely obtained the upper hand. The roads were no longer safe for travellers, and opportunity was taken by the bands of armed men, who scoured the country in all directions, not only to satiate their lust of plunder, but to settle old feuds by an appeal to arms, or more frequently by the committal of cruel murders.

In the Pergunnahs of the Goonour Tuhseel, the Aheers ; in Pergunnahs Kote, Bilsee Khass, Oojhanne Budaon, Dattagunje and Ooseith, the Thakoors ; in the villages of Pergunnah Bissowlee, the Mahomedans and Thakoors ; and in those of Suheswan the Aheers, Thakoors, and Mahomedans, banded themselves together and made raids upon one another's villages. The lives of many innocent persons, as well as those of the combatants were sacrified on these occasions, and the combats themselves were often of a most sanguinary character ; to instance which, the case of the attack by the united Aheer communities on the Thakoor village of Bhois, in the Suheswan Pergunnah, and that of the same tribe on the Thakoor village of Dhunáree, in the Goonour Pergunnah, may be cited as instances. In the former case Goolab Singh, the Thakoor of Bhois, was beseiged in his fort in his village, and after a most desperate resistance, killed with upwards of 40 of his retainers ; while in the latter Deep Singh, the old Thakoor Zemindar of Dhunáree was murdered with many others of his village, and his head severed and brought in triumph into the Aheer villages of Bhiráothee. Black mail also was freely levied by the rioters from all the bunniyahs and muhajans in their neighbourhood, and the valuable Indigo factories of the Messrs. Donald, situate at Budaon, Bilsee, Oojhanee, and Bissowlee, not only plundered, but completely gutted, at Bilsee and Budaon in particular nothing but the bare walls being left, the iron boilers moreover being taken out of the works, and shot cast therefrom. The Town and rich mart of Bilsee was deliberately plundered, for upwards of a fortnight, by the Thakoors of the neighbourhood, the very foundations of the houses in the Bazaar being dug up in search of Treasure. Bands of Marauders from the North-Western Pergunnahs of the District also went up to, and shared in the plunder of, the town of Chundousee in Mooradabad.

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In the scenes of rapine and violence which took place at this period the following individuals and villages would appear to have been conspicuous in their own respective localties.

*Goonour.* The Aheer Zemindars of Neore Beora, Bheraothee and other adjacent villages of the same brotherhood, Shurfoodeen of Nuglah Ajmeree, and Seetaram Aheer of Budrowlee.

*ote & Bilsee Khos.* Anund Singh, Zemindar of Bilsee, Lekhraj Singh and Thumun Singh Zemindars of Goodhnee, Soobha Singh and Sewaram Zemindars of Reolee Narain Singh, son of Kirpal Singh of Bhitoura, Bhao Singh of Sertoul, Seeta Pusya of Dhurehra, and Futteh Singh Zemindar of Rehria.

*Oojhanee.* Luchmun Singh of Oojhanee, Bádám Singh of Sunjurpoor, Bhoop Singh of Thutoulee, Chetta Singh, Zemindar of Sirsowlee, Man Singh, Madho Singh of Busema, Hurhur Singh of Kukora, and Jugmohun Singh of Kuchoura.

*Budaon.* Bhaee Singh of Khunuk, Dhunjee Singh of Rufeeabad, Jaimul Singh, Sooburn Singh of Rusoolpoor, Tulfee Singh and others of Nugla Shurkee.

*Datagunge & Oosaith.* Surdar Khan, Muhrab Khan and other Putthans of Kukrala, and the Thakoors of Datagunje under Keeruth Singh, Bekhtawur Singh and others.

*Bissowlee.* Futteh Singh and others Zemindars of Rehria, Nubbee Khan of Hutra, the Thakoor Zemindars of Leekree, and Uzeez Khan of Bissowlee and Nehal Singh Zemindar of the same place.

*Suheswan.* Hydur Khan and Futteh Ally Khan of Suheswan, Ramanund Hissodar of Kurria Maiee, Soomer Singh of Bubrala, Shere Singh of Murhkoole, Narain Singh of Peepree, Goolab Singh and Luchmun Singh of Bhois.

*Simnugur.* Shahamut Ally, Meer Khan, Nasar Ally, Dhun Singh, Budan Singh and others.

In the Town or rather Kusbah of Datagunge, the Thakoors first purposed to plunder the Tuhseelee, but were kept in check by the remonstrances of the Tuhseeldar Cheyt Singh. He, in the meantime, had sent into Budaon to his friends for assistance. These persuaded ten of the late Magistrate's Sowárs to set out for Datagunge. On their arrival the Tuhseeldar packed the Treasure, partly on a light Country Cart, and gave sundry bags to the Sowárs to carry. The latter decamped with these on the road in, and the Tuhseeldar, to avoid it may be presumed a demand from the Rebels, or from what other pretext it is not known, divided, on his arrival at Budaon, the balance amongst the Tuhseel Chuprassies who had accompanied and escorted him in.

About the same time in the North West portion of the District, one Azeez Khan proclaimed himself Soobah of Bissowlee, being joined by the Paishkar of the Government Tuhseel there, and other servants of Government. He again was dispossessed for a time by Thakoor Nehal Singh, but he succeeded eventually in obtaining possession of the greater portion of the money in the Tuhseel, and making off with it to Khan Bahadoor Khan at Bareilly. The Thakoors of the neighbourhood also, about this same time, banded together to plunder Bissowlee and came as far as the village of Nijra, on the banks of the Sote, about a mile from Bissowlee, destroying want only during their

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stay there the Government Bridge over the river ; but Chundun Singh, Zemindar of Bhanpoor in Kote interfered and made peace between the parties, that in Bissowlee at this period being under the command of Azeez Khan. In the neighbourhood of Budaon, Khaee Singh of Khunnuck, led a band of Thakoors against the City, but was repulsed.

*17th June.* The Thakoors of the adjoining villages attacked Shekoopore, but were repulsed by the Zemindars of that place. On the same date the Nazim Abdool Ruheem Khan arrived in Budaon from Bareilly with Fussahut Oollah as his Naib. He immediately set about organizing his establishment. Zoolfekar Oodeen, the former Foujdaree Sherishtadar took office under the Rebels as Deputy Magistrate, and Tufussul Hoosein a former, but pensioned, Tuhseeldar as Deputy Collr. ; Ruzee Ollah Tuhseeldar of Bissowlee under Govt. became Tuhseeldar of Budaon under the Rebels. Mahomed Hoosein, another pensioned Tuhseeldar, also became a Deputy Collr., and his brother Ahmud Hoosein, formerly Naib Revenue Sherishtadar became Sherishtadar under the Rebels. Those two men, the latter particularly, were most inveterate in their hatred to us. Uzmut Oollah Khan was appointed Bukshee of the Fouj, and Saifoollah Khan, formerly also a Tuhseeldar in Government service, Sipah Salar or Generalissimo. Wuleedad Khan, Munsoor Beg, and others were nominated Rissaldars ; Choudhrees Sifut Ally, Tufuzzool Hoosein and others Koomedans ; Luchmun Singh made Tuhseeldar of Oojhanee, Badoollah Khan appointed Kotwal of Budaon, and so on with other inferior posts.

The Nazim then issued Perwanahs to all the former Sudder and Mofussil Omlahs calling on them to attend to their respective duties. All, with one or two exceptions, complied for fear of the consequences of a refusal, but many took an early opportunity to throw up their appointments.

*July.* Majid Ally, Tuhseeldar of Goonour, left his Tuhseels early in this month and came to Budaon, bringing with him certain important papers relating to the Revenue Collections of his Pergunnah which he made over to the Nazim. Wuzeer Singh, the Thanadar of Goonour, with majority of his Police, and the Tuhseel Omlah under their Peshkar Perbhoo Lall, still held out however at their posts at Goonour.

The Nazim now commenced to demand money from the villages adjacent to Budaon, some of the Zemindars paid while others again refused. The Nazim upon this sent Sowars and Peyadahs to enforce his demands, and burnt as a punishment, the refractory Thakoor villages of Khunnuck and Rufeeabad. He then commenced to collect any Government Treasure which had been left in the District, and for this purpose Ruzeeoollah the Tuhseeldar of Budaon was sent to Cheyt Singh, late Tuhseeldar of Datagunge, and the latter made to furnish a list of the Chuprassies to whom the treasure from his Tuhseel had been disbursed. Such of these men as had not absconded were apprehended, and made to refund what had been paid to them by their late Tuhseeldar. A force also was sent to Suheswan to collect the money there, but Hydur Khan would only give up a small portion of it, retaining the larger share for himself.

Omrao Singh Talookadar of Hutoolee and the Zemindar of Rudoolee of Datagunge, were appointed managers of Datagunge by Khan Bahadoor Khan. The Zemindars of the Pergunnah however refused to acknowledge their authority, and collecting together in a large body under their own leaders

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with one Hurloll Singh of Buksainah at their head, under the title of Dhapoodham, advanced with the intention of attacking Budaon. A combat ensued on the skirts of the City, in which the Thakoors were worsted, and they fell back.

*August.* The Zemindars of the Bissowlee Pergunnah refusing to acknowledge the authority of Nubee Khan of Huthra, the Tuhseeldar of Bissowlee under the Rebels, a gun, which had arrived from Bareilly, was despatched with troops, the whole under command of Fussahut Oollah to coerce them. A fight took place near Wuzeergunge with the Thakoors of Rehria under Futteh Singh in which the Mahomedans were worsted, and Fussahut Oollah wounded; but being shortly after reinforced by another gun and fresh troops under Niaz Mahomed Khan from Aonlah, they returned to the charge, and this time overpowered their late victors.

The village of Rehria was sacked and burnt, and proceeding onward to Bissowlee after his victory, Niaz Mahomed Khan levied a fine of 3300 Rs. from the Bunyauhs of that place, and 2000 Rs. from those of the Town of Wuzeergunge. Measures also were adopted by the rebels for collecting the revenue of the Bissowlee Pergunnah, Ruzee Oollah, who had been formerly Tuhseeldar there, being sent for with this end from Budaon.

About this same period Azeez Ahmud of Rampoor, having obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the farm of the Suheswan Pergunnah came and established himself there with a couple of Guns and an armed Force, and assumed the title of Chuckladar of Suheswan.

The Thakoors of Datagunge purposed to make a second attack on Budaon, but were awed by a force with guns sent out against them.

Captain Gowan crossed over into Suleympore from Kherá Rujherá in the Shajehanpore district and was well cared for and protected by Keeruth Singh and other Zemindars of the Datagunge Pergunnah, as were also other European and Eurasian fugitives from the Bareilly district.

*Septr.* Mahomed Yar Khan came to Budaon in this month as Naib Nazim, and Ruhm Ally Khan also arrived there, a fugitive from the country across the Ganges, and proceeding from Budaon to Bareilly, obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the farm of the Bissowlee and Islamnugur Pergunnahs. He appointed one Ashruf Ally as his Naib Chuckladar, and Hoosain Ally as Tuhseeldar, and these commenced forthwith to realize the revenues of the Pergunnahs.

Ahmud Oollah Khan of Kumbhul in the Mooradabad district also took about this time the contract for the farm of the Goonour Pergunnahs; but, having no force of any strength with him at the time to enforce his demands, and the Aheers of the Pergunnah, who had assembled in vast numbers, being adverse to his projects, he was obliged for the time to defer entering into occupancy of the territory.

*October.* Early in this month Niaz Mahomed Khan, the Rebel General, marched to Ooseith. On the road a Rissalah of his under command of Bedar Khan plundered the village of Khurkoulee, having murdered first in return for some supposed slight the son of Zalim Singh the Thakoor Zemindar of the place.

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Early in this month Agamsaigan fugitive rebels, horse and foot, under command of Bálá Ráo, the nephew of Náná Ráo, crossed over into the district from Malagurh by Anoopshuhur Ghát on the Ganges, and passed onwards to Shajehanpore.

The Rebel General Niaz Mahomed Khan paid a visit to Suheswan, and levied fines from the Merchants there.

Bhooreh Khan obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the lease of the Datagunje Pergunnah and commenced, with the assistance of the Thakoors, to collect the revenue there.

Wuleedad Khan of Málágurh and Ismael Khan came to Budaon from Bareilly ; and obtaining funds from Suheswan, proceeded onwards to Futtehgurh.

Towards the close of the month Mr. J. C. Wilson, the Special Commissioner came to Koolia Nugria in the Soron Pergunnah of Etah to arrange for the escape from this side of the river of Captain Gowan. Abdool Ruhman Khan the Nazim of Budaon hearing of his being in that neighbourhood proceeded with troops to Kuchla Ghát and remained encamped there for some fifteen or 20 days.

As the Pergunnah of Goonour had not up to this period been taken possession of by the Rebels, their General marched with troops and guns and encamped at Islamnugur with the view of making arrangements from thence for attacking the Aheers.

*November.* Early in this month the Rebel General with his troops attacked Bhiraothee, the head-quarters of the Aheers in Goonour, being assisted by the Zemindars of Bijhoee in the Mooradabad district, who were longing to revenge the death of Deep Singh the Thakoor of Dhanaree, whose murder by the Aheers of Bhiraothee has already been alluded to in this Narrative. A fight took place at Bhiraothee on the 5th November between Niaz Mahomed Khan's force and the Aheers of Pergunnah Goonour, in which the latter were readily worsted. Wuzeer Singh, the Thanadar of Goonour, who with his police had held out till now, finding the rebels approaching them, crossed over into the Boolundshuhur district and joined Mr. Sapte the Magistrate there, he was followed by the Tuhseelea Omlah of Goonour. The Thanah records were secreted by the Zemindars of Goonour, and the Rebels took possession of those in the Tuhseel.

About the 10th of this month Abdool Ruheem Khan was either dismissed from his post of Nazim of Budaon, or threw it up from some cause, of his own accord. He was succeeded by Mobaruck Shah Khan as Nazim, and Ahmud Shah Khan as Naib Nazim. Mooneer Khan was appointed Superintendent of the Ghát, and Ferukh Khan Rissaldar.

On or about the 20th of the month shots were exchanged with the British Troops on the opposite bank of the Ganges, and those of the Rebels stationed at Kuchlá Ghát. Ahmud Shah Khan and Mooneer Khan fell back from Kuchlá to Oojhanee, and some of their followers fled into Budaon.

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*December.* A portion of the Rebels who had been defeated by our force at Gungeeree crossed over into this district, and came into Budaon. About this same time the Nazim stationed troops at all the principal G[h]ats on the Ganges to watch for the approach of any force from the opposite bank.

About the 20th of this month Abdool Ruheem Khan, the former Nazim of Budaon, obtained from Khan Bahadoor Khan the farm of the Pergunnahs of Datagunge and Budaon ; Ahmud Shah Khan and his brothers, large and influential Maufeedars in this district, being securities for Abdool Ruheem Khan. The expedition to Futtehgurh being just about at this time contemplated, a fine of 40,000 Rs. was levied by the Rebel General from the Mahajuns, bunyahs, and others of Budaon to meet the expences of it.

*January.* Early in this month Abdool Ruheem Khan proceeded to Datagunge, to enter into occupancy of that Pergunnah. He was accompanied by the Rebel General Niaz Mahomed Khan, and some troops from Bareilly under Saifoolah Khan, formerly Jail Darogah at that place. First a dispute and afterwards a fight took place between the new comers and the former farmer of the Pergunnah, Bhooreh Khan. In this affair Bhooreh Khan was mortally wounded and his son killed.

About the 20th of the month the General Niaz Mahomed Khan with all the troops stationed at Budaon, as also a large number of men from Bareilly, and some from Suheswan, marched out of Budaon with the view of proceeding to Futtehgurh, and taking possession of that place in the Nawab's name. His force passing through Kukralah, by the Puthans of which it was augmented, crossed the Ganges at Soorujpore Ghát, and reached Jhunna Khar, situate between Ahmud Gunje and Shumshabad, plundering on the road the Thanahs of Kaimgunje and Allygunje, cutting off the Thanadars head at the latter place. On receipt of the news of this slight success at Budaon, numbers of persons set out to join the Rebel Camp, imagining that this was but the prelude to the capture of Furruckabad ; Fussahut Oollah and other influential rebels also set out to make arrangements at Futtehgurh.

*Se*

On the 27th of the month the Rebels were surprized at Shumshabad by the force under General Sir Hope Grant from Furruckabad, and utterly defeated with the loss of all their guns and baggage. They fled with such precipitation across the Ganges as to reach, many of them, Budaon, on the evening of the same day. On his return to Budaon early in February from this ill starred expedition the Rebel General Niaz Mahomed Khan made several arrests of Hindoos. One Mithoo Lall, formerly Thanadar of Datagunge, he had blown away from a gun, after subjecting him to great indignities. This man had shewn great kindness to Captain Gowan when in concealment, and a purwanah was found on his person which led to his death. Bukhtawur Singh Thakoor of Belah Dandee was also tied by his two arms to a tree, and flogged to that extent as to be left for dead. Himmut Singh of Girdhoul and Keeruth Singh of Sulempore escaped similar or worse fates by paying heavy ransoms contributed by their brotherhood. Shortly after this Niaz Mahomed Khan again crossed the Ganges, and burnt

*Oct*

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the village of Coraimbam Kuttoh Pergunnah, he then proceeded to Suheswan and plundered several villages in that neighbourhood also.

Mar
jehan No event of any importance would seem to have occurred in this month ; that the Rebel Troops stationed at Kadirchouk crossed the Ganges, and ndered the village of Kesal in the Etah District.

levie The Chuckladar of Suheswan with a force crossed the Ganges at Dhaupper Ghát into the Allygurh Doab ; but retired after burning the village on that Da de after which the Ferry takes its name.

coll Towards the close of the month some of the Rebel Troops crossed over into Kader Gunje in Etah and sacked the place, the Zemindar Gholam Nubee Khan having assisted Mr. Wilson in rescuing Captain Gowan.

*2nd April.* Wuzeer Khan the Wuhábee, the former Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Agra, was appointed Naib General, and placed in charge of Soorujpoor Ghát. Mohsun Alee Khan crossed over from Shajehanpoor into the Budaon District after his defeat at Sungoon by General Seaton, and proceeded thence to Bareilly.

*il.* Some 300 Jahadees, or fanatic Mahomedans, came into Budaon from Bareilly.

*ril.* The British Force under General Penny, with Mr. J. C. Wilson the Special Commissioner as Civil Officer, crossed the Ganges at Noulee Ghát, and encamped on this side the river. Their onward march to Kukralah, and the surprise, and subsequent action at that place, are too well known to require more than a passing mention in this Narrative. The Rebel Infantry and Guns were on that occasion commanded by the Ex. Sub-Assistant Surgeon and Traitor Wuzeer Khan of Agra, and their Cavalry by Munsoor Beg of Budaon. The Rebels were eventually driven back and dispersed with good slaughter, a number of the fanatics who had accompanied Wuzeer Khan being killed. On the same day on which this action was fought, Major Gordon's Column from Mooradabad surprised the Rebels at Bissowlee, in the North West portion of the District.

The Rebels at Budaon, learning of these simultaneous reverses fled to Bareilly, first setting fire to their records. The detachments of Troops stationed in different parts of the Zillah speedily followed the example set them by their leader. The old records of the Budaon Tuhseelee which had not been touched by the Rebels were destroyed by the people of the City.

Mr. Wilson, when passing through the district, appointed two Thakoor Zemindars, Hur Lall Singh and Beekum Singh, Managers, respectively, on the part of Government, of the Pergunnahs of Datagunje and Ooseith. Dárá Singh of Peproul was also appointed Thanadar of Oojhanee, and Bhaee Singh of Khunnuk deputed for the same purpose to Bilsee.

*May.* On the 12th of May Bukhtawar Singh of Betá Dandee, appointed by Mr. Wilson Kotwal of Budaon, came with a large following of Thakoors, and took possession of the City.

On the 18th of May Sheikh Shurf Oodeen of Sheikoopoor entered

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at the request of the Commissioner of the Division temporarily on the duties of Tuhseeldar of Budaon.

About this same time also Ruheem Ally and his band crossed the Ganges near Suheswan, and broke across the Doab, making for Gwalior, and murdering Major Waterfield on the Grand Trunk road on their way.

The Offg. Magistrate of Budaon, who had by this time returned to Bareilly from Shajehanpoor, then appointed two Thakoor Zemindars, Het Singh and Dal Singh of Sertole, to the management of the Suheswan Pergunnah, and these were assisted by Roodur Singh, from Etah, with a large following of Thakoors. Chundun Singh of Bánpoor was also appointed simultaneously to the charge of the Kote and Bissowlee Pergunnahs.

In this month also one Baboo Ramnarayun formerly a Governments Vakeel, and Mukdoom Buksh a butcher of Chandousee, collected a large body of rebels with guns, and stationing themselves at Islamnuggur, plundered for some days the country side round.

The Thakoors under Dárá Singh of Oojhanee tried to attack and disperse them, but were driven back. They were eventually disposed of by the Troops of the Rampoor Nawab under Hukeem Saadut Ally Khan, and dispersed with the loss of one of their leaders, namely the Baboo.

On the 27th of this month (May) some 2000 Rebels, horse and foot with some 15 elephants, after breaking across the Doab, crossed the Ganges at Jathee Ghát near Khyra Julalpore, in the Ooseith Pergunnah of this district, and though closely pressed by two columns sent after them for that purpose from Shajehanpoor, succeeded in making good their passage into Oudh. They gave themselves out as Tantia Topee's followers, and are supposed to have been a portion of the fugitives Rebel force from Jhansee.

*to 7th* Brigadier Coke's column from Shajehanpoor arrived at Ooseith on the 3rd of this month, and moved into Kakralah on the 5th, burning three rebel villages on the road. The column reached Budaon on the 6th and large number of arrests took place, on that and following day under the direction of Mr. Ricketts the Civil Officer accompanying, several important rebels being apprehended.

*th June.* The Offg. Magistrate of the district arrived from Bareilly with a column under Colonel Wilkinson, consisting of a Wing of the 42d Royal Highlanders, a squadron of the Carbineers and a heavy battery. This force marched the following day for Mooradabad, viâ Bissowlee, whilst the Offg. Magistrate attached himself to Coll. Coke's column, which left also for the same destination, but viâ Suheswan.

The 10th and 11th of the month were spent at Suheswan, the column having halted there for the second day. Two notorious Rebels villages were burnt on the road by the Force, as on the advance from Ooseith, and many arrests also took place.

On the 12th the Force left for Islamnuggur which was reached on

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the 13th, and several Rebels who from their wounds had evidently been engaged in the late conflict with the Nawab of Rampoor's Troops, were apprehended and shot. The column then left for Mooradabad viâ Chundousee, whilst the Magistrate proceeded to the Pergunnah of Goonour, after a circuit of which and that of Suheswan he eventually returned to Budaon early in August.

*rch.* The District had by this time become well settled and the revenue was coming in rapidly.

A table is subjoined shewing the weekly collections of revenue for the first three months, from the time of our setting foot in the District, as illustrative of the gradual restoration of order and Government.

C. P. CARMICHAEL,
*Officiating Magistrate.*

BUDAON,
Magistrate's Office.
The 23d November, 1858.

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STATEMENT showing the weekly collections of Revenue in Zillah Budaon during the first three months of the re-occupation of it or from June to August 1858.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Collections up the end of the first week of | | | | June 1858.... | 49,131 | 2 | 0 |
| Do. | during the | 2nd | week | of do. ... | 48,320 | 0 | 0 |
| Do. | do. | 3rd | do. | of do. ... | 40,874 | 6 | 0 |
| Do. | do. | 4th | do. | of do. ... | 85,860 | 6 | 9 |
| Do. | do. | 1st | do. | of July ... | 26,693 | 12 | 6 |
| Do. | do. | 2nd | do. | of do. ... | 42,558 | 14 | 7 |
| Do. | do. | 3rd | do. | of do- ... | 42,285 | 11 | 7 |
| Do. | do. | 4th | do. | of do. ... | 23,346 | 5 | 11 |
| Do. | do. | 1st | do. | of August ... | 16,893 | 4 | 1 |
| Do. | do. | 2nd | do. | of do. ... | 20,839 | 8 | 3 |
| Do. | do. | 3rd | do. | of do. ... | 31,212 | 8 | 3 |
| Do. | do. | 4th | do. | of od. ... | 19,275 | 8 | 11 |
| Total Collections up to end of August 1858. | | | | | 4,47,291 | 8 | 11 |

C. P. CARMICHAEL,

*Offg. Collector & Magistrate.*

BUDAON,
The 23rd Novr., 1858.

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# APPENDIX

TO THE

# Narrative of Occurrences &c.

IN THE DISTRICT OF

# BAREILLY;

BEING

# A Narrative of Events

AT

# PILIBHEET,

PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE REBELLION OF 1857,

IN THE

# ROHILKUND DIVISION.

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When the outbreak took place at Meerutt, I was absent from the Station on a few day's leave to Nynee Tal, having gone up there to see my brother Lt. Colonel Carmichael, then private Secretary to the late Mr. Colvin, who was also up there on sick leave. A letter from Mr. Colvin to my brother gave the first intimation at Nynee Tal of the occurrences at Meerutt. I immediately hurried down the same afternoon to Pilibheet and, whilst riding in the next morning, was met by a Sowár with a letter despatched by Mr. Guthrie then Officiating Magistrate of Bareilly. The letter informed me briefly of the state of affairs at Bareilly, and left me unfettered to act to the best of my own judgement for the maintenance of order in the sub-division under my charge. I, in common, I imagine, with the other Magistrates of the Division, strengthened my police, and subsequently on a requisition of the Commissioner, raised a few Irregular Horse, some 25 in all. These men were to have gone into Bareilly, to have been despatched thence, I believe to Meerutt, but the mutiny had the start of them. No outrages of any kind took place in the District; but for the ten days previous to the outbreak at Bareilly, the Mahomedan portion of the population of the Town of Pilibheet was in a most excited state, and on the festival of the Lesser Eed in particular, seditious placards were posted both on the Mosque and the Eedgáh, but were pulled down by the Police under the instructions of the Tuhseeldar and Kotwal, than whom no two Native Officers could have behaved better during this crisis. An order also was issued by me forbidding the open carrying of arms in the streets by any but Government Servants, as the Puthán̄s of the City had begun to wear them to an extent partaking almost of an ostentatious display.

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The mutiny at Bareilly took place, as is well known, on Sunday the 31st May. In the confusion and disorder attendant on a scene where each man had to ride for his life, no readier mode could be contrived of sending the news of the outbreak to Pilibheet than by confiding to a Sowár, who was entrusted with the duty, an old letter to his own address which Mr. Guthrie happened to have in his pocket, and which the Sowár was directed to deliver to me as a voucher, at the same time to report verbally what had taken place.

The Man, native like, carried the letter to the first Choukee, and there handed it to another Sowár, and he again to a third and so on, so that the man who delivered the letter to me at dusk on the evening of the day, naturally enough concluded that the letter gave all particulars, and could give no satisfactory reply to the interrogatories which, not being able to make any thing of the letter, I put to him.

The very fact however of my receiving a letter by a Sowár at such a period, was in itself sufficient to excite suspicion that something had gone wrong, and at the instance of my Tuhseeldar, whom I took into my confidence, we despatched a trustworthy Messenger to Bareilly for information. The reply was received the next morning early, being couched in the few but sufficiently significant words "hál Bareilly misl i Meerutt o Dilhee ust." * Almost simultaneously with the receipt of this reply, a Sowár came in with a letter despatched by the Thannadar of Ritcha, which is close to Buherrie on the Nynee Tal road, and in which the Thannadar stated that a Number of European Gentlemen, escorted by a few Sowárs of the Irregular Cavalry, had passed through Buherrie at midnight on their way to Nynee Tal. I, as soon after this as possible, sent off my wife and family under a guard of some 25 men, Sowárs and Burkundazes, the latter of whom I mounted on an elephant, and we made an ineffectual attempt to persuade a Serjeant's Wife (Mrs. Brenner) to be of the party, but she refused. To her and her husband's subsequent captivity and escape I make no allusion in this narrative, as a very full narrative of his sufferings was furnished by Serjeant Brenner himself to the Commissioner of the Division, and it was also published in the pages of the *Lahore Chronicle Newspaper*. Before leaving the Town, in the early morning, after receipt of the intelligence from Bareilly, I had settled with my Tuhseeldar and Kotwal that we should, after I had arranged for the despatch of my family, be guided in our future movements by circumstances. We were however soon saved all trouble on this point, by the decision come to by the Mahomedan population of the City and its suburbs to plunder the Tuhseelee Treasury. It would appear that men had arrived from Bareilly either during the night or early in the morning, bringing intelligence of every thing that had occurred there, and I had left the Tuhseelee and Kotwallee but a short time before symptoms of insubordination began to exhibit themselves amongst the Government servants. It was the 1st of the Month, and some pay was, if I remember right (for I was not present at the spot) being distributed. A Naik of the Kotwallee went up to the Bukshee, and deliberately took up a bag of a thousand rupees. The Kotwal ordered him to put it down, he refused, and the Kotwal, a determined man and who has since proved his loyalty, would have shot the rebel dead but for the remonstrances of the Tuhseeldar, who very truly told

* "Bareilly has gone like Meerutt and Delhi."

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him that the commencement of bloodshed would probably result in all our lives being sacrified. Whilst this was going on within, the space between the Tuhseelee and Kotwallee, at the entrance of Drummond Gunje, was filled by a surging multitude of Mahomedans, and the Tuhseeldar seeing that there was every chance of the Treasury being plundered, and the majority of the police and Tuhseel people being in a state of insubordination, sent the Kotwal to me to report matters ; I was just on my way back to the Tuhseelee, having indeed got as far as the School House, when I was met by the Kotwal who refused to let me go further, merely remarking at the time, as others were present, that there was no use in my going into the Town. Arrived at my house he told me the exact state of affairs in the City, and added that he considered that the Tuhseeldar, who was not at all a favorite with the Mahomedans in the City, was in danger of his life. An idea then occurred to me by which I thought, that in the event of the emeute being only of a temporary nature, I might obtain some kind of security for the repayment of the treasure, which I expected momentarily to hear had been plundered, as well as be the means at the same time of getting the Tuhseeldar away safely from the press by which he was thronged at the Tuhseelee. Ever since the early morning of the day the principal Mahomedans of the Town had been with me, making great professions of loyalty to the state, and offering to give me all the assistance in their power, on my requiring it. I proposed now to these men to make over charge of the Treasure at the Tuhseel on the part of Government to them, for them to render an account of it hereafter. They readily assented to this proposition, and also undertook to see that the Tuhseeldar was allowed to come safely out of the mob. The rabble that were clamouring at the Tuhseelee were all adherents or dependents of one or other of these men, and as I felt sure that the Treasury would in any case be plundered within the hour, in which case the event would probably have been attended with the murder of the Tuhseeldar, I thought it the better course to make over to these men, as a trust on the part of Government, for them to hold what in any case could not be retained by any force which I had at my command. These men then proceeded to the Tuhseelee, and entered into occupation of it, and the Tuhseeldar was allowed to leave the City and join me at my house which he did with, if I remember right, but two attendants. The rebels however, for they proved themselves to be such hereafter most thoroughly, had hardly been in possession of the money above twenty minutes when they proposed to remove it to their house. During this proceeding, as might have been expected, a tumult ensued amongst them, and several of the bags were carried off by men in the crowd, and one man was cut down by some one of his fellow rioters. I was at my house whilst this took place, and until a desultary firing and uproar commenced in the Town. The Kotwal then recommended that we should leave, which we did some 20 men in all, Sowárs and Burkundazes who rode on ponies ; at this stage many men who had received no particular kindness at my hands behaved remarkably well in standing by and accompanying me, whilst others, from whom the same might have been expected in a higher degree, behaved shamefully. I overtook my family who were travelling by Palkee, at a village about eight miles from Pilibheet, Burhá Ferozepoor was, I think the name, the Zemindars of which provided Shurbut for all our party, for which act of hospitality their village was on the subsequent day plundered by the Puthán of Umuriya. This large Mahomedan Village on the high road from Pilibheet to Nynee Tal, was, I should

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state, in open insurrection, and we had to make a detour from the Main-road to avoid it. We proposed to stop that night at the partially fortified Tuhseel and Thannah of Sitargunje. We made our point at night fall, and starting again early the next morning reached Huldwanee at the foot of the Nyneetal Hills, at 5 P. M. of the same day after the most distressingly hot march through the Forest. I went up the Hill for a day, and returned at Major Ramsay's request to Huldwanee and stopped there for a week in company with an Officer (Lieutenant Beecher) of the Irregular Cavalry. The Burkundazes who had accompanied me were dismissed, their services being no longer required. But it was considered advisable to keep as many Sowárs together possible for patrolling purposes. For this purpose I hoped by remaining in person at the foot of the Hills to induce my men to continue there, but they evidently most of them considered that they had done their duty when they had conducted me to a place of safety, and regardless alike of threats or remonstrances deserted by fives or sixes every day until I had but a handful of men left. These however did good service both then and hereafter, and have severally, together with my Tuhseeldar Sheikh Ameer Alee, and my Kotwal Abdoollah Khan, been recommended for reward to Govt.

The Peshkar also of Juharabad, Zechariah Khan, who accompanied me, would also have been similarly recommended, had he not unfortunately when promoted on the restoration of order, to a Tuheeeldarship, been killed in his Tuhseel Kucherrie by a rebel Mahomedan. His family have therefore been recommended to the favourable consideration of Government. It only remains to notice the conduct of one man at Pilibheet, whose name may not have come before the superior authorities, Devee Doss a native Merchant. This man, at great personal risk to himself, corresponded regularly with me during the whole time I was in the Hills, and when the force under Brigadier McCausland moved down to the foot of the Hills, he entered similarly into correspondence with the Commissioner of Kumaon, supplying regularly information of the Rebel movements. Devee Doss is well deserving of the favor of Government and I trust that mention of his loyalty in this report may not be considered as out of place, but simply as his due.

BUDAON,
*The 23rd Nov.* 1858.

C. P. CARMICHAEL,
*Offg. Magistrate of Budaon.*

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# Narrative of the Outbreak

OF DISTURBANCES

AND

RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

AT

# BAREILLY,

DURING THE YEAR 1857-8.

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During the months of April and May, various reports were in circulation throughout the district, all tending to incense the minds of the people against the English Government; and to impress them with the idea that attempts were about to be made to destroy their Cast, and ultimately compel them to embrace the Christian religion. The Native Regiments at Bareilly were kept in order for some time by the skilful management of their Officers, but on the 31st May 1857, they rose in open Mutiny. The Ladies and Children had previously been sent to Nainee Tal, but some of the Merchants and clerks had delayed to send off their families, and most of the women and children who were here at the time of the outbreak were murdered by the mob.

It was thought that the 8th Irregulars were loyal, and their lines had been fixed on as the place of rendezvous, in the event of the Sepahis mutinying; accordingly on the 31st May many of the Officers, and some of the Civilians assembled there. However it soon became apparent that the Irregular Cavalry had joined the mutineers; and therefore seeing no hope of being able to do good by remaining where they were, the Officers who had met there determined to try and force their way to Nainee Tal. They succeeded in reaching that place in safety, with the exception of Mr. Wyatt, Deputy Collector, who left them after they had gone a short distance, and was afterwards murdered. Mr. Raikes, Sessions Judge, Mr. Robertson, Judge, Dr. Hay, Mr. Buch and Mr. Orr, took refuge in the houses of some Natives of rank in the City, where they were murdered by the mob as soon as their places of concealment were discovered. Most of the other persons who were in the station on the day of the mutiny were murdered, see Appendix A.

The leading Mahomedans of the City, were fully aware of the intention of the Troops, and had prepared the people to join in the rebellion against the British Government.

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There were two men in Bareilly whom the Pathans of Rohilcund looked up to as leaders, one was Mobarek Shah Khan, the other Khan Bahadoor Khan. Mobarek Shah Khan had great hopes of being able to secure the chief authority for himself; his wealth and influence with the clan of the Pathans, of which he was the chief, seemed to warrant his hopes; he thought that by at once declaring himself he might secure the Musnud before Khan Bahadoor Khan, who was a man of very little personal energy, though of much influence among the Pathans, from his descent from Hafiz Remut Khan the Pathan ruler of Bareilly, and uncle of Mahomed Ali Khan the founder of the Mahomedan rule in Rohilcund or Kuthair as it was then called. Mobarek Shah Khan an energetic decided man, on hearing the firing in Cantonments, left his house accompanied by about 500 of his friends and relations, and took the road to the Cotwali, with the intention of declaring himself Nawab Nazim of Bareilly under the King of Delhi; he had previously intrigued with Bukt Khan the leader of the mutinous Sepahis, with this object. On his way he met Khan Bahadoor also going to the Cotwali. Khan Bahadoor was supported by the Syuds of the Naomehla, a very influential body of men, and by the Mahomedans of the old city; his claims also by descent were far superior to those of Mobarek Shah Khan, and the latter at once saw that he must yield. He therefore gave up his intention of seizing the Government for himself, and became one of Khan Bahadoor's most active supporters. An impromptu Musnud was erected at the Cotwali covered with shawls &c., and Madar Ali Khan, speaking in the name of the Pathans of Rohilcund, called upon Khan Bahadoor to seat himself upon it, and declare himself ruler, under the King of Delhi. A Mohumdi Jhunda or flag was then set up in front of the Cotwali, and a pucka chubowtra built in front of it, on which incense was burnt.

As soon as Khan Bahadoor was installed proclamations notifying the event were issued throughout the City. The records in the Cotwali were burnt. The Government uniform was taken from the Burkundazes, and the money in the Mal khana plundered. About this time information was given to Khan Bahadoor that some English gentlemen were concealed in the houses of Hamid Hussan Monsiff and Aman Ali Khan; he at once ordered a party to be sent to kill them; before these men got there, the mob of the city headed by Fuzloo, a well known bad character, had broken into the houses and murdered the English gentlemen. Khan Bahadoor then issued a proclamation directing that every European should be put to death, and threatening death to any one who should give shelter to them. Hamid Hussan was then appointed Cotwal in the place of Budr-ol-deen who had gone away with the Commissioner and other gentlemen to Nainee Tal.

At 3 o'clock P. M., Mr. and Mrs. Aspinall with their children were brought to the Cotwali and put to death by order of Khan Bahadoor; the little children were first murdered and then the parents. The bodies of Mr. Raikes, Mr. Robertson, Dr. Hay, Mr. Buch and Mr. Orr, after having been dragged naked through the streets of the city, were now brought to the Cotwali and thrown down in front of the Mohumdi flag; they remained there till the next morning when they were flung into a tank outside the City.

Khan Bahadoor about 4 P. M., accompanied by Mobarek Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, and a number of his supporters, now made a procession through the city, with men in front of their elephants, proclaiming that the Government of

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the English was at as end, and that the King of Delhi was now the ruler of India. The people were also directed to return to their houses and re-open their shops, which had been shut since the morning. Fuzl Huq Tuhseeldar of Nuwabgunje, Jaffir Ali Thanadar, and many other Government employees came in this evening, and tendered their allegience to Khan Bahadoor.

On the morning of the 1st June, Khan Bahadoor issued orders for all the Amlahs to attend at the Cotwali, and proceeded to take measures for securing the authority he had usurped ; all the Government officials were ordered to continue at their posts and carry on their duties, under pain of severe punishment in case of their refusal.

Mr. Hansborough the Supt. of the Jail was now brought to the Cotwali by the Syuds of the Naomehla ; he had defended himself most gallantly during the whole of the 31st May on the gateway of the Jail, but was seized on the morning of the 1st June, and brought before Khan Bahadoor, when placed before him, Mr. Hansborough, said in a loud voice that was heard by all the people, "I am in your power, and you can kill me, but do not think for a moment, that by murdering me and all the other Englishmen here, you will be able to put an end to the British Govt." Khan Bahadoor then ordered him to be cut to pieces. Muneer Khan was now appointed Naib Cotwal, and the Tuhseeldar was ordered to make arrangements for supplying the Sepahis in cantonments with provisions.

A Durbar was appointed for 2 o'clock P. M., and all the Chief men in the City were ordered to attend. The Cotwal was directod to see to this. After holding Durbar in the City, Khan Bahadoor, accompanied by Mobarek Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, Akbar Ali Khan, Soba Ram and many others of the chief men, mounted on Elephants, with a great crowd of the mob, on foot and horseback, proceeded in state to the Cantonment to pay a congratulatory visit to Bukt Khan, Mohamed Shuffi, and the leaders of the rebel troops. On their arrival at the edge of Cantonments near the Collectors Cutcherry, the Sepahis, being uncertain of their purpose, fired at them. Khan Bahadoor then stood up in his Howda, and waved his handkerchief in sign that he came as a friend. After some delay a message was sent to him from Bukt Khan, saying that he could not be allowed to enter Cantonments attended by all the rabble of the City, but that he and a few of his chief supporters must come alone if they wished to come. On this the crowd was sent back, and Khan Bahadoor, attended by Mobarek Shah Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, Madar Ali Khan, Karamut Khan, and Soba Ram went on ; he was received with a salute of eleven guns. Bukt Khan at first received him with great coolness, and refused to receive his nuzzer of Rs. 1,000, but was prevailed to do so by Ahmed Shah Khan. After sitting for a short time, Khan Bahadoor took his departure leaving presents for the leaders of the Troops.

On reaching his house in the City, Khan Bahadoor held a Council composed of Madar Ali Khan. Mobarek Shah Khan, and Karamut Khan, to take into consideration the measures necessary for restoring some kind of order in the City and the District. This matter was forced on his attention by the reports that came in from the District, which was now one scene of anarchy and violence. The minds of the native population had been prepared for the outbreak, by the rumours sedulously circulated throughout the

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District, during May. The news of the mutiny of the Troops spread like wild-fire, and wherever the intelligence reached, the people at once rose, not so much in rebellion against the British Government, as against all Government of any kind, every man prepared to wreak his vengeance on his private foe, or to take violent possession of land to which he considered he had a claim :—To give one instance out of many that occurred. The Thakoors of Akka had had a dispute about a wall, had fought among themselves, and had been punished by imprisonment. They had been released before the mutiny. On the day of the outbreak the party who conceived themselves injured attacked the others, killed the four sons of the leader on the other side, cut off the hands and feet of the Father, and placed him in a cart with the dead bodies of his sons, and flung them all into the Ramgunga.

After much discussion it was determined to appoint a Dewan under Khan Bahadoor, whose duty it should be to look after the police and revenue of the District. Through Madar Ali Khan's influence Sobha Ram was selected as the Dewan, his knowledge acquired in the service of the British Government in the Commissariat, added to his influence from his wealth, also operated in his favour.

In the evening Fuzloo the man who had headed the attack on Hamid Hussan's house, and the murder of the English Gentlemen concealed there, was brought before Khan Bahadoor, charged by Fasaat Olah Khan, and several other Mahomedans, with having broken into their houses and plundered their property; he was found guilty, and in accordance with a Fatwa pronounced by Mooftee Mayet Ahmed, his right hand and left foot were cut off; he was a man of great pluck and energy, and immediately after the punishment was carried through the City, seated in a Tonjon, by the mob, who were his devoted admirers ; he remained at Bareilly during the rest of Khan Bahadoor's reign, and is said to have been killed in the fight at the Nurkuttea bridge on the 5th May 1858.

On the morning of the 2nd June, Soba Ram attended Durbar, and was appointed Dewan by Khan Bahadoor, his allowance was to be a share of whatever remained after payment of the expences of the Government ; other appointments were made at the same time ; Madar Ali Khan, and Neaz Mahomed Khan were appointed Generals with salaries of Rs. 1,000 a month. Moulvie Khan was appointed Komedan and given the farm of the Shahi Pergunnah ; Moolchund was appointed Naib to Soba Ram or 500 a month ; Hoori Lall son of Soba Ram was appointed Paymaster on 1,000 Rs. a month ; Ali Hossain Khan, son of Madar Ali Khan, was made Commandant of Cavalry on 500 a month ; Deen Dyal, Superintendent of Roads, was made Darogah of the gun foundry on 200 a month. Syfoola Khan Jailer, was made Superintendant of Jails, on 500 a month ; and many other inferior appointments : any man promising to bring 50 or a 100 men was appointed Komedan. Ruja-ol-dowlah a singer of the Court of the King of Oudh and now residing at Bareilly, was appointed A. D. C. to Khan Bahadoor, and Master of the Ceremonies : his experience in the Court of Oudh made him an authority in these matters, he regulated all receptions, Durbars &c., he advised that an urzee should be sent at once to the King of Delhi, by Khan Bahadoor, narrating what had been done, and soliciting the appointment of Nazim of Kotehir ; the urzee was accordingly drawn up by Ruja-ol-dowlah and sent off.

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The next day Khan Bahadoor went to visit Bukt Khan accompanied only by one of his family and a few attendants; his object was to beg the loan of two guns from Bukt Khan, to enable him to overawe the mob of the City. Bukt Khan declined lending the guns, but promised assistance if it was required. The same night Soba Ram went secretly to Bukt Khan and presented him with a pair of shawls worth 2,000 Rs.

While the Mutinous Regiments remained at Bareilly, Khan Bahadoor had little authority; the Sepahis acted as they pleased, they plundered many houses in the City, and seized any good swords or horses they took a fancy to. On the 7th June some of the Sowars of the 8th Irregulars surrounded the Sowhara Mohulla, and demanded that Misr Bijnath a Banker, and Kunjet Lall the Government Treasurer should given up to them; they concealed themselves for a short time, but were afterwards discovered and taken before Khan Bahadoor; he was in Durbar with Ahmed Shah Khan, Kussul Mund Brahmin, Mabarek Shah Khan, Moulvi Shah Khan, Ruja-ol-dowlah, Syfoola, Amanut Hossain, Soba Ram and others. Misr Bijnath was ordered to pay up at once all the money he had in his hands belonging to English officers, and the Treasurer was ordered to produce whatever money he had; on their refusal, they were heavily ironed and made over to Bukt Khan; they were taken into Cantonments, shamefully ill treated, being made to stand for two days in the sun, and were threatened to be burnt alive or blown away from a gun if they continued obstinate; at last 54,000 Rs. was got from them, when they were released; this arrangement was brought about by their paying 4,000 Rs. privately to Mohamed Shuffe Risaldar, one of the leaders of the Troops. About the time that Misr Bijnath was taken before Khan Bahadoor Khan, Ali Khan Tuhseeldar of Shahi arrived at Bareilly bringing with him 14,000 Rs. which he intended to present to Khan Bahadoor, some sepahis who happened to be at the Cotwali seized it, and carried it away to Bukt Khan.

On the 11th June the sepahis marched from Bareilly to join the rebels at Delhi; they committed great outrages before they started, and on the road, Mobarek Shah Khan accompanied them the first march out, and sent an urzee by Bukt Khan to the King of Delhi soliciting the appointment of Nazim in Rohilcund.

After the troops left, Khan Bahadoor made some attempt to regulate the disorders prevailing in the City and the District; he called a council composed of Soba Ram Dewan, Madar Ali Khan, Ahmed Shah Khan, and Mobarek Shah Khan, who had returned from Futteh Gunge. After some discussion it was decided to appoint a Committee for the trial of all cases in the first instance. The members were,

*Karamut Khan.*—a descendant of Hafiz Rehmat Khan and relative of Khan Bahadoor.

*Akbar Ali Khan.*—a relative of Khan Bahadoor, formerly Sudder Ameen of Mattra, dismissed for taking bribes; he was head of the Committee and received a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month; all revenue matters were made over to him.

*Cazy Gholam Hamza.*—Cazy of the City of Bareilly.

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*Pundit Ojhar Tegh Nath.*—a friend of Soba Ram, appointed head Pundit.

*Mozuffer Hoosain Khan.*—descendant of Hafiz Rehmat, subsequently appointed Sudder Ala.

*Jaffir Ali Khan.*—A wealthy Zemindar.

*Jymal Sing.*—Thakoor of Keara, sat on the Committee for about 2 months.

*Kulb Ali Shah.*—An influential Mahomedan of the old City.

This Committee continued to carry on business during the whole of Khan Bahadoor's reign.

Khan Bahadoor after settling the Committee, proceeded to appoint Tehseeldars and Thanadars for the District, and Officers for the army he was raising; for list of those appointed see appendix B.

The next day the Council met again; the state of the finances forced itself on their attention; all the money in the Treasury had been taken away by the Mutineers, as well as some that had been brought in from the Mofussil; and also the sums that had been extorted from Misr Bijnath and Kunyah Lall. The Treasury was consequently empty; part of the Rubbi Kists had been collected before the outbreak, and what was due could not be reckoned on. The Council therefore determined to levy a tax on the City; to give some shew of legality to this, Khan Bahadoor called for a Bywasta from some Pundits and for a Futwa from the Mooftis. The question propounded to them was, "If a Raja or Nuwab is in want of money for public purposes, how much of his subjects moveable property may be take." Pundit Ojhar Tegh Nath, Mooftee Enayat Ahmed and Moolvie Amanat Hoosain, having considered the question, replied that a ruler in such circumstances might call upon his subjects for 1-10th of their wealth.

On receipt of this answer Khan Bahadoor appointed a committee under Khoshi Ram to assess the tax; the committee was composed of

Kummoo Mull, Banker,
Ram Pershaud, Mahajun,
Ram Lall do.
Doorga Pershaud, Karinda of Raja Ruttun Sing,
Doorga Pershaud, Gomashta of Muttra Dass.

The committee sat in the house of Kunyah Lall and after taking an estimate of the property possessed by the Mahajuns and others, sent in a statement fixing the amount of the tax at 1,07,000 Rs., to be paid in 4 instalments, one in June, one in July, one in August and the last in September. On this Khoshi Ram was appointed to collect the first instalment at once; he was afterwards dismissed and Emam Ali and Syfoolah Khan were ordered to collect the remaining portion; they proceeded to do this by the most violent measures, Cows bones were placed before the Hindoos, plates of iron were heated and those who refused to pay were seated on them; by these means they collected in all, with the first instalment, 82,000 Rs. The balance was remitted, on the people bribing Soba Ram; the money thus obtained was applied to the expenditure on account of Guns and powder.

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On the 21st of June, a Firman from the King of Delhi was received by Khan Bahadoor in reply to the petition sent by him on the 2nd; he was appointed ruler of Kutehir with full authority in all revenue and Police matters. Copies of this Firman were sent to all the Tuhseelis and Thanahs and one was set up it the Cotwali. Many persons however doubted whether the Firman was a genuine paper from the King of Delhi. They thought it was impossible that a reply to the petition of the 2nd of June should have been received so quickly, now that all the dâks were stopped. It had however an effect with the mass of the people and brought many adherents to Khan Bahadoor.

Shortly after this Khan Bahadoor again seized Misr Bijnath and extorted some money from him; he also seized Lutchmi Narain Treasurer, and made him pay 8,000 Rs., being a balance in his hands belonging to Mr. Berkeley.

The money obtained by the tax on the city, by fines from Bankers and others, and by plunder, was soon expended, and Khan Bahadoor was again obliged to consider measures for obtaining funds for the payment of the troops he had enlisted, the salaries of the men he had appointed to various situations, and the expences of the Gun Foundry &c.

Khan Bahadoor's authority was pretty well established in the city, and the Mahomedan parts of the District, but in the Pergunnahs of Besulpoor, Furreedpoor, and Nuwabgunge, was scarcely acknowledged. He and his Council considered that it would be politic to negotiate with the Thakoors who were the Chief Landholders in those parts, and through their Agency keep that part of the country quiet, and collect the revenue. Khan Bahadoor accordingly began to act on this plan, he took every opportunity in Durbar of speaking in praise of the Thakoors, and expressing his admiration of their great qualities, he had also two men, already supporters of his, through whose influence and address, he had reason to believe that he should be able to succeed in his wishes. One of them Jymal Sing, Thakoor of Keara, had intrigued with Bukt Khan and Mahomed Shuffi before the mutiny; on this coming to the knowledge of the Commissioner of the Division, he had been sent for; Khan Bahadoor on this occasion voluntered to be answerable for Jymal Sing's loyalty; there was consequently a friendly feeling between them. The other agent was Surnam Sing, a Jemadar of General Parsons, when Soba Ram was employed in the Commissariat; between Soba Ram and Surnam Sing there was a long standing friendship and alliance. Surnam Sing joined Khan Bahadoor heartily and was of essential service to him in bringing over the Thakoors to his side.

Jymal Sing had at once declared for Khan Bahadoor, he waited on him in Durbar on the 2nd June, presented a Nuzzer and received permission to raise a Regiment from among his clan of Jhangara Rajpoots. Through his influence Thakoor Davi Sing Ilaquadar of Dousuteya now joined Khan Bahadoor and presented his Nuzzer. The next day Thakoor Rugonath Sing of Bodowlee came and joined Khan Bahadoor; after presenting a Nuzzer he was directed to raise a Regiment, and ordered to collect the revenues of the Fureedpoor Pergunnah. The Thakoor of Sheohghur, the Thakoors of Nugeria, Thakoor Koonjbehari Sing of Keuria, Thakoor Nundoo Sing of Entgaon, and other large landed proprietors among the Thakoors also came in and tendered their allegiance. Jymal Sing for his services

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on this occasion received a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month and the title of Collector. He continued for some time a steady supporter of Khan Bahadoor, and was of essential service to him on many occasions.

At the end of June, Thakoor Rugonath Sing of Bodowlee having enlisted 400 men brought them to Bareilly where they were inspected by Khan Bahadoor and stationed near the City. At this time Hakeem Saadut Ali went once from Rampoor to Aowlah, to settle a dispute between the Hindoos and Mahomedans there ; Khan Bahadoor was afraid of his influence, and ordered Rugonath Sing to march with his men to Aowlah; he was dismissed in full Durbar, after having been invested with a khillat, the title of Raja, and having received Pán from Khan Bahadoor himself ; before he reached Aowlah the dispute there had been adjusted and Hakeem Saadut Ali had gone back to Rampoor, he therefore returned to Bareilly.

Khan Bahadoor's success with these Thakoors established his authority in some measure in the district of Bareilly, and part of Shahjehanpoor; but in Budaon the power of his Nazim, Abdol Ruhman Khan, was merely nominal. A large landed proprietor Thakoor Hur Lall of Bukshiena, commonly called the Dhabo Dham Thakoors, collected his clan, and declared himself independent of the king of Delhi, and his Nazim Khan Bahadoor ; he refused to acknowledge Abdol Ruhman Khan, and collected the revenues of Pergunnah Saleempoor on his own account; he was joined by numbers of his clan, and by other Rajpoots, and advanced to Budaon to attack Abdol Ruhman Khan ; all the inhabitants of the place however, Hindoo and Mahomedan, knowing that if there was a fight they should be plundered, whichever side won, joined Abdol Ruhman to oppose him. On this he returned to Saleempoor, but continued to hold the country in his own name. Khan Bahadoor fearing that his example might be followed by other Thakoors, determined to send a strong force to put him down ; Neaz Mahomed was therefore sent with some Guns Cavalry and Infantry ; on reaching Budaon he was joined by Abdol Ruhman Khan, and they proceeded together to attack Hur Lall ; he was defeated and fled, but the whole country being in his favour, they were unable to put him down effectually; they therefore applied to Khan Bahadoor for reinforcements; he had none to send, and therefore determined to try what could be done by negotiation. Accordingly Jymal Sing was sent to Hur Lall ; he succeeded in inducing Hur Lall to acknowledge Khan Bahadoor, and returned to Bareilly.

The money from the Besulpoor Treasury had not yet been brought in ; Khan Bahadoor therefore sent a force to escort it to Bareilly ; the money was brought in safety to the old city, but was there met by some men of Chotan Khan's Regt., and the Risalahs of Salar Jung Khan and Tufuzul Hossain Khan ; they took 5,000 Rs. of it and sent the remainder on to Khan Bahadoor.

Rugonath Sing's Regt. which was stationed at Bareilly, began at the end of July to be clamourous for some pay. Khan Bahadoor having no funds at hand, issued an order for the amount due on Surub Sukh Raie Tuhseeldar of Fureedpoor, and gave it to Rugonath Sing. Between Rugunath Sing and Surab Sukh Raie, there was an old standing grudge ; he was consequently annoyed at the latter being appointed Tuhseeldar of Fureedpoor where his estates lay. On Rugonath Sing's presenting the order, Surab Sukh Raie, told him that he had no money to pay it, and that he must

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wait till the Khureef kists came in. Rugonath Sing on this went to Bodowlee, and having collected all the men of his clan, to the number of 8 or 10,000, returned to Fureedpoor, and on the 31st July attacked Surub Sukh Raie, and killed him with many of his men. Rahat Olah Khan Risaldar happened at this time to be encamped on the Shahjehanpoor road near Fureedpoor, with about 500 men; on hearing what had occurred he marched on the 1st August to attack Rugonath Sing, and was defeated, being killed with about 50 of his men. When information of this was received at Bareilly it caused considerable excitement among the Pathans, and Khan Bahadoor saw that it was necessary to put down the Rajpoots at once; he accordingly marched himself at the head of all his forces towards Fureedpoor, after he had gone a short distance he was prevailed upon to return by his attendants, but sent his troops on under Madar Ali Khan, Syfoolah Khan and Tufuzul Hosain Khan. The Thakoors having no guns were unable to oppose them and therefore retreated. Madar Ali marched to Futtehgunge plundering and burning all the Rajpoot villages he came across, he also sent Ali Khan with a small force to Bodowlee, which was burnt and plundered. Madar Ali Khan then returned to Bareilly, Rugonath Sing having fled to Bhurraoli.

Rugonath Sing had thus compromised himself with the Pathans by the defeat and slaughter of Rahat Olah Khan and his men; and with Soba Ram by the murder of Surub Sukh Raie and his relations who were Kayaths; other causes of disagreement had also arisen; a friend of Thakoor Jymal Sing's had been seized and confined notwithstanding his entreaties, Soba Ram had blown away two Thakoors from guns on hearing of the business at Fureedpoor, and quarrels about the payments of the revenue had taken place.

Khan Bahadoor seeing the feeling among the Thakoors and being aware that he had no chance of successfully opposing the English without the assistance of the Hindoo population, attempted to re-attach them to his interests. He released Jymal Sing's friend who was still in confinement, he sent Soba Ram to Keara to induce Jymul Sing to return to Bareilly and attend his Durbars which he had given up doing; by these measures an apparent friendship was patched up between them, but the Thakoors henceforward only waited for an opportunity to declare against Khan Bahadoor.

The Syuds of the Nao mehla being displeased at the influence possessed by Soba, and disliking the Hindoo element mixed up with the Government through his means, were anxious to ruin him. One day in August while he was in Durbar, they reported secretly to Khan Bahadoor that an English Gentleman was concealed in Soba Ram's house, and obtained permission to search it, they took with them a Regiment and a Risalah of Cavalry and surrounded the place, broke open the doors, and began plundering the property. This was told to Enayat-olah Khan, Buksheesh Ali, and some friends of Soba Ram's, who went to the place and put a stop to the plunder. Soba Ram was in Durbar while this was going on, when he was informed of what had happened he went home shut himself up and refused to attend Durbar again. After a few days, through the agency of Madar Ali Khan, who was an intimate friend of Soba Ram, and by the apologies and regrets lavishly expressed by Khan Bahadoor, he was appeased and again took charge of his duties. A few days after this a body was found in a well in the

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Public Gardens, it is supposed by many that Mr. Wyatt was really concealed in Sobha Ram's house, until the attack on it by the Syuds, that Soba Ram was then alarmed at the consequences to himself, should Mr. Wyatt's residence there be discovered, and that he therefore had him killed and thrown into this well, at a distance from his house, to avert suspicion from him.

Khan Bahadoor and his advisers felt that as long as the English held Nainee Tal his authority could not be firmly established in Rohilcund, he feared that they might raise troops there and come down to attack Bareilly, and he knew that the fact of their being there would always be an element of weakness in his Government and would induce many to plot against him. Accordingly in July as soon as he found himself in a position to do so, he had collected a force to attack the place, he appointed his Grandson Bunni Meer to the command, and he had accordingly marched as far as Behari, on the road; he delayed there however and did nothing beyond plundering that part of the Country.

On the 18th of August, Khan Bahadoor by the advice of Ruja-ol-dowlah determined on sending a Nuzzer to the King of Delhi in the hope of obtaining a dress of honour in return, accordingly Ruja-ol-dowlah having drawn up the letter and arranged the Nuzzer the following presents were sent,

1 Elephant with Gold Howda and trappings.
1 Horse, with jewelled trappings.
1 Koran.
1 Crown.
101 Gold Mohurs.

The Crown and Koran were supplied by Ruja-ol-dowlah who had received them from the King of Lucknow and brought them with him to Bareilly. The Nuzzer was sent under charge of Ahmed Shah Khan, Ali Yar Khan, and Akbar Khan with 50 horsemen and 200 foot. Ahmed Shah Khan returned after going as far as Rampoor but the rest went on to Delhi.

All this time Bunni Meer who had started in July to attack Nainee Tal had loitered at Behari, plundering the Country. In October, Ali Khan Mewatie and Hafiz Kullan Khan were sent with a Regt. and some Cavalry to join him and urge him on. Bunni Meer made some objections to proceeding at once, on which Ali Khan told him that he might go back to Bareilly if he liked, that all he wanted was his guns; accordingly Bunni Meer returned to Bareilly and Ali Khan went on to Huldwanee and Kat Godown, both which places he plundered and burnt; the next day he was attacked by a force sent from Nainee Tal and defeated with considerable loss.

Khan Bahadoor having being informed that intelligence of the intended attack on Nainee Tal had been sent from Bareilly, ordered every man who could read or write English to be imprisoned, they were kept in confinement for 2 days and then released, under threats of punishment in case they were detected corresponding with the English; all the Bengalis were ordered to leave the city at once.

Rugonath Sing and the other Thakoors after the fight at Furreedpoor, and their subsequent flight had remained at Kumraolie. No revenue was

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received by Khan Bahadoor from that part of the country, he therefore in October determined to send a strong force under command of Madar Ali Khan to Kesulpoor, to collect the kists due, as well as from Powain and Deuria. Surnam Sing went with Madar Ali Khan, and through his influence with the Thakoors induced many of them to meet him. After some time Rugonath Sing of Bodowlie, Koshan Sing and Konjbehari Sing of Deuria, Nundoo Sing of Entgaon, Kaher Sing of Kumraolie and Lakan Sing of Kothar, agreed to accompany Madar Ali to Bareilly, where they presented their nuzzers to Khan Bahadoor; they then entered into an agreement together. The Thakoors swore on Ganges water in which salt had been mixed, to be faithful subjects to Khan Bahadoor, and in return he conferred on them the farms of the following Ilaquas.

To Lakan Sing, the farm of Kothar for 62,000 Rs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| To Nundoo Sing, Kaher Sing, Koonjbehari Sing and Roshan Sing. | Besulpoor | 16,000 |
| Rugonath Sing and Bylas Sing, | Bodowlee | 2,000 |

Rugonath Sing and Bylas Sing however, feeling that they could never be secure under Khan Bahadoor's Government, owing to their concern in the murder of the Kayths at Furreedpoor, by which they had made Soba Ram their enemy; and the subsequent defeat and slaughter of Rahat Olah Khan and his men, by which they had offended the Pathans; took the first opportunity of leaving the district and flying to Bashipoor, whence they went up to Nainee Tal to have an interview with the Commissioner, and where they afterwards remained until the re-occupation of the country, when they joined the English force at Moradabad, accompanied it to Bareilly, and have since done good service.

Notwithstanding his arrangements with the Thakoors, and the tax he had levied from the city and the confiscation of the property of every one suspected of being favourable to the English Government, Khan Bahadoor found himself again in want of money. Although the revenue from the villages was rigorously exacted, and in many cases a great deal more than the Government demand, a very small portion of it found its way into his Treasury. By plunder and confiscation Khan Bahadoor had managed to collect a great quantity of silver ornaments &c., this was useless to him in its present form, and he therefore determined by the advice of his council to issue a coinage of his own; after much discussion it was determined to issue rupees of the coinage of Alum Shah, but with a change of date, accordingly a mint was set up in Rampershaud's house which had been confiscated on his refusing to serve as Treasurer. A small quantity of silver money was issued; it was good silver and full weight, and passed readily for 16 annas the rupee.

The Mint not producing money as quickly as Khan Bahadoor wished, he again seized Misr Bijnath with the intention of getting some money from him; he refused to pay anything and after being kept in confinement for a few days was released on bribing Syfoola Khan.

The farm of the Datagunje Ilaqua had been given by Khan Bahadoor to Bhoori Khan; this brought him into collision with Neaz Mahomed Khan

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and Syfoola Khan, who had charge of the Soorajpoor Ghát. On some dispute regarding the dues collected by them, they attacked Khoori Khan, he and his son were badly wounded and came into Bareilly where they shortly afterwards died.

These quarrels among the Pathans, and disagreements with the Thakoors, added to the reports that gradually got about of the successes of the English Troops, had a depressing influence on the minds of the people. Khan Bahadoor therefore determined to try to raise their hopes, and renew their first excitement, by investing himself publicly with a dress of honour, said to have been received from the King of Delhi. Accordingly on the 1st October, notices were issued throughout the Town, that a Khillat sent by the King of Delhi was on its way to Khan Bahadoor, and that it had come as far as Aowlah; 4 Sandni Sowars and some Cavalry were sent to meet it, and bring it with suitable state to a garden outside the City, where it was notified that Khan Bahadoor would be invested with it. On the morning of the 2nd October Khan Bahadoor, attended by all the leading men among his followers, dressed in their best, and mounted on Elephants, proceeded followed by an immense crowd to the garden of Deep Chand, where the Khillat had been halted. After his investiture a salute of 21 guns was fired, and all in attendance presented Nuzzers; a Khillat was then given to Soba Ram on which 11 guns were fired. It is said that at this moment Ali Yar Khan who had just come from Delhi, whispered to Khan Bahadoor that the tidings of the fall of Delhi were true, and that the King was then a prisoner in the hands of the English; his countenance at once fell, he went straight to his house, and afterwards took very little part in the Government of the Country;—all business being carried on by Soba Ram, Syfoola Khan, Neaz Mahomed and Ruja-ol-dowlah.

The news of the fall of Delhi, and of the defeat of the Troops sent to attack Nainee Tal spread rapidly through the Country, though every means was taken by Khan Bahadoor and his advisers to mislead the people; false Akbars were published; Sandni Sowars were sent out secretly, and received in public Durbar on their return, as having come from Lucknow, Delhi, and Furrackabad, with news of victories gained over the English troops. Many doubted these tidings of constant victories, but no one ventured to express his opinion openly; the distrust in the intelligence of success published by Khan Bahadoor, was increased by the arrival at Bareilly as fugitives of several leaders of the rebellion in other parts of the Country. Among others Walidad Khan of Malegurh arrived at this time, he came attended by a small number of followers. On his reaching Bareilly on the 21st October, Khan Bahadoor sent him a present of 400 Rs., and fixed his allowance at 15 Rs. a day. He had several interviews with Khan Bahadoor, and in hopes of raising the spirits of the people, who were getting very much depressed, they determined that he should set up a Mahomdi Jhunda or Holy flag, and invite all true Mahomedans to join him in waging war against the unbelievers. The flag was carried through the City with great pomp and ceremony, and afterwards set up in the Hosainee Garden; food was given to all who would enroll themselves; about 200 of the lowest class joined, and remained as long as food was distributed; when this was discontinued they left the Holy banner. Ismael Khan and Raheem Ali Khan also reached Bareilly at this time; their arrival as fugitives confirmed the people in their belief of the reports that were now beginning to spread of the uniform success of the English forces.

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In October Meer Alum Khan, a relation of Khan Bahadoor, was informed by a spy that a lakh of rupees was concealed in the house of Baldeo Geer Goshain a resident of Mouza Nara Pergunnah Douka. The Goshain was a man of considerable repute, and of great influence among the Hindoos. Meer Alum, the night after he had received this information, left Bareilly taking with him Akbar Khan Naib Peshkar and 20 Sowars. He reached Nara about day break ; Baldeo Geer having received information of his coming, shut the doors of his house, and seated himself on the roof with a few of his most trusty followers. Meer Alum tried to force open the gateway but without success ; after some time he got in through a court yard at the back of the house. Mussamut Joola the Goshain's wife attempted to fly, Meer Alum seized her by the hair, and threatened her with ill treatment unless she pointed out where the money was buried. The Goshain seeing the indignities to which his wife was being subjected, fired at Meer Alum ; he had loaded his gun with copper pice, and by one discharge killed both Meer Alum and Akbar Khan, who were standing together. Habib olah Khan, Tuhsildar of Shahi, hearing of what had happened, went to Nara ; seized the Goshain, his wife, and some of his relations, and sent them into Bareilly to Khan Bahadoor, with the dead bodies of Meer Alum and Akbar Khan. The case was made over for trial to Mooftee Syud Ahmed. On the 10th December he released the Goshains, as they had been unjustly attacked by Meer Alum. This decision, caused great excitement among the Pathans, and Moulvie Khan brother of Meer Alum, taking with him some of the men of his Regiment, seized Baldeo Geer and cut him to pieces with their Swords.

As long as the English held Nainee Tal, Khan Bahadoor could never feel secure ; it was consequently his constant object to get possession of the place. The first expedition under Ali Khan had been repulsed ; another was now got up. Gholam Hyder Khan was sent to Buheri with three guns, and a large force of Cavalry and Infantry ; he was joined by Fuzl Huq with the whole of his troops from Pilibeet. They remained a few days at Buheri and then marched on to Bundee. While there a man came to Fuzl Huq and told him that he had been imprisoned at Nainee Tal by the English, that he had just made his escape, and would guide him by an undefended road, if he would reward him well. Accordingly the force marched in the night, after they had gone some distance they were fired at by a picket, and at once fled thinking that they had been led into an ambush. Fuzl Huq fled to Bareilly, but Ali Khan still remained at Buheri. Shortly after this Feroze Shah came to Bareilly for the first time ; he had only a few men with him and after a halt of 3 days went on to Lucknow.

Although Mobarek Shah Khan had been disappointed in his hopes of obtaining the musnud for himself, he had remained a steady supporter of Khan Bahadoor; he now became anxious to obtain a more independent position than that which he now held, and having bribed Soba Ram heavily, succeeded in getting appointed Nazim of Budaon, in the room of Abdool Ruhman Khan who was removed to make way for him. On receiving the appointment he presented a nuzzer of 5,000 Rs. to Khan Bahadoor. He ill treated the people, and plundered to such an extent that after 9 weeks, Khan Bahadoor was obliged to recall him, and re-appoint Abdool Ruhman Khan.

Khan Bahadoor and his Council now thought that they might get some more money from Misr Bijnath ; a guard was sent to search his house, on

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the pretence that some Europeans were concealed there. Misr Bijnath and his sons were seized and taken before Khan Bahadoor, money was demanded from them ; on their refusal they were sentenced to be imprisoned on the charge of corresponding with the Commissioner at Nainee Tal ; they remained upwards of a month in Jail, heavily ironed, and subjected to great indignities. They at length obtained their release by paying a bribe of 2,800 Rs. to Syfoola Khan.

Mooftee Syud Ahmed to whom the case against the Goshain and his wife had been made over for trial, was now removed from his situation in consequence of the dissatisfaction his Judgement had given to the Pathans ; Ahmed Ali Khan was appointed Mooftee in his place.

The murder, of the Goshain by Moulvie Khan and the Sowars, after he had been pronounced guiltless by the Mooftee, greatly exasperated the Hindoos. They had been treated almost from the first as slaves to the Mahomedans; their prejudies regarding Cowkilling had been disregarded ; in fact they soon found that in the place of the English rule, giving equal justice to all, they had assisted in raising a Mahomedan Government intolerant and bigoted to the last degree. Khan Bahadoor from motives of policy had attempted to attach the Thakoors and Hindoos to him, and had succeeded for a short time; but the bulk of his Mahomedan followers took little trouble to conceal their contempt and hatred for the Hindoos. To allay this growing irritation, and if possible band the two races together again against the British Government, it was determined that a Pathakar, or holy flag under which all Hindoos might rally, should be raised; and that at the same time a Mohumdee Jhunda should be set up. Accordingly on the 20th January Soba Ram, accompanied by Gopal Nund, Newal Nund, and Ishurmund, Brahmans, and Gunesh Raie, Hursukh Raie, Beem Seen, and Teka Ram, Kayaths, went in procession mounted on Elephants with a large following, carrying the Pathakar, which they set up on the Banks of the Ramgunga, calling on all Hindoos to rally under it, and join with the Mahomedans in opposition to the English who were the enemies to all the religions of Hindoostan.

On the same day a Mahomdi Jhunda was set up by order of Khan Bahadoor, in a Garden near the City, and food distributed beneath it. Very few men came to either place of gathering, and the flags after being left standing for a few days were removed. In fact the people began see that the contest against the English was hopeless. The Hindoos and Mahomedans were enraged against one another, as much as the latter were against the English. This feeling of distrust in the ultimate success of Khan Bahadoor was increased by the reports circulating through the district, and by the daily arrival of fugitives from various parts of the Country. The people had found out the dodges attempted by Khan Bahadoor to keep them together, and placed little reliance on any report circulated by his orders. In the beginning of January a Sandni Sowar arrived, it was said from Furruckabad, bringing accounts of a victory obtained over the English there ; two days afterwards this intelligence was contradicted by the arrival at Bareilly of Nuwab Bungush the Raees of Furruckabad.

Hubeeb-olah Khan who had remained at Buheri when Fuzl Huq fled to Bareilly, now made a Chupao on the Government Thannah at Kalo Dongee. He succeeded in surprising the place, and killed the Thanadar,

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whose head was cut off, and sent to Bareilly; three days after Hubeeb-olah came himself to Bareilly, and received a dress of honour for his exploit; he afterwards applied for one of the confiscated houses, and this being refused he left Bareilly and went to Lucknow.

Khan Bahadoor now organized another attack on Nainee Tal; he collected all his available forces, and sent them to Buheri under Mahomed Ali Khan, who had been a short time before appointed Nazim of that part of the country. After Mahomed Ali had collected his forces he marched to Bundea, and from thence to Churpoorah, where he was attacked by a force sent from Nainee Tal, and utterly defeated on the 3rd February 1858 with the loss of 3 guns and a number of men; he himself being killed, as was also Hafiz Nizam Ali, his Naib; the troops fled in the greatest disorder; some of them halted at Buheri when Mahmood Khan assumed the command, but the greater number did not stop till they reached Bareilly, where they were received by Khan Bahadoor with abuse and reproaches; he said to them, "You worthless cowards, you take 10 days to march from Bareilly to Churpoorah, but only one to come back, after seeing the English forces."

Khan Bahadoor after the defeat of his troops at Churpoorah gave up all idea of attacking Nainee Tal, and turned his attention to defending himself from an invasion from that quarter. Ghous Mahomed Khan was accordingly sent with some guns and men to join Mahmood Ali Khan at Buheri where they entrenched themselves. They remained there until the re-occupation of Rohilcund in May, when they fled to Oudh. At the same time Khan Bahadoor hearing that an attack from Almora was in contemplation ordered Fuzl Huq to Burumdeo with some guns and a force of Cavalry and Infantry.

Khan Bahadoor at this time, seeing how hopeless it was to attempt to put an end to the divisions among the Hindoos and Mahomedans of Rohilcund, and knowing that unassisted he had no chance of being able to hold the country against the English, determined to try whether he could induce the Sikhs to join him. Accordingly on the 6th February after the defeat at Churpoorah, he and his council determined to send a Messenger to the Raja of Puteala, and to Maharaja Golab Sing of Cashmere, to urge on them the duty they owed to their faith to unite with him in opposition to the English. A Mahunt was sent the next day, with valuable presents for each, and a good sum for his own road expenses; what became of him is not known.

About the end of January a Sandni Sowar arrived at Bareilly bringing letters from Lucknow giving Intelligence of the complete defeat of the English Army under the Commander in Chief. This good news was proclaimed throughout the City and district. In a few days another letter was received from Nana Rao saying that he was on his road to Bareilly, and requesting that a place might he prepared for him to live in with his women; he arrived on the 25th March, and remained at Bareilly till the end of April; he found himself in a false position here, where the rebellion had by this time assumed an entirely Mahomedan character; he made some attempts to put a stop to Cow killing in the City, and also to induce the Hindoos to join the Mahomedans in opposing the English, but without success. When the Commander in Chief had arrived at Jalalabad, Nana Rao solicited and obtained command of the force sent to Fureedpoor to oppose him. This proposal was merely a subterfuge to conceal his intention of deserting; he took with him

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all his women, and whatever treasure he possessed, and on reaching Fureedpoor turned off towards Besulpoor and fled into Oudh.

After the fall of Lucknow, Feroze Shah returned to Bareilly with about a 1000 men; he remained at Bareilly a few days and then marched suddenly by Sumbhul to Moradabad, where he attacked the forces of the Nuwab of Rampoor and got possession of the town for one day; he at once issued orders for a tax on all the Hindoos, but on the next day being attacked by some troops sent from Rampoor by the Nuwab, and also hearing of the approach of the English force from Roorkee, he left Moradabad and fled to Bareilly, and ultimately accompanied Khan Bahadoor to Oudh.

Mahmood Khan of Najeebabad arrived at Bareilly in April and afterwards fled to Oudh with Khan Bahadoor, a son of his who had come to Bareilly previously was killed at the Nurkutteea bridge on the 5th May 1858.

Khan Bahadoor and his Council were now at their wits end; they felt that they could oppose no effectual resistance to the forces marching to attack them. The plans determined on to-day were changed tomorrow, and all was confusion. At one time it was decided on to erect entrenchments on the roads leading from Shajehanpoor, Moradabad, and Budaon, and portions of the forces were sent out to the places fixed on, where some works were thrown up. This idea was then abandoned and it was determined to make the final stand at Bareilly, but no measures were taken to put the City in a state of defence. All this time the English Troops were rapidly concentrating; the Commander in Chief reached Bareilly on the 5th May, and defeated the force sent to oppose him at the Nurkutteea bridge close to the City and Cantonments. That evening Khan Bahadoor with the greater number of his adherents fled to Philibeet and from thence to Oudh. Some few remained and attempted to oppose the column from Moradabad which reached Bareilly on the 6th May, on the opposite side to that on which the Commander in Chief had come.

On the 7th May Bareilly was in the possession of the Commander in Chief and the rebels were flying to Oudh. The authority of the British Government was at the same time restored throughout the District.

J. F. D. INGLIS.

*Bareilly, 30th November* 1858.

MEDICAL HALL PRESS,—BENARES.

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# APPENDICES

TO THE

# Bareilly Narrative.

## APPENDIX A.

LIST of European residents and Native Christians at Bareilly on the 31st May 1857.

### CIVIL.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| R. Alexander Esqr., Commissioner, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| J. Guthrie Esqr., Collector and Magistrate, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| D. Robertson Esqr., Judge, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| G. D. Raikes Esqr., Sessions Judge, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| G. B. Pasley Esqr., Joint Magistrate, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| C. Currie Esq., Do. | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| C. P. Carmichael Esqr., Mrs. Carmichael and child. } Do. Pilibheet, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Dr. J. M. Hay, Civil Surgeon, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Dr. Hansborough, Superintendent of the Jail, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Dr. Buch, Principal of the College, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| G. Wyatt Esqr., Deputy Collector, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| R. Orr Esqr., Do. | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| H. Berkeley Esqr., | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Berkeley Esqr., | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| H. Templeton Esqr., | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. J. Beale, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Mrs. Beale and child, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Mr. Watts and Sister, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Mr. Beddy, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Revd. L. Poynder, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |

### MILITARY.

#### STAFF.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brigadier H. Sibbald, C. B., | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Captain S. G. Brownlow, Brigade Major, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Captain J. Hume, Executive Engineer, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |

#### ARTILLERY.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Captain G. Kirby, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Lieutenant Fraser, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Serjeant Waldon, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| ——— Staples, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |

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8TH IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lieutenant A. M. Mackenzie, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| ——— D. W. Becher, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |

68TH REGIMENT N. I.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Colonel C. Troup, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Captain P. A. Roberton, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ A. H. Patterson, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ J. I. Gibbs, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Lieutenant C. Warde, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ H. H. Christian, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ J. T. Stanton, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ B. Rogers, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Ensign R. G. Tucker, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| „ W. Jacob, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Surgeon J. Bowhill, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Sergeant Major Jennings, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Quarter Mr. Serjeant Henry, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |

18TH REGIMENT N. I.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Major H. C. Pearson, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Captain T. C. Richardson, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ H. B. Hathorn, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ J. Y. Gowan, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Lieutenant M. Hunter, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ H. H. Stewart, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| „ J. C. Dyson, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ W. Barwell, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Dr. Oakely, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Serjeant Major Belcham, wife and family, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Quarter Master Serjeant Cross and child, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |

ASSISTANTS AND CLERKS IN THE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. J. A. Fenwick,<br>„ H. Alone,<br>Mrs. Alone and 2 children,<br>Mr. S. G. Nicholas, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |

COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Phellan,<br>Mrs. Phellan and 4 children, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Mr. H. Phellan, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| „ Davis, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Mrs. Davis and 2 children, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| „ Wilkinson, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |

JUDGE'S OFFICE.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. Fanthome,<br>Mrs. Fanthome and 5 children, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |

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EXECUTIVE ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. W. Porter,<br>Mrs. Porter,<br>Mr. Porter Junior, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |

JAIL ESTABLISHMENT.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Serjeant S. Wilson,<br>Mrs. Wilson and 4 children, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Serjeant Worrell, | | | | |
| Mrs. Worrell, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| ,, Cruizer Senior, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Mr. Cruizer, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mrs. Cruizer Junior and 2 children, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |

MERCHANTS &c. &c.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr. J. Bolst, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Miss Bolst, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. Lawrence, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mrs. Lawrence and 4 children, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. H. Aspinall, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mrs. H. Aspinall and 2 Children, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. Aspinall Senior, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. Stears and 2 children, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Mrs. DeCamp and 3 children, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. W. Roberts, in the Adjutant's office, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mrs. Roberts, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. S. Roberts, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Mr. R. Richie, | ... | ... | ... | Killed. |
| Mr. Jaques in the Insane Hospital, | ... | ... | ... | Do. |
| Serjeant J. Hardy, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Mrs. Hardy and 5 children, | ... | ... | ... | do. |
| Mr. W. Hardy, | ... | ... | ... | do. |
| Mr. Matthews, Church Clerk, | ... | ... | ... | do. |
| Mrs. Matthews and 1 child, | ... | ... | ... | do. |
| Mrs. Monks and 2 children, | ... | ... | ... | do. |
| Benjamin Luke and Charlote an adopted daughter, | ... | ... | ... | do. |
| Serjeant Cameron, wife and 2 children, Barrack Department. | | | ... | Killed. |
| Mr. Healy, | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |
| Luke wife, and 6 children,<br>Simeon,<br>Simeon and 5 children,<br>Phillip, wife and 4 do.,<br>John,<br>John,<br>Paul,<br>Paul,<br>Peter, wife and 5 children,<br>Peter, | Native Christians, all of whom escaped. | | | |
| Yacoob, wife and child.<br>Mutter, do., and do. | These escaped at the time but are since missing. | | | |
| Thoman do., and 4 children. | ... | ... | ... | Escaped. |

MR. D. ROBERTSON, DR. J. M. HAY AND MR. R. ORR.

These gentlemen went to the house of Hamid Hussan Moonsiff of Bareilly who promised to protect them, but were there killed. Nyaz Ali, a chuprassy of Hamid Hussan's Court, killed Mr.

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Robertson, whilst Ahmud Hussan late Cotwal, Fuzulwa, and other budmashes attacked and murdered Dr. Hay, and Mr. Orr.

---

MR. G. D. RAIKES AND DR. BUCH

Had been promised protection and assistance by Aman Ali Khan of Bareilly in case any disturbance took place; went to his house on the mutiny breaking out, but were seen and followed by Shahamut Ali, Abdoollah and others, who surrounded the place. Kuramut Hoosen a nephew of Aman Ali Khan's assisted the people over the wall and pointed out, where these gentlemen were concealed, when they were both murdered.

---

MR. H. ASPINALL, MRS. ASPINALL AND 2 CHILDREN, MRS. ASPINALL SENIOR

Went to the house of Zaker Aly (a karinda of Mr. Aspinall's) who promised them protection, but afterwards treacherously, in connivance with Yacoob Ali' Meer Khan and others, gave them up to Khan Bahadoor Khan at the Cotwalee, by whose directions they were all murdered.

---

MR. PHELLAN, MRS. PHELLAN AND 4 CHILDREN, MR. DAVIS, MRS. DAVIS, AND 2 CHILDREN, MR. BEALE, MR. WATTS AND SISTER.

On the mutiny breaking out, they left their houses, and assembled near the Neel-ki-Chowkee where they were surrounded and murdered, by the mob, headed by Bilhur' Sawah Raee, Ally Khan and other budmashes of the Town.

---

MR. LAWRENCE, MRS. LAWRENCE AND 4 CHILDREN

Went to the house of Fyzoollah Syud, a resident of the Noh Mohulla, who protected them for a short time, but afterwards took their property from them, and turned them out; they then returned to their own house and remained in concealment during the night in the garden, and in the morning were murdered by Fyzoollah and others. The eldest daughter of Mr. Lawrence is said to have been detained by Fyzoollah, and has not been heard of since.

---

MR. BOLST AND MISS BOLST.

Mr. Bolst was killed near the "Puchperah" by some of mutinous sepoys of the Jail Guard. Miss Bolst concealed herself, near Mr. Berkeley's house, but was discovered and murdered.

---

SERJEANT CAMERON, WIFE AND 2 CHILDREN.

These had concealed themselves in a Bhoosa Godown near their own Bungalow, but were discovered by Shums Ahmud and others, who murdered them.

---

MR. ALONE, MRS. ALONE AND 2 CHILDREN.

Mr. Alone and his family were attempting to escape towards Fureedpoor, but were seen and followed by Ahmud Shah Khan, and others and murdered near Bholanath's garden.

---

MR. FENWICK

Was murdered by Aly Khan and others near his own house.

---

MR. R. RICHIE

Was killed by Gholam Russool and others, in the City near the Tibreebagh.

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MR. NICHOLAS

Was seized by some Budmashes and taken before Khan Bahadoor Khan who ordered him to be murdered.

---

DR. HANSBOROUGH

On the mutiny breaking out, went to the room over the gateway of the Jail, where he remained till Evening with three of the sepoys who continued faithful. After all the Prisoners had been released, and the mob had dispersed, Doctor Hansborough came down and concealed himself, for the night, in one of the large drains of the Jail; but in the morning was seen by some of the residents of Noh Mohullah, and taken before Khan Bahadoor Khan at the Cotwalee, who ordered him to be murdered.

---

MAJOR PEARSON, CAPTAIN RICHARDSON AND HATHORN, LIEUT. DIXON AND STEWART, 18TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.

These Officers are said to have been protected by the men of the Regiment for a short time and concealed in the Quarter guard, and at night accompanied on to the Shajehanpoor road. They were afterwards surrounded and murdered by the Villagers of Ram Puttee.

---

BRIGADIER SIBBALD.

The Brigadier is said to have ridden away in the direction of the Irregular Cavalry Lines, followed by his two mounted orderlies. He is believed to have received the first shot from one of his orderlies, and was subsequently fired at, and killed close to the camel shed.

---

LIEUT. TUCKER, 68th REGIMENT

Was killed in the mess compound while mounting his horse, by the mutinous sepoys of his corps.

---

MR. G. WYATT.

Is said to have remained concealed in Sobha Ram's house till the month of August, but on information being given to Khan Bahadoor Khan, the house was surrounded and searched, and Mr. Wyatt it is supposed killed afterwards by Sobha Ram's order and his body thrown into the well in the Public gardens.

---

MR. JAQUES

Was endeavouring to escape in the disguise of a Fuqueer, but was seized and taken before Khan Bahadoor Khan, who ordered him to be murdered.

---

SERJEANT WORRALL, MR. CRINGER.

These two left Mr. Williams party near the Jail, and in company with two men who had promised to shew them a place of safety when the whole party might go, but they never returned and have not been heard of since.

---

SERJEANT STAPLES ARTILLERY.

Was killed at Ruperee, on his way up to Nynee Tal.

---

QUARTER MASTER SERJEANT CROSS AND CHILD 18th REGIMENT.

Supposed to have been killed along with some of the Officers of the Corps at Ram puttee.

QUARTER MASTER SERJEANT HENRY 68th REGIMENT.

Killed at Bareilly.

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## List of Gentlemen who escaped to Nynee Tal when the mutiny broke out on the 31st May 1857.

R. Alexander Esquire,
J. Guthrie Esqr.,
G. B. Pasley Esqr.,
C. Currie Esqr.,
H. Berkeley Esqr.,
Berkeley Esqr.,
H. Templeton Esqr.,
Revd. L. Poynder,
Mr. Hardy,
Capt. Brownlow,
Capt. J. Hume,
Col. C. Troup, 68th Regt.,
Capt. P. Robertson,
Capt. Patterson,
Capt. Gibb,
Lieut. Warde,
" Christian,
" Stanton,
" Rogers,
Ensign Jacob,
Dr. Bowhill,
Lieut. Hunter, 18th Regt.,
Lieut. Barwall,
Dr. Oakeley,
Capt. Kirby, Arty.,
Lieut. Fraser,
Capt. Mackenzie, 8th I. C.,
Lieut. Becher,

---

### C. P. Carmichael Esqr., and Family

Were at Pilibheet ; but escaped to Nynee Tal on hearing of the Mutiny at Bareilly.

---

### Mr. H. Phallon.

Accompanied his family when they assembled near the Neel-ki-chowkee, but hid himself in a house when the mob surrounded them, and escaped. Was afterwards protected by Hubeeb Shah, with whom he remained till the re-occupation of Bareilly.

---

### Mrs. Beale and child

Found refuge in the house of a Native and ultimately reached Agra in safety.

---

### Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Porter and Mr. W. F. Porter

On the first alarm escaped to the Village of Shirreeah, about two miles from Cantonments ; from this Village they wandered about the country staying a few days in different Villages where they received any kindness, but finally were taken charge of by the Zemindars of Duttooreeah and Soothah of the Shajehanpoor district, who kept and protected them for 6 months ; after this they were escorted by a party of Thakoors across the Ganges, and conveyed to Mr. Wilson's Camp at Gungeeree.

---

### Serjeant S. Wilson, Mrs. Wilson and Family, Mr. Warrele, Mr. Cringer Senior, Mrs. Cringer and 2 children.

Sergt. Wilson was on duty at the Jail when the mutiny broke out ; but on the prisoners being released by the mutinous sepoys, and finding it not safe to remain, he rode off in the direction Choubaree, but there the Zemindars advised him not to remain ; he then took the direction of the Nynee Tal road, skirting the Cantonments and Town, at some distance, and came into the road about the 8th mile stone ; at a Police Chowkee near Buheree he was attacked, but managed to escape, and again on approaching Buheree, he had another narrow escape for his life ; about 2 miles from Buheree he was again attacked by 4 Sowars, who took his horse from him, after which he hid himself in the jungles and at night proceeded on his road, and reached Nynee Tal on the 2nd June 1857. Mrs. Wilson and family, Mrs. Cringer and Mrs. Cringer Junior and child were protected for a short time, by Khodabux, a Duffadar of the Jail, but eventually found their way to Suraee, where they were kindly received, by Chada Sing the Zemindar. They remained under his protection till the 18th January 1858, when Khan Bahadoor Khan hearing of their be-

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ing there, sent for them and kept them in confinement in the Town, till the arrival of the Troops.

---

SERJEANT HARDY, MRS. HARDY AND 5 CHILDREN, W. HARDY.

On the Mutiny breaking out in the cantonments, the whole party went to Kyarah, where they remained with Jymall Sing the Zemindar for 4 days; after this they took a boat and droped down the River Ramgunga, to the village of Raokunpoor; but not being in safety there they were obliged to come back. Remained in one the Jymall Sing's villages and eventually when they were kept and protected by Zalim Sing for 6 months. They were afterwards escorted across the River Ganges, and joined Captain Gowan.

---

MR. MATTHEWS, WIFE AND FAMILY

Concealed themselves for the first day of the Mutiny in General Parsons compound and at night escaped to Kyarah about 6 miles from cantonments; there they remained 6 months in Jymall Sing's care; and afterwards joined Mr. Hardy's party, and arrived at Captain Gowan's camp.

---

MR. DE-CAMP AND 3 CHILDREN, MR. AND MRS. STEARS AND 2 CHILDREN.

Mrs. De-Camp had accompanied Mrs. Raikes up to Nynee Tal, on the 14th May leaving her family in charge of Mr. Stears (her son) and a native servant. On the disturbance breaking out Mr. Stears with his party escaped to the village of Shirria, where they remained for 2½ months. About this time Mrs. De-Camp had returned from Nynee Tal and joined them there. Shortly after hearing that Khan Bahadoor Khan was searching for them, Mr. Stears, wife and 2 children escaped to Kyarah, while Mrs. De-Camp and her children were seized and taken before Khan Bahadoor Khan, he detained them for one day and then released them, when Mrs. De-Camp returned to her house in the Sudder Bazaar, but afterwards left and resided in Bholepoor, where she remained till the re-occupation of Bareilly.

All the Native Christians left in one party and went to Kingena, but not being kindly treated there, they dispersed in different directions. Luke and a party of 29 persons remained in Dholepoor Buheree. Another party of 7 went to Chotch Barrah; while 6 of them went across to Meerut. Mutter, his wife and child are missing and have not been heard of since.

---

MR. FANTHOME, MRS. FANTHOME AND 5 CHILDREN.

About 10 days previous to the Mutiny Meer Jan and Meerun Jan, Syuds of Noh Mohullah asked Mr. Fanthome and family to go over to them. They went and remained till the 31st May, when Mr. Fanthome and his eldest son left the family with Meer Jan, and went to Bakur Khan's house; here they remained but a short time and then left for Rampoor where they lived for a couple of months, when the eldest son returned to Bareilly, in disguise, to take back his mother and family; these were allowed to go except the eldest daughter who was forcibly detained by Meer Jan: she has since been restored to the family. Mr. Fanthome lived at Rampoor till the Troops entered Bareilly.

---

CAPTAIN GOWAN, 18th REGT. N. I.

Escaped from Cantonments when the Mutiny broke out, and was eventually protected by the Zemindars of Kherah Bujherah of the Shajehanpoor District. He afterwards joined Mr. Wilson's Camp on the other side of the Ganges.

---

SERJEANT MAJOR BELSHAM, WIFE & FAMILY, 18TH REGT. N. I.

Escaped into the District and were protected by the Zemindars of different villages; subsequently joined Captain Gowan's party and proceeded to Mr. Wilson's Camp.

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SERJEANT WALDO, ARTILLERY

Was wounded at Buheree in Company with Serjeant Staples; Escaped to Nynee Tal.

---

SERJEANT JENNINGS 68TH REGT.

Escaped to Nynee Tal.

---

MR. HEALY

An insane, discovered in confinement when the troops entered Bareilly.

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## APPENDIX B.

### List of Persons who Served under Khan Bahadoor Khan Rebel.

| NAME OF OFFICE. | NAME OF THE HEAD OF THE OFFICE. | NAMES OF THE SUBORDINATE AMLAHS. | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dewan Khana. | | | Sobah Ram was appointed Prime Minister by Khan Bahadoor Khan. |
| | | Moolchund, Naib Dewan. | The Naib Dewan appointed on a salary of 500 Rs., served in the same capacity about 1½ months; he was dismissed for disobedience of orders. |
| | | Goolam Yehiah. | Vakeel of the Moonsiff's Court at the commencement of the outbreak took service as a Naib Moonshee; he was promoted to Naib Dewan after the dismissal of the above. |
| | | Brijlall, resident of Mohalla Bhoor. | Formerly a Mookhtear in the Government Offices; appointed as *Peshdust* or assistant to Sobha Ram on a salary of 100 Rs., per mensem. |
| | | Jait Mul. | Vakeel of the Moonsiffee of Datagunge; on the dismissal of Brijlall was promoted. |
| | | Bemraj. | Appointed Moonshee at the commencement of the outbreak and performed his duties till the arrival of the British forces. |
| | | Gunput Rae, Perwana navees. | Served under Goolam Yehiah. |
| | | Toolsheeram. | Naib Perwana navees of the Collectors Office, served under the rebels in the same capacity. |
| | | Pransook of Mohulla Koourpoor. | Served the rebels as a Mohurrir. |
| | | Peary Lall of Behareepoor. | Roznamcha navees under Khan Bahadoor; he was formerly a Mooktear. |
| | | Kudheer Mul of Khuaja Kootub. | Served as Record Keeper. |
| | | Dhunnoo Lall. | Do. as Naib do. |
| | | Maihtab Rae of Durzee Chouk. | Do. as Nukul navees. |
| | | Bindrabun of Nowada. | Do. do. |
| | | Kishen Lall of Behareepoor. | Do. as Rozenamcha navees. |
| | | Jhaoo Lall. | Do. as Mohurrir. |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Darool Insha. | Fyz Ali of the old City. | | Serishtadar of the Sudder Ameen's Court; on the outbreak was appointed Meer moonshee on a Salary of 500 Rupees. |
| | | Goolam Hoosein. | Mohurrir of the Sudder Ameen's Court; appointed in the same capacity in Fyz Ali's Office. |
| | | Shahamut Ali. | Serishtadar in the Principal Sudder Ameen's Court; appointed head Mohurrir on a salary of 30 Rupees. |
| | | Ewuz Ali. | Mohurrir of the Adawlut Principal Sudder Ameen's Court; appointed in the same capacity. |
| | | Fuzl Ahmud. | Served as a Mohurrir. |
| | | Chudumeelall. | Do. Do. |
| | | Altaf Hoosein. | Do. Do. |
| | | Enait Hoosein. | Do. Do. |
| | | Goolam Hyder. | Do. Do. |
| | | Fuzl Emam. | Do. Do. |
| | | Kasim Ali. | Do. Do. |
| | | Tej Rae. | Do. as Perwana navees. |
| | | Sulamut Ali. | Do. as Mohurrir. |
| | | Goorpershad. | Do. as Nukl navees. |
| | | Phoolchund. | Do. as Perwana navees. |
| | | Ruttunlall. | Do. as Nazir. |
| Pundit. | Leknath of Choudree Mohulla. | | This man held his appointment as Pundit from the 15th June 1857 till the arrival of the British forces; he drew a Salary of 100 Rupees per mensem: he decided all cases and made collections in the City and held his office in his own house. |
| | | Hurpershad. | Serishtadar under Leknath. |
| | | Burteeram. | Served as Misl navees. |
| | | Bahadoor Sing. | Do. as Izhar navees. |
| | | Rughburdeal. | Do as Nazir. |
| Nazim. | Kooshiram. | | Tuhseeldar of Jehanabad; was at the recommendation of Dewan Moolchund appointed Nazim on a Salary of 1000 per mensem, on the 17th June. He was appointed to collect the tax from the City, but in consequence of his negligence was dismissed on the 22nd July 1857 with his Amlah. |
| | | Ishreepershad. | These were Mohurrirs under the Nazim. |
| | | Hurpershad. | |
| | | Radhakishen. | |
| | | Pateram.. | |
| | | Khyrat Ali. | |
| | | Gobind pershad. | |
| Magistrate's Office. | Chirag Ali. | | Serishtadar of the Sessions Court, was appointed a Magistrate on the 15th June 1857 on a Salary of 500 per mensem; he served $\frac{1}{2}$ month, after which his appointment was abolished; he held his Court in the old Kotwallee. |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Kooredun Lall. | A Mohurrir of the Bareilly Criminal Office, was appointed Serishtadar in the above. |
| | | Inaetoola of Gurhee. | Served as a Nukl purwana navees. |
| | | Ahmud Hoosein of Chowdhry Mohulla. | Do. Purwana navees. |
| | | Mehrban Ali. | Do. Record Keeper. |
| | | Mahomed Hoosein Khan. | Do. Naib Do. |
| | | Bakur Ali. | Do. Izhar navees. |
| | | Busunt Rai. | Do. Mohurrir. |
| Magistrate's Office. | Mahomed Shah. | | Vukeel of Sudder Ameen's Court, was offered the situation of a Magistrate which he at once refused; would not take service in any capacity; on his refusing the situation was given to Yaqoob Ali. |
| Do. | Yaqoob Ali of the old City. | | After the refusal of Mahomed Shah Vukeel as 2nd Magistrate in June 1857; he held his office in the Library building. In July this Office was abolished. |
| | | Chotey Lall, Durzee Chowk. | Served as Serishtadar in the 2nd Magistrate's Court. |
| Mooftee. | Syud Ahmud. | | Was appointed on the 3rd June 1857 as Mooftee; he decided cases of both departments Civil and Criminal. In December 1857 he fled owing to his decision in a case of the murder of Meer Alum Khan in which he had a acquitted the defendants; Moulvee Khan and others attacked him and he went to Rampoor. |
| ,, | Moulvie Ahmud Ali Khan, *alias* Dunna of Rampoor. | | Was appointed Mooftee in the room of Syud Ahmud; he performed his duties for 3 months, after which he left this station and went home to Rampoor. |
| Mooftee. | Ujmul. | | In February 1858 was appointed as Mooftee; he held his place till the arrival of the British forces, he held his Office in the kotewalee. |
| | | Abdool ghunee. | Served as Serishtadar. |
| | | Thakoordas. | A Mohurrir of the Moonsiff's Court was appointed in the same capacity during outbreak. |
| Appeal Court. | Moulvie Torab Ali of Lucknow. | | In the month of August was appointed as Superintendent to decide appealed cases on 150 per mensem; he held his situation until the arrival of the British forces, he conducted his business at the Kotub Khana. |
| Sudder Ameen. | Mahomed Ameen Khan of Barcilly. | | In September 1857 was appointed as Sudder Ameen on a salary of 400 per mensem and held Office at his own house. |
| Sudderool Suddoor. | Moozufur Hosein Khan. | | Do. Do. on a salary of 1000 per mensem; previous to this appointment he was a member of the Committee; he held his Office at his own house. |
| Chief Tuhseeldar. | Akbar Ali Khan. | | In September was appointed as chief Tuhseeldar on 1000 per mensem; he was a member of the Committee before this. |
| | | Pemraj Ali. | Appointed as Serishtadar. |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cheda Lall. | Do. as Mohurrirs. |
| | | Misree Lall. | |
| | | Jafur Ali and Bisharut Ali. | |
| Bytool Ijra. | Kabeer Shah Khan. | | Appointed Officer for examining the forces and received a salary of 500 per mensem from September 1857. |
| | | Attee Hoosein. | Moonshee. |
| | | Ali Mahomed Khan son of Kubeer Shah. | Do. |
| Moonsiffee. | Moonsoor Khan of Beharepoor. | | Appointed Moonsiff in September 1857 ; he held this for ½ month and was transferred as Naib Nazim to Pilibheet. |
| ,, | Absun Khan. | | Was appointed on the 28th September 1857 in the room of his brother on 100 per mensem ; he remained till the arrival of the British forces and held his Office at home. |
| ,, | Hussun Ruza Khan of Rampoor. | | In September 1857 was appointed as a Moonsiff of suburbs on a salary of 100 per mensem ; he remained in the same capacity till the end of the outbreak ; he held his Office in the Dewan Khana of Chedalall and Moona lall. |
| Intelligence Department. | Bholanath. | | Appointed Superintendent over this department ; he appointed one man in the Sudder and several Gomashtas throughout the district, through whose means he received all the news and every day laid them before the Khan Bahadoor. In July he had a dispute with a man by name Moolla Meah who was a nephew of Khan Bahadoor, this being brought to Khan Bahadoor's notice he ordered that Bholanath's nose should be cut off, hearing this he hid himself and made his escape. |
| Intelligence Department. | Bhowain Suhoi. | | A relation of Soba Ram was appointed on a salary of 200, per mensem ; he drew his pay from the Collections of the Abkaree Department. |
| Bukhshee Guree. | Horee Lall, son of Soba Ram. | | Appointed as Bukhshee of the rebel forces on a salary of 1000 Rupees per mensem. |
| | | Ali Hoosein Khan son of Madar Ali Khan. | Appointed Naib Bukhshee on 500 Rupees salary. |
| | | Alief Hoosein. | Serishtadar. |
| | | Nuthun Lall. | Moonshee. |
| | | Goolzaree Lall. | Mohurrir. |

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## List of Tuhseeldars in the employ of Khan Bahadoor Khan.

| Name of Tuhseel. | Name of Tuhseeldars. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Crore Bareilly. | Mahomed Yar Khan. | Late Paishkar; was appointed Tuhseeldar of Crore by Khan Bahadoor Khan on the day of the outbreak and held the appointment till middle of August. |
| Do. | Mehndee Ali Khan of Rampoor. | Appointed in the room of the above on a salary of 500 and held the appointment till the re-establishment of the British Government; the reason of his drawing so large an allowance was that all the Villages belonging to the inhabitants of the City, situated in different Pergunnahs, were made over to him for the collection of the Revenue. |
| Fureedpoor. | Ragonath Sing. | Khan Bahadoor Khan ordered him to take care of the Pergunnah and to collect the Revenue; he held the appointment only 12 days. |
| Do. | Ahmud Beg. | Held the appointment 25 days as Tuhseeldar. |
| Do. | Surubsook Rai. | A Resident of Fureedpoor; was appointed through Soba Ram's influence, to whom he gave a heavy bribe; was killed on the 1st August by Rogonath Sing. |
| Do. | Aluf Beg. | A Resident of Futtehgunge; was appointed in the beginning of August, about the latter end of the month he was transferred to a Regiment as Koomadan. |
| Fureedpoor. | Kefaitoolla. | Appointed in the room of the above; he held the appointment till the arrival of the British Forces. |
| Aoulah. | Shibnour Resident of Mouzah Futtehpoor. | Appointed on the 18th June and was dismissed on the 3rd July. |
| | Ahmed Ali Khan. | From 3rd July to end of September. |
| | Moonnajan, son of Ukbur Ali Khan. | Appointed in October and remained for 25 days. |
| | Nuzur Mahomed Khan, son of Kabeersha Khan. | Appointed latter end of October and remained till re-establishment of the British Government. |
| Besulpoor. | Poornanund, late Officiating Tuhseeldar | Before the outbreak he held the Offg. appointment in this Pergunnah and was appointed by Khan Bahadoor Khan; he remained 1½ month in this situation and was dismissed in July on a complaint from Himaitolla Khan Thanadar. |
| Do. | Ali Mahomed Khan, late Tuhseeldar of Aoulah. | Tuhseeldar of Aoulah under the British Government; was appointed to Besulpoor by Khan Bahadoor Khan; held in this situation for 4 months. In the month of November the Pergunnah was given in farm to the Thakoors of Bumrowlee and Deoria and he was dismissed. |
| Besulpoor. | Heera Sing. | Appointed by the Thekadars in November; he continued there till the arrival of the British Forces. |
| Nawabgunj. | Hoolas Roy. | Brother of Brij Lall, Peshdust of Soba Ram; was appointed on the 18th June and transferred to Sheahi at the end of July. |
| Do. | Mulloo Khan of mouza Bulla, Pergh. Doonka. | Appointed on the 6th August and remained there till the arrival of the British Troops. |
| Sheahie. | Ameer Ali. | Appointed at the commencement of the outbreak and continued until July. |
| Do. | Hoolas Roy. | Appointed on the 1st August served for 15 days and was then dismissed. |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Do. | Hubeeboola Khan. | Appointed on the 15th August and remained till the end of the month, when the Pergunnah was given in farm to Moulvie Khan of Rampoor, he was then dismissed. |
| Chowmehlah. | Kala Khan. | On the outbreak he took possession of the Pergunnah and collected the Revenue to the end of June. |
| Do. | Mahomed Khan. | Appointed by Khan Bahadoor Khan in July and worked for about a month. |
| Do. | Nujuf Khan. | Appointed in August and dismissed in September; served about a month. |
| Chowmahla. | Mahomed Moneer. | Late Mohurrir of the Fouzdaree Court; was appointed in September and remained there till the arrival of the British Force. |
| Pilibheet. | Fuckroodeen. | Late a Visitor of Schools, he served a sa Tehseeldar; he was appointed on the 1st July and remained till the 10th December and was dismissed. |
| Do. | Shumshool Huq. | Appointed in December and remained there till arrival of the British Troops. |
| Jehanabad. | Ahmud Yar Khan. | Appointed on the 1st June and dismissed on the 16th. |
| Do. | Fukoodeen. | Appointed on the 18th and dismissed on the 30th June. |
| Do. | Zufur Yar Khan. | Appointed on the 1st July and dismissed on the 31st August. |
| Do. | Ayoob Khan. | Appointed on the 1st September till the arrival of the British Troops. |

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List of Native Judges, Tuhseeldars and Thanadars who were employed in the Government Service previous to the Outbreak.

| Rank. | Name of Officer. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Sudder Ameen. | Dewanee Court. Enait Ahmud Resident of Kakooree. | Joined the rebels. |
| Additional Sudder Ool Suddoor. | Ruzee-ooddeen Khan of Kakooree. | Died during the late outbreak. |
| Sudder Ool Suddoor. | Kasum Ali Khan of Lucknow. | Did not join the rebels. |
| Sudder Ameen of Pilibheet. | Russool Bux Khan. | Served under the rebels. |
| Moonsiff of City. | Amanut Hussen. | Joined the rebels. |
| Do. of Suburbs. | Hamid Hussen Khan. | Did not join the rebels. |
| Do. of Beesulpore. | Mirza Ali. | Do. do. |

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| Name of Pergunnah. | Name of Officers. | Rank. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Crore. | Moulun Lala Ood-deen. | Tuhseeldar. | Doubtful. |
| | Mahomed Yar Khan. | Paishkar. | Served under the rebels. |
| Nawabgunj. | Fuzul Huq. | Tuhseeldar. | A notorious rebel. |
| | Ram Pershad. | Paishkar. | Served under the rebels. |
| Beesulpore. | Poornanund. | Tuhseeldar. | Served under the rebels. |
| | Fukur Oodeen. | Paishkar. | Do. do. |
| Purrawa. | Khooshee Ram. | Tuhseeldar. | Do. do. |
| | Zukuria Khan. | Paishkar. | Stood faithful. |
| Aoulah. | Ali Mahomed Khan. | Tuhseeldar. | Served under the rebels. |
| | Kour Kalka Pershad. | Paishkar. | Stood faithful. |
| Fureedpore. | Mahomed Yaqoob Khan. | Tuhseeldar. | Do. do. |
| | Mahboob Ali Khan. | Paishkar. | Do. do. |
| Pilibheet. | Ameer Ali. | Tuhseeldar. | Do. do. |
| | Mahomed Hussen. | Paishkar. | Do. do. |
| Kilporee. | Dyal Chund. | Do. | |
| Doonka. | Khan Ali Khan. | Tuhseeldar. | Served under the rebels. |
| | Moona Lall. | Paishkar. | Do. do. |
| Chowmahlah. | Ali Hussen Khan. | Do. | Do. do. |
| Roodurpore. | Fuzul Ahmed. | Tuhseeldar. | Stood faithful. |
| | Hoorce Lall. | Paishkar. | Do. do. |

| Name of Thanah. | Name of Officers. | Rank. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Thanahs.* | | |
| Cotwalee Bareilly. | Shaik Buder Oodeen. | Cotwal. | Stood faithful. |
| Beesulpore. | Himait Oolla Khan. | Thanadar. | Served under the rebels. |
| Aoulah. | Hadi Yar Khan. | Do. | Do. |
| Nawabgunj. | Jafurali Khan. | Do. | Do. |
| Fureedpore. | Atta Ali. | Do. | Do. |
| Buheree. | Golam Mohi Oodeen. | Do. | Do. |
| Shahi. | Nissar Hussen. | Do. | Did not served under the rebels. |
| Meergunj. | Kadur Bux. | Do. | Do. do. |
| Pilibheet. | Abdoola Khan. | Cotwal. | Remained faithful. |
| Jehanabad. | Kootub Shah. | Thanadar. | Served under the rebels. |
| Ritcha. | Vuzeer Ahmed. | Do. | Do. do. |
| Suttargunj. | Jumal Oodeen. | Do. | Do. do. |
| Roodurpore. | Ram Dyal. | Do. | Stood faithful. |
| Superintendant's Office. | Baha Oodeen Khan. | Superintendant of Police. | Served under the rebels. |

Bareilly Magistrate's Office,
*The 27th November*, 1858.

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MEMORANDUM Shewing the PAY of the whole Force under Khan Bahadoor.

| NATURE OF SERVICE. | NUMBER OF MEN. | AVERAGE RATE OF PAY. | AMOUNT. | TOTAL AMOUNT FOR ONE MONTH. | TOTAL AMOUNT SPENT IN 10 MONTHS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CAVALRY. | | | | |
| Sowars, ... | 4618 | 20 | 92,360 „ „ | | |
| Resaldars, ... | 89 | Different rates | 4600 „ „ | | |
| Naib Do. ... | 46 | 50 | 2300 „ „ | | |
| Vakeels. ... | 46 | 30 | 1380 „ „ | | |
| Neshan Burdars, ... | 46 | 25 | 1150 „ „ | 1,01,790 „ „ | 1,017,900 „ „ |
| | INFANTRY. | | | | |
| Sepoys, ... | 24,330 | 6 | 145,980 „ „ | | |
| Koomadans, ... | 57 | 100 | 5700 „ „ | | |
| Oolusdars, ... | 48 | 50 | 2400 „ „ | | |
| Toomendars, ... | 243 | 25 | 6075 „ „ | | |
| Buxee, ... | 57 | 30 | 1710 „ „ | | |
| Vakeels, ... | 243 | 8 | 1944 „ „ | 1,63,809 „ „ | 1,638,090 „ „ |
| | | | GRAND TOTAL, spent in 10 Months, | | 26,55,990 „ „ |

There being no regularity in the payment of the Salaries to the Troops, a chundee was allowed to those who were resident of Rampoor and other parts of the Country; 2000 Rupees or more were paid daily in part of their wages. In some of the Regiments a Sepoy got 1 anna per diem and some 2 annas; a Koomadan received 1 Rupee; a Oolusdar 8 annas; Toomendar 4 annas; and some Sowars received 8 annas and some 4 annas.

Some of the Regiments received orders every Month or every 2nd Month on the Tuhseeldars or Thekadars of the different Pergunnahs for their Pay; they generally went and plundered the Tuhseelees of more than the amount of the order.

Some of the Commanding Officers of the Infantry and Cavalry furnished lists of their men and orders were passed for the payment, though the number entered in the list was generally more than the number of men, actually in service.

More or less, 2000 Rupees were paid daily from the Month of July 1857, on account of Chundee, making a Total of 608,000 Rupees to the end of April 1858.

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## STATEMENT of the ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

3 Guns were cast under the Superintendence of Deendyal, and 37 under Neazmahmud Khan of Rampoor, and Wuzeer Khan Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Agra.

Besides the above 11 "Goordas" were received from different places.

Of the 40 guns made at Bareilly 6 were drawn by horses, and the remainder by Bullocks.

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## Statement shewing the Expence incurred on account of the Artillery Department.

| Nature of Expenditure. | Amt. spent for one gun. | Total amount spent in one Month. | Total amount spent in 10 Months. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Feeding of 4 Bullocks @ 7 8 each, ... | 30 ,, ,, | | |
| 2 Drivers, @ 4 Do. ... | 8 ,, ,, | | |
| 2 Gunners, @ 10 do. ... | 20 ,, ,, | | |
| 2 Do. @ 8 do. ... | 16 ,, ,, | | |
| 4 Do. @ 6 do. ... | 24 ,, ,, | 98 ,, ,, | 980 ,, ,, |
| Horses. | | | |
| Feeding of 4 horses, @ 4 each, ... | 16 ,, ,, | | |
| 4 Syces, @ 4 Do. ... | 16 ,, ,, | | |
| 4 Grass cutters, @ 3 do. ... | 12 ,, ,, | | |
| 8 Gunners as above, ... | 60 ,, ,, | 104 ,, ,, | 1040 ,, ,, |
| Establishment. | | | |
| Wuzeer Khan Darogha @ 100 Rs. per month, ... | 100 ,, ,, | | |
| Naib Do. @ 50 Do. Do. ... | 50 ,, ,, | | |
| 2 Mohurrirs, @ 15 ,, each, ... | 30 ,, ,, | 180 ,, ,, | 1800 ,, ,, |
| Grand Total, ... ... ... ... | | ... ... ... ... | 3820 ,, ,, |
| Total expenditure of Establishment, ... ... ... ... ... | | 180 ,, ,, | 1800 ,, ,, |
| Total expence of Bullock Train of 34 Guns, ... ... ... ... | | 3332 ,, ,, | 33320 ,, ,, |
| Do. Do. of Horse Artillery of 6 Do. ... ... ... ... | | 624 ,, ,, | 6240 ,, ,, |
| Total expenditure of 40 Guns, ... ... ... ... | | 4136 ,, ,, | 41360 ,, ,, |

## Statement shewing the state of the Magazine.

| Article. | Weight. | Rate per Maund. | Value. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gunpowder, ... | *Mds.* 750 | 40 ,, ,, | 30,000 ,, ,, | In 10 months 750 Mds. a contract was given to the Atushbaza @ 40 Rs. per Maund. |
| Guns (Large,) ... | 4, each 15 Maunds. | | | |
| Do. (Small,) ... | 16, each 12 Maunds. | | | |
| Do. Do. ... | 14, each 8 Maunds. | | | |
| Do. Do. ... | 6, each 5 Maunds. | | | |
| 40 Guns, Total, ... | 394 Mds. | 100 Rs. ,, ,, | 39400 ,, ,, | |
| Ammunition Carriage for 40 Guns, ... | 100 Rs. | per gun. ,, ,, | 4000 ,, ,, | |
| Total Cost, | ... ... | ... ... ... | 43400 ,, ,, | |
| 600 Small balls 1 seer wt. | 15 Maunds. | | | |
| 2700 middle size do. 2 do. do. | 135 do. | | | |
| 600 Large do. 3 do. | 45 do. | | | |
| Small Balls, 1 ch. do. | Mds. Sr. 3 5 | | | |
| Total Weight, | Mds. Sr. 198 5 | 40 Rs. ,, ,, | 7925 ,, ,, | |
| Lead for Bullets, ... | Mds. 175 ,, ,, | 20 do. ,, ,, | 3500 ,, ,, | |
| Total, | Rupees, | ... ... ... | 84,825 ,, ,, | |

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## List of Cavalry Regiments under Khan Bahadoor Khan.

| No. | Name of Resaldars. | Number of men in each Resalah. | No. | Name of Resaldars. | Number of men in each Resalah. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Tufuzul Hosen Khan. | 93 | 45 | Nuzzuf Ali Khan. | 102 |
| 2 | Jafur Ali Khan. | 61 | 46 | Golam Hyder Khan. | 55 |
| 3 | Syad Imdad Hussen. | 10 | 47 | Mahomed Shah Khan. | 51 |
| 4 | Vulee Mahomed Khan. | 66 | 48 | Khan Bahadoor Khan. | 51 |
| 5 | Kurramut Hussen. | 41 | 49 | Imdad Hussen. | 84 |
| 6 | Masoom Ali. | 37 | 50 | Allah Noor Khan. | 31 |
| 7 | Waheed Yar Khan. | 53 | 51 | Sahebzada Inait. | — |
| 8 | Mirza Ameer Beg. | 202 | — | Russool Khan. | 33 |
| 9 | Goolam Mohyoddeen. | 101 | 52 | Shaik Khudabux. | 60 |
| 10 | Sadik Ali Khan. | 11 | 53 | Nusrut Khan. | 33 |
| 11 | Ameer Shah Syad. | 75 | 54 | Mahomed Ali Jan. | 77 |
| 12 | Niaz Ali Khan. | 46 | 55 | Abdool Ruhman Khan. | 33 |
| 13 | Ahmed Hussen Khan. | 70 | 56 | Hussun Ali Khan. | 13 |
| 14 | Omran Vullee Khan. | 60 | 57 | Mozafur Ali Shah. | 41 |
| 15 | Mahomed Dullab Khan. | 75 | 58 | Syad Muzhur Ali. | 4 |
| 16 | Mobarick Shah Khan. | 51 | 59 | Ali Share Khan. | 100 |
| 17 | Muluk Golam Mahomed. | 94 | 60 | Mahomed Azeez Khan. | 26 |
| 18 | Shuffit Khan. | 96 | 61 | Ali Hussen Khan. | 110 |
| 19 | Nizam Ali Khan. | 25 | 62 | Mahomed Ukber Khan. | 5 |
| 20 | Meer Ahmed Hosein. | 86 | 63 | Kala Khan. | 67 |
| 21 | Mahomed Ukber Khan. | 62 | 64 | Syad Bund Ali. | 59 |
| 22 | Surfuraz Khan. | 81 | 65 | Mahomed Ali Khan. | 47 |
| 23 | Kurreem Oddeen. | 41 | 66 | Mirza Alif Beg. | 38 |
| 24 | Mahomed Nusseem Khan. | 51 | 67 | Vullait Ali. | 16 |
| 25 | Rampersaud. | 25 | 68 | Golam Ali. | 19 |
| 26 | Imadaddeen. | 80 | 69 | Golam Hussen Khan. | 45 |
| 27 | Moen Oddeen. | 44 | 70 | Ali Bahadoor Khan. | 16 |
| 28 | Zaffur Yar Khan. | 68 | 71 | Mahomed Rooshun Khan. | 57 |
| 29 | Ali Ahmed Khan. | 2 | 72 | Kiffaitolla Khan. | 16 |
| 30 | Salargung Khan. | 80 | 73 | Meer Imdad Ali. | 101 |
| 31 | Shamsha Oddeen Khan. | 62 | 74 | Moobarik Husein. | 37 |
| 32 | Mahomed Ameer Khan. | 62 | 75 | Ahmed Ali Khan. | 12 |
| 33 | Hafiz Mahd. Yakoob Ali. | 45 | 76 | Goolam Nubee Khan. | 24 |
| 34 | Niymoodeen. | 86 | 77 | Ameer Ali Khan. | 42 |
| 35 | Mohsun Khan. | 35 | 78 | Nasir Khan. | 14 |
| 36 | Ahmed Ali Khan. | 73 | 79 | Mumdoo Khan. | 4 |
| 37 | Ali Mahomed Khan. | 81 | 80 | Mouzzumalla Khan. | 5 |
| 38 | Goolam Sumdanee Khan. | 1 | 81 | Hafiz Mahd. Hussen Khan. | 11 |
| 39 | Khan Shah Khan. | 47 | 82 | Mahomed Nubee Khan. | 26 |
| 40 | Ubdoolah Khan. | 44 | 83 | Mahomed Shuffie. | 95 |
| 41 | Ubdool Kadar Khan. | 66 | 84 | Syad Ali Jan. | 20 |
| 42 | Golam Moula Khan. | — | 85 | Hubeeboola Khan. | 45 |
| — | Abees Moulun Khan. | 101 | 86 | Shahzada Sooltan. | 60 |
| 43 | Shah Mahomed Khan. | 93 | 87 | Doorga Sing. | 30 |
| 44 | Mahomed Khan. | 92 | 88 | Mahomed Eykoob Ali. | 26 |
| | | | — | Niaz Ali Khan. | 29 |
| | | | | Total, ... ... ... | 4,618 |

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## List of Infantry Regiments under Khan Bahadoor with the Name of their Commanding Officers.

| No. of Regiment. | Name of Koomadan. | Number of men in each Pultun or Regiment. | No. of Regiment. | Name of Koomadan. | Number of men in each Pultun or Regiment. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Enait Olla Khan. | 954 | 30 | Goolam Mahomed Khan. | 914 |
| 2 | Bukhshish Ali Khan. | 790 | 31 | Ahmed Beg. | 355 |
| 3 | Mahomed Ali Shah. | 572 | 32 | Mahd. Hussein Ali Khan. | 441 |
| 4 | Enait Hosein Khan. | 168 | 33 | Mahomed Hosein. | 540 |
| 5 | Munsoor Ali Khan. | 654 | 34 | Kassim Khan. | 253 |
| 6 | Ahmed Hosein. | 413 | 35 | Goolam Hydar Khan. | 527 |
| 7 | Tafuzzool Hosein. | 1,243 | 36 | Aluf Beg. | 889 |
| 8 | Enait Olla Khan 2nd. | 501 | 37 | Rahut Ali Khan. | 110 |
| 9 | Saraz Oddeen Khan. | 756 | 38 | Kundun Sing. | 1,403 |
| 10 | Kootub Hosein. | 205 | 39 | Amjud Ali Khan. | 591 |
| 11 | Ameer Khan. | 111 | 40 | Roghonath Sing. | 361 |
| 12 | Moosaheb Ali Khan. | 360 | 41 | Beharee Sehoy. | 775 |
| 13 | Ameer Hyder. | 115 | 42 | Ahmed Hosien Khan. | 432 |
| 14 | Mohib Olla Khan. | 600 | 43 | Azmut Olla Khan. | 513 |
| 15 | Mohsun Khan. | 313 | 44 | Nadir Hosien. | 382 |
| 16 | Surnam Sing. | 844 | 45 | Enait Khan. | 224 |
| 17 | Mirza Munnoo Beg. | 68 | 46 | Nuthoo Khan. | 381 |
| 18 | Goolamee Khan. | 286 | 47 | Body Guard. | 73 |
| 19 | Azuf Olla Khan. | 618 | 48 | Wuzzeer Khan. | 435 |
| 20 | Sumsam Ali Khan. | 372 | 49 | Mahomed Noor Khan. | 32 |
| 21 | Ameer Khan. | 762 | 50 | Mirza Saheb of Lucknow. | 237 |
| 22 | Fyz Mahomed Khan. | 453 | 51 | Ahmed Yar Khan. | 207 |
| 23 | Shumbhoo Sing. | 98 | 52 | Karu a Hosein Khan. | 63 |
| 24 | Sadut Olla Khan. | 383 | 53 | Ram Bux. | 68 |
| 25 | Abdool Nabee Khan. | 405 | 54 | Golam Shah Khan. | 31 |
| 26 | Tafuzzool Hosein Khan. | 39 | 55 | Walee Mahomed Khan. | 574 |
| 27 | Golam Hyder Khan. | 477 | 56 | Mahomed Ali Khan. | 119 |
| 28 | Hossun Raza Khan. | 397 | 57 | Gunners. | 300 |
| 29 | Akbur Ali. | 423 | | | |
| | | | | Total, ... ... | 24,330 |

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## Statement of Khan Bahadoor's Army.

### *Infantry Regiment.*

A band of 10 Sepoys was called Dusta.

„ 100 „ Toomun.

„ 500 „ Oolus.

„ 1000 „ Pultun or Regiment,

Each Dust had a Jumadar on 10 per mensem.

A Toomun had a Toomundar on a Salary of 25, and a Naib Toomundar on 15 per month.

A full Regiment had 2 Oolusdars on 50 each and a Koomadan (Colonel) or Commanding Officer, on a salary of 100 or 200 per month. Each Toomun had a Vakeel on 8 in per mensem, and every Regiment a Buxee (Pay master) on 30 Rupees.

The Salary of the Sepoys varied from 5 to 8 Rupees per Month.

The Duty of the Vakeel was to write out Petitions for the Sepoys and for their Officers.

A Buxee had to prepare Muster Rolls and to distribute the pay of the Regiment.

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## Cavalry.

A band of 100 Sowars (troopers) was termed a Resalah. A Resalah had a Resaldar on 100 Rupees; but if the Number should be less, the salary was decreased to 1 Rupee for each Sowar. No Resaldar drew less than 30 Rupees.

A Naib Resaldar was allowed for every full Resalah on a Salary of 50 Rupees, and none for a less number.

A Duffadar had the Command over 10 Sowars on a Salary of 28 Rupees per mensem.

A Vakeel was attached to each Resalah on 30 Rupees; but in those Resalahs that had a less number of Sowars the salary was 15 Rupees per mensem.

The Salary of Sowars varied from 15, 20 to 25 Rupees a Month.

A List of Khan Bahadoor's Army is given in a separate statement.

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# NARRATIVE.

OF EVENTS AT BAREILLY IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN 12TH AND 31ST MAY 1857.

DATED BAREILLY 30TH NOVEMBER 1858.

—— oo ——

THE Magistrate of Bareilly having given me to understand that he should rely on me to give the narration of events between the 12th and 31st May 1857, as my having been present at that time gives me the greater facility, I have the honor to submit a first part, as it were, of the Narrative for the district.

2. I should premise that all the memoranda, which I had kept daily, having been destroyed, I write from memory.

3. On the evening of Tuesday the 12th of May indistinct rumours of what had occurred on the afternoon of the 10th at Meerut reached Bareilly.

4. At 8 A. M., of the 13th I received an express from Mr. Colvin the late Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, directing me to send as many of the 8th Irregular Cavalry as could be spared under command of an European officer to the Grand Trunk road, and the station of Bolundshahur. I at once proceeded to the officer then commanding the station, Colonel Troup of the 68th Native Infantry, and after consultation with him and inspection of the present state of the Regiment it was determined that no man could be spared from the Regiment, and my reply to this effect was sent express.

5. The Adjutants of both 18th and 68th Native Infantry Regiments were sent for and their individual reports made out each Regiment to be in good discipline notwithstanding suspicious conduct exhibited the day before on the part of one of the Regiments, when taken to the butts for practice, at the Artillery guns having been transferred from the usual gunsheds to the Artillery stables which were near the butts; the fact having been that the guns had been taken there in consequence of some alteration in the gear and were to have been taken back to their proper station.

6. I expressed my opinion to the officer commanding that in the uncertain state of things, females who could, ought to leave the station for the Hills, and found the same to be his decided opinion and I in consequence sent off my own wife and the wife of Mr. Ricketts the Collector of Shajehanpore, who was then on leave and staying in my house, on the afternoon of Friday the 15th. This example set, I believe every lady of the station had left it by the 8th day following. The wives and families of the non-commissioned officers, with the exception of Sergeant Belcham's, also were sent up. I regret that there should have been neither the will nor the opportunity for the female part of the families of office clerks and other christians to be removed. It was not at first believed that so fearful a crisis could be at our doors, and when the will to go was aroused, the opportunity was wanting.

7. From this date (the 15th) it was evident that there could be no return to the former state of things, *i. e.*, of security and confidence in the military at the station as an arm of support, unless some blow should be struck outside where mutiny had burst forth with impunity, which should recall the soldiery to their bearing. As it was, it soon become evident that the command of officers was but nominal, and that the soldiers not only had in themselves the command of the occasion but were conscious of having it.

8. From this date, the 15th, also began the whispers of those *who would* have themselves understood as our well wishers, that all was not well in the Cantonment and that the Infantry were plotting and bent on an outburst.

9. No suspicion had to this time been entertained of Mahomedans collectively or individually. Our hope was set on the 8th Irrigular Cavalry, and as it happened that

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Mr. Guthrie the newly arrived Magistrate had formerly known the Regiment, he not only felt a confidence in it; but received visits from some of his old acquaintances in it, whom and especially Kootb-ooddeen, he used, to discover and report to him occurrences in the lines of the infantry. This confidence in the Regiment continued to the moment of its defection.

10. On Sunday 17th, Mr. Ricketts the Magistrate left me, returning to his station, Shajehanpore.

11. From this day to the 22nd, the Friday preceding the Eed there was no actual change in the state of matters exhibited in the Bareilly Cantonment. The absence of incident to cause either hope or alarm as it augmented the uncertainty attending the universal anxiety which pervaded all, rendered that anxiety the more unbearable.

12. In this while, though the Bareilly district had been quiet, news had come in from the three stations, Bijnour, Moradabad and Budaon, to prove that in all three, though mutiny had not broken out at the second of these places, the insurrection of the lawless portion of the population had commenced. The spark, whether it were wanted or not, to kindle the desire for rapine and violence among these, had been wafted across the Ganges: Goojurs and Jats in the two first districts and Aheers specially in the third showed by their earliest acts very evidently what must be the sequal to the army rising against the Government.

13. My correspondence with the Lieutenant Governor was now daily; alternating of course between alarms and hopes, but generally I remember cheerful. Every Magistrate wrote daily, and as both from Moradabad and Shajehanpore I was given to understand that the stedfastness to their allegiance of the Regiments at those stations depended avowedly on the conduct of the Bareilly garrison, the intensity of our interest and anxiety in our own circumstances became if possible more intense, and it may have been that the daily reprieve gave rise to faint hope, and the expression of cheerfulness for which there was not just ground.

14. A perfect community of feeling existed between the military and civil officers of Government; and in the execution of arrangements deemed necessary there was co-operation in action when required.

15. Colonel Troup authorized the raising of an additional wing to the 8th Irregular Cavalry, and I sanctioned the Magistrate raising additional district mounted and foot police. I also called on all magistrates to summon all Cavalry of the army who might be on leave in their districts to attend them with arms and equipment, and in the case of the Shajehanpoor district in which was least agitation and more resident Cavalry on leave, I desired that as many as were not actually required for the district should be sent to me for service elsewhere.

16. On Tuesday the 19th Brigadier Sibbald rejoined the station. The measures which had been taken by Colonel Troup were all that could have been taken. Appearance of distrust in the men was as much as possible avoided. They were kept on the *qui vive* by military duties which the nature of the times warranted as necessary. Nightly pickets were posted about the station and the guns were taken down to the Collector's Treasury at night.

17. But though obedience was perfect throughout this time, it was very palpable that the soldiers, not the officers, were the masters of the situation; for when the guns were taken first down to the Treasury at night and left there the next day, the soldiers resented this and, in compliance with their wish they were removed every morning with the picket which had taken them down the evening before.

18. The latest letter received by me from the Lieutenant Governor was dated the 19th May. It covered one for Colonel Troup. Both letters desired that the troops should be made acquainted with the sense of Government in regard to the mutinies that had taken place, the assurance that nothing had been, or would be done to interfere with their caste or prejudices, that their grievances could be stated, and that all or any who wished to withdraw from the service might at once go to their homes.

19. Upon this a general parade was held, at which the Quarter Master read the men an address from the Brigadier in which he appealed to the sympathies which had existed between himself and the native army during a service of fifty years. The native officers were afterwards called to the front when I addressed them a few words to the effect mentioned in the preceding paragraph as a message I had the authority of the Government to convey to them. A sullen silence characterized all present.

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20. That insurrection had not broken out in Bareilly up to this time was simply I believe owing to its being removed from the Ganges, and not having had the contact of bad example, as in the case of the districts I have mentioned, which border or touch on the Ganges.

21. But, both Town and district were full of excitement, and large additions to the Police helped to maintain peace.

22. As I had a fixed day (Monday) for Durbar or the receipt of visits the attendance on Monday the 18th was very significant. I had not chairs for the many who came. Mr. Fraser, the Commissioner of Delhie, had been for some years Judge of Bareilly and the interest in, and concern for, his fate was more or less loudly expressed, with probably as little genuine feeling as the demonstration was loud. To my questions regarding the internal state of Bareilly, I received replies which were meant to satisfy me; but I trusted more to the daily, or I might better say thrice per day reports of the Kotwal. I desired however all the influential men to understand that I should not limit receptions to Monday, but should be happy to receive their personal reports of what might come to their knowledge, as often as they might please to come to me. This occasioned frequent visits, and in the last week nearly daily visits, from Khan Bahadoor Khan whose influence as a Mahomedan was considerable and had up to the rebellion been always exercised to the service of the Government and good order.

23. On Friday the 22nd, the first open incident occurred by which the Mahomedan spirit in the Town was manifested. Moulvee Mahomed Ahsan of the Government College gave forth at the Mosque of Nao Mohullah (where the Syuds reside) a Wauz or discourse upon the subject of the lawfulness of a rise against the English in India, and argued for the negative.

24. The result, whether intended, or not, was a very general excitement among his hearers, which spread throughout the Town, and so nearly involved a rising against the man himself (which would probably have provoked a general insurrection) that the Kotwal strongly urged the deportation of the man before the following Friday with or without his will.

25. This Moulvee having gone through the crisis without exhibiting hostility to the Government, it is presumable that his motives were honest, but at the time it was subject of much doubt, both among Christians and Mahomedans, whether the object had not been as sinister as the act was imprudent.

26. Mahomedans one, and all whom I saw at the time, said that if the man were sincere, he was pointing at his Co-religionists as ready to rise, without the proof of their so being, and this the latter would resent; if insincere, he was covertly urging them to rise, and yet making an overt way of escape for himself if needed.

27. Monday the 25th being the Eed, this man was carefully kept out of the way, and before the following Friday, he was out of the district. This day of festival was one of considerable anxiety. The Kotwal attended the Nao Mohulla Mosque, for besides its notoriety as the place of worship of the particular clan of Syuds who have such influence with the Pathans, the Mahomedans of Cantonment also attended it. Bukht Khan was there among the others, though not at that time engaging prominent attention. On this occasion a Moolvee by name Ruheem-oollah Khan was put forth to preach antagonism to the English, a result most probably of the affair on the 22nd but fortunately the Kotwal had yet the weight of authority sufficient to cause the Wauz, or discourse, to be suspended and no seditious words were uttered, or at any rate they dropped without effect.

28. In the evening I was visited according to custom by a body of the Principal Mahomedans headed by the Moulvee, Cazi and Khan Bahadoor Khan, and great praise was spontaneously given to Budr-ood-deen the Kotwal for his activity and presence of mind.

29. This was the only sign which we had at Bareilly that there was, or would be a leaven of religion in the mass of rebellion plotting around us; and as it had shewn itself, and been so easily obscured, attention was less directed to it than to the mutinous Hindoo Sepoys.

30. So far from expecting Mahomedans in particular to rise at the time against us, we had, as mentioned in paragraph 15, raised our Cavalry—and as a reinforcement in case we should try our strength in combat with the Infantry, I had begged the Nawab of

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Rampore to send me his Regiment of Cavalry which it was intended by me to have encamped a little outside the Cantonment. Before the Cavalry could reach Bareilly, and while they were en-route, I received a request from Mr. Colvin which I complied with, to beg the Nawab to send them to Bolundshahur, and I subsequently, on my own responsibility, sent Lieutenant Johnstone of the 18th Native Infantry, to command them.

31. During the ten days from 17th to 27th, the leave Sowars of Irregular Cavalry were almost daily sent to aid the officers in Moradabad, and eventually a party of the 8th Irregulars under Kootub-ood-deen, mentioned in paragraph 9, was sent to Moradabad with direction that on their arrival a party of leave Sowars should be sent on to Bijnour

32. I likewise raised a body of new men and sent them under a man I appointed Resaldar, also of the name of Kootub-ood deen Khan, direct to Bijnour, and with the escort of this party Mr. Shakespear was enabled to reach Rookee, and when there they were on suspicion disarmed and dismissed.

33. The fugitive mutineers of the Sappers who had passed through Nageenah, had caused the first disorganization of that part of the Bijnour district which is removed from the Ganges. Upon the arrival of some of the fugitive mutineers near Moradabad, ensued the first outbreak at that station when the Jail was first broken.

34. In consequence of this forewarning, with the consent of the Military, we directed our Police not to apprehend fugitive mutineers, particularly if moving in bodies, but to keep them from making for Bareilly, and to aid their passing through the district to their homes in Oudh, either through the Northern pergunahs, or by crossing the Ramgunga to the South of Bareilly. I was informed of several having passed through under these orders, but in a miserable plight one man only was known to have come into the Regimental lines and he was expelled. He had come in naked and hungry and might have been a warning against the example of mutiny being followed with hope of success or personal profit.

35. In the last week of May the interior of the Bareilly district shewed signs that the disorder was catching and had reached us. The pergunah of Shahee which borders on Rampore, first became disorganized. The assemblage of riotous bodies was reported, and some crimes of open violence, and the Tuhseeldar wrote that his Treasury was in danger. Mr. Orr the Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate was deputed to the place with extra mounted police. The weather being very hot, he was told that if the riotors dispersed and the Tehseeldar should regain confidence, he might return. He returned after three days having done very good service.

36. Hidayut Allee and Mohib Allee, younger brothers of Hukeem Saddut Allee, come to me from Aoulah and were entrusted with powers to look after that place.

37. Buktawur Sing and Bilas Sing his Nephew came in from Fureedpore, and had a similar charge for that Pergunah, in which the peace had been partially disturbed.

38. The direct dak with Agra having been stopped for several days, I procured Shootur Sowars (Camel express riders) from Rampore; but these men went, or said they had been as far as the Ganges and been obliged to retreat from mobs which they met immediately on crossing the river. Another Camel express sent by me was returned from Budaon, the Magistrate sending word that he refused to go further.

39. The latest intellegence procured of the Doab, Agra and Delhi, was through Futtehgurh, and that only by our sending for it, as the fact of the closed communication was not known to the postal authorities at Agra and other stations, or at any rate they did not act on the knowledge, by sending our packets by other routes.

40. Budr-ood-deen, the Kotwal of the city, whose conduct during the crisis was in every particular praiseworthy, and who apprized me daily of every incident he could discover in the city, held his own over the vagabonds and notorious bad character, of the place, preventing assembleges, and preserving the peace, the disturbance of which was continually threatened. He however could hold out no hopes of the maintenance of this state of things for an hour after the Military should rise, and as regarded conspiracy within the city, he failed to discover trace of it, if any then existed, of which however at that time no strong suspicions were entertained.

41. The only person distinct from the soldiery upon whom suspicion rested was one Jyemul Sing zemindar of Keyara, a village distant about 3 miles from the Cantonment.

42. This man for successive nights, after the intelligence of the Meerut and Delhi

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doings had reached Bareilly, was known to have been with the native officers in their lines. When this nocturnal visiting had been thrice repeated, it was reported to me to notice and to prevent if I thought proper.

43. It was a singular coincidence, if the innocence of the man can be presumed, that Syfoollah Khan, the native Jailer, at the same time had recommended the late Dr. Hansbrow to send for the said Jyemul Sing, and through him to raise extra men required for the Jail in the then extremity.

44. Sending for Jyemul Sing I warned him of the consequences to himself and to his property if aught should befal us in the Cantonment or Jail.

45. Three days afterwards Khan Bahadoor Khan brought him to me, saying that he was not to be suspected, being as true as himself to the British Government. My remark in reply was simply one of surprize, that any intervention should have been thought necessary, that I required no assurances for any one, and my former statement held good that if occurrence of outbreak should take place in either Jail or Cantonment, Jyemul's complicity must be suspected, and his life and estate be in jeopardy.

46. As Jyemul Sing was, if not the first, one of the first of Hindoos to salute the usurper after his assumption of power, and both, at first supported him with his influence as a Thakoor, with following, and to the last held well with him. I have not a moral doubt of his complicity with the Rebels both before and after the 31st May.

47. Up to the 29th May my reports from Shahjehanpore and Moradabad had been more cheering. From both places it was stated that all depended on the turn which matters would take at Bareilly; and since at Moradabad, so singular had been the success that the Regiment had been reclaimed from mutiny after it had actually burst forth, and the Jail had been restored to the custody of its officers, and many prisoners recaptured, there seemed yet to be a ground for hope that the worst would not happen. From Budaon however each day's account was worse than the preceding.

48. On the 29th, the first Friday after the Eed, a day to be one of anxiety and excitement, for which the Kotwal's premonitory reports had prepared me, a message sent by Nowbut Ram, a principal Hindoo of Bareilly, to the Magistrate, told him that there would be a rising in the Town after the hour of prayer. Application was made to the Brigadier to have the 8th Irregular Cavalry, Saddled, and ready to march upon the Town. Relays of Sowars were posted on the road to bring the earliest intelligence. The Kotwal was advised that the Regiment would march upon the receipt of his call.

49. At 2 P. M., I was sitting in my room awaiting in some anxiety the result, and believing from the lateness of the hour, that all would end well, when my servants rushing in conjured me to ride off to the Magistrate's, and secure my safety. It had always been believed that my house would be the first for attack and plunder. A servant who had been to the Sudder Bazar of the Cantonment for purchases was interrupted by shouts from the lines and a rush of all the Sypahees to their arms with the exclamation that the time had come to march down on the Treasury. Hearing this the man left his purchases and came to me. Before the words could be told, another man came by another road from the lines with the same story. I wrote a note of what I had heard to Colonel Troup, and drove to the Magistrate's house.

50. There I found the whole staff of the Magistrate's and Collector's Office, Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Pasley, Mr. Currie, Mr. Orr and Mr. Wyatt. An indistinct report had reached the Cucherries that there was a rising in the Town and that simultaneously the Treasury was to be attacked, and before many minutes the premises had been entirely abandoned.

51. After a suspense of about an hour the Kotwal's report came that all had gone over without disturbance. I then went to Colonel Troup to apologize for what I supposed had been a false and unnecessary alarm that I had caused by my note. But to my surprize I found that far from my note having been out of place or time, it was the first intimation given of the real state of things, for within ten minutes of its receipt, the native officer of the Regiment had come to the Colonel to beg him to send to all the officers to be prepared, as the soldiers would rise within the hour.

52. What suspended the outbreak on this day it is impossible to determine. It was believed at the time that the Infantry were not prepared to find the Cavalry armed and ready to mount, in which state they had been since noon, at my request, for the purpose of awing the Town. The Cavalry were supposed to be for us and possibly many

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more were on this day for us than stayed by us on the 31st, as Mahomed Shufee, the Arch mutineer of the Regiment, had been on leave, and to his seduction, on return from leave, the final defection of the Regiment, on the 31st was attributed.

53. The origin too of the assemblage in the lines was traceable to a fortuitous cause. While a party of the Sepoys were bathing in the Nuktteea, a stream in the rear of Cantonments, one of them bantering a recruit in either joke or with serious design said that a poney which the recruit called his own or the Subadars, and which he was then washing, would not be many hours his, as the mutiny which would just take place would cause a change of owners. The recruit possibly not in the secret rushed back to the lines, and by his report caued the call to arms, which my servant had heard and reported to me, and which the native officer reported to Colonel Troup.

54. Whatever were the cause of the suspension, it was evident that in the Town the outbreak was expected, and I conclude that the disturbance of order did only not occur at the Mosques and in the Town, because the signal had not reached it from Cantonment.

55. It is reported that on this day Khan Bahadoor Khan was visited by a deputation from the Regiments. Budr-ood-deen states that he made report of this on the same night to the Magistrate, but I was not aware of it.

56. On the following morning the 30th, Khan Bahadoor Khan visited and for the first time told me that the case was hopeless, and that the Regiments would certainly mutiny. This was the last time that I saw him. He shook hands with me and his last words were significant " Apne jan buchao" or.—Look out for your life. My servants similarly, who on former days had said things were going on well and mending according as quiet reigned in Cantonment, and good intelligence had come from Moradabad and Shajehanpore, now said there was no hope and some hour sooner or later, the Regiments would break out, whatever appearances there might be to the contrary.

57. In the forenoon of this day a consultation was held at the Brigadier's which I attended, meeting the commanding officers of the two Regiments and the Brigade Major. The plan of operations was there determined, upon the assumption that the 8th Irregular Cavalry would stand to us.

58. Two expresses came before night from the Magistrate of Budaon and Mr. Phillips the Joint Magistrate of Etah, begging that I would send aid to the former and Cavalry specially to the latter. I did not leave the Cantonment till after 10 P. M., that night after proposing to send off 2 companies of one of the Regiments to Budaon.

59. I was taken seriously ill in the night with a painful spasmodic attack which made me helpless and unable to move. The next morning therefore after Church the Brigadier and Brigade Major came to me, and the arrangements were concluded to send out 2 companies to Budaon. A return of the spasms came on when these officers left me, and the note of warning from the Magistrate stating that " all was up, come away at once" found me in a hot bath.

60. After making a circuit to the house of Dr. Hay, in the hope of taking him up in my buggy, I reached the Magistrate's house finding all there on the point of riding off. My illness preventing me at that time from riding, I drove on with the intention of reaching the rendezvous (the lines of the Irregular Cavelry) by another road, Mr. Wyatt taking advantage of the empty seat by me, but as soon as I had driven 50 yards along the metalled road skirting the Parade, I saw my servants rushing from my house on the other side of the road and warning me off by gestures and shouts. As I pulled up a shotted gun was discharged and then a second. I then turned the horse's head and made the best of my way back to the Magistrate's premises. These were then deserted, but my horse having come up, I exerted myself to mount it and reached the Cavalry lines. Mr. Wyatt mounted a second horse which I had ordered with the hope of its being useful to Dr. Hay.

61. Two or three Military Officers reached this rendezvous later than I did, and had run the gauntlet of the discharge I have mentioned and of musketry.

62. Our stay at this point, a cluster of trees adjoining the entrance to the Irregular Cavalry lines, was about from 10 minutes to ¼ of an hour as far as my judgment of time enables me to report.

63. In this interval, the question was raised which way our course was to tend

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when Colonel Troup, who, as senior Officer, would of course command, gave the word Nynee Tal, which was in the apposite direction to that determined on in the consultation of the previous morning, for then it had been decided that Meerut should be our object. I believe Colonel Troup was influenced by information that he had the evening before obtained that the Irregular Cavalry would not stand by us, my servants had also said to me the evening before that though the Irregular Cavalry might not join to harm us, they would not fight on our side against the Infantry.

64. The right wing of the Regiment turned out pretty promptly, but there was dilatoriness on the part of the left wing, so much that we started before the whole Regiment could form for order of march, and to the apparent displeasure of the Commanding Officer, who seemed to infer that the men were moving on our leadership rather than at command of their officers.

65. Be this as it may, we had scarcely gone 300 yards when the men stated to their Commanding Officer, that they did not like to turn their backs on the station without making a charge for the guns. Colonel Troup (doubting I conceive the Begiment) declined to return. and with me and some others continued the way at a slow pace, the guidance being trusted to me as knowing the country.

66. The Regiment with their officers and a few others, including the Magistrate, turned. When they regained the Camel sheds, which are near to the spot where had been our rendezvous, the Brigadier Sibbald met them, just to fall pierced by a second bullet.

67. They advanced to the parade ground. The Commanding Officer (Lieutenant Mackenzie) was giving his orders to the men, but found they turned their heads from him in an unusual and equivocal way, and when it came to the time to prepare for the charge, one of the Native Officers pointed to the green flag which had been hoisted, called to the men to rally round it and uphold their faith and more than half the Regiment swept off passed their Officers and went over to the Artillery and Infantry.

68. The party thus deserted, then turned to rejoin us. At about the 11th mile from Bareilly a sowar reached us from them with the verbal message that they were coming on—but judging that there might be treachery in the words, we went on at the same slow pace to the 19th mile-stone, and then finding that we were not pursued, we halted and were overtaken by them ; the escort who had come thus far numbering only 25 men and these almost all native officers of grades.

69. Before we had left the Cantonment there had been frequent discharges of musketry, made probably only to set the thatch of Bunglows &c., on fire, and looking back before we had gone any distance, we could realize that nearly all the houses in the Cantonment were in flames.

70. By the line of country which I chose, we crossed the Futtehgurh road, the Beesulpore and the Pilleebheet roads, before we came on that which we should follow taking us direct to Nynee Tal. By this we both avoided the city of Bareilly and should have puzzled any who might design, after anyinterval to follow us, as it could not readily be surmised which of the 4 roads we had taken. A strong west wind blowing up the dust would have effectually effaced shoe-prints by which to track our route.

71. As we were the first to take intelligence of the mutiny up the road, we had not to anticipate any organized attack on the part of the country people to oppose our progress ; and being well mounted, and most, if not all of us, provided with fire arms, we could have made good account of any desultory attacks had they been attempted.

72. At 8 P. M., we reached Buheree, 29 miles from the Kotwalee and about 33 as we had travelled. The staging Bungalow at this place had been burned down on the night of the 29th, and the population of the neighbourhood was notoriouly ill disposed. A peshkar of revenue and a Police Thanadar were stationed here, and it had been our intention to halt here. I had posted an Elephant belonging to the Kham Tehseel at this place in the preceding week, to be ready for any emergency, and I now ordered the Tehseeldar to put all the money in the Treasury upon the Elephant that it might accompany us. In reply the man said he had been ordered by the Collector to send every Rupee to the head Tuhseelee treasury at Shahee, and that there was no cash balance at all. I proposed to go into the Tuhseelee enclosure ; but he dissuaded me by stating that there were a great many of the Moradabad escaped convicts, who had been apprehended, and that the gates had been closed in apprehension of an attack of the same mob who had on the night but one preceding, burned down the Bungalow. His tone and

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bearing were very different from what they had been the last time I had seen him, but it was not the season to notice this overtly.

73. All had not dismounted to bait and rest, when a rumour reached us that the mob was up and an indefinite indistinct distant hum or buzzing as of a crowd, was heard. Colonel Troup gave the order "Gentlemen mount."

74. We moved on 7 miles further crossed the Kitcha river and there halted for about ¼ of an hour to ½ an hour. Some of us obtaining through the native Cavalry, from the neighbouring village, Charpies on which to rest.

| | |
|---|---|
| Colonel Troup. | |
| Captain Robertson. | |
| Captain Paterson. | |
| Captain Gibbs. | |
| Lieutenant Warde. | |
| Lieutenant Christian. | 68th Native Infantry. |
| Lieutenant Stanton. | |
| Lieutenant Rogers. | |
| Ensign Jacob. | |
| Doctor Bowhill. | |
| Captain Kerby B. | Artillery. |
| Lieutenant Fraser. | |
| Lieutenant Hunter. | |
| Ensign Barwell. | 18th Native Infantry. |
| Doctor Oakeley. | |
| Captain Brownlow, Brigade Major. | |
| Captain Hume, Executive Engineer. | |
| A Sergeant Jennings, 18th Native Infantry. | |
| Reverend L. Poynder Chaplain. | |
| Mr. Alexnader. | |
| Mr. Guthrie. | Civil Service. |
| Mr. Pasley. | |
| Mr. Currie. | |
| Mr. Templeton B. | Of the Govt. College. |
| Mr. Beddy B. | |
| Mr. Berkeley C. and son. | Pensioned Govt. Servant. |

A reached Buharee by another road and joined party there.

B came up on the march near Huldwani. C. Went through on an Elephant meeting us about 3 miles from Bareilly.

75. Then continuing our march, we reached Huldwani at the foot of the Hills at 9 A. M., on the 1st June.

76. In the margin* are given the names of all the persons who reached the foot of the Hills on this date. Those who were in our company from the Rendezvous being distinguished from others who came direct from the Cantonment.

77. Mr. Wyatt, who mounted the extra horse I had intended for Dr. Hay, and started in our company, turned aside from our course while we were passing the out-skirts of the Town, and deaf to our calls, returned not. It was supposed by us that he had been promised before hand an asylum, and was making for it.

78 Sergeant Wilson an Ex Dragoon made his way up to Nynee Tal two days later, and Sergeant Waldron of the Artillery, reached that place severely wounded two days after that, but I should anticipate the Magistrate's narrative by mention of the atrocities committed on and after the 31st.

R. ALEXANDER,

*Commissioner.*

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# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES AND RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE ROHLKHUND DIVISION IN 1857–1858.

No. 331 of 1858.

From

R. ALEXANDER, Esq.

*Commissioner of Rohlikhund.*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, Esq.

*Secretary to Government N. W. P.*

Dated Bareilly 30th November 1858.

—oo—

The delay of district officers to supply the narrative required by paragraph 2nd of the Circular No. 212, of 30th April, followed by the peremptory call for their submission direct on receipt, has quite put it out of my power to compile the epitome required by the 5th paragraph of the same orders, I have therefore forborne the attempt to epitomize the serveral district histories, and for Bareilly, I have supplied to save the district officer trouble the account of Bareilly in the interval between the 12th and 31th May 1857.

2. I however presume that it will be held to be a part of my duty to express the opinion which I entertain of the connection which the rebellion and usurped Government in Rohilkhund had with the mutiny which preceded it, so far as I have been able to form this opinion upon the events which have occurred in the Province.

3. The transmission of the Chupattees, if it has been proved to have had any connection with the event of 1857, is of itself sufficient to prove the fact of the pre-organization of the mutiny which was to arm at the extinction of British power in Hindostan.

4. That the soldiers of the Infantry Regiments were prepared for it was, without a doubt, evident from the tone of their behaviour between the date of their learning the intelligence of the Meerut outbreak, and that of their own mutiny.

5. But the transmission of the Chupattees through a line of country void of soldiers, must have been irrespective of them, and therefore if the Chupattees are known to have been a symbol of a general mutiny and rising, intelligible to the recipients of them, it must be presumed that in every district there were men prepared for the event which was to follow.

6. On this assumption there were those prepared for the event in Rohilkund.

7. But on no other assumption from fact, or document, nor from any oral evidence and enquiry, can it be believed or even inferred that prior to the fortnight immediately preceding the 31st May, there was out of the lines of the Regiments any organized conspiracy for the overthrow of the existing Government, or the establishment of one to usurp its place.

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8. The nature of the Government which immediately sprung up after the mutiny, disproves in my opinion, the notion of a previous conspiracy, and on the other hand the ready and very early adhesion of the most influential Hindoo Thakoors who were landholders, argues their preparation for a new Government. The Chupattees passed from village to village. I never heard of their having been transmitted through Towns.

9. Although then subsequent events in Rohilkhund proved the *rebellious Government* to be Mahomedan, I neither believe (in the absence of proof to warrant a contrary belief) that the mutiny was owing to any machinations on the part of Mahomedans *within Rohilkhund*, nor that quoad rebellion,—by which term I mean the negation of the legitimate Government,—the Hindoo was less rebel than the Mahomedan. But I would except from the imputation of the desire to change the Government, those classes among the Hindoos who owe all they possess to the existence of the avowedly strongest and most just Government, I mean———the trading and banking class.

10. It could not be that in a Province in which all the Towns (and they are larger than others within similar distance of each other in North West India) are commanded by the Mussalman population, the Government on our retirement should be obtained by any others than Mahomedan, and if the large Hindoo proprietors should obtain that measure of consideration and dignity which Khan Bahadoor accorded to the leading Thakoors, and to the leading man of the moneyed trading classes in Sobha Ram, it was as much as they could, at any rate at first, have expected; unless the mutiny and rebellion had been the combined acts of Hindoos *alone*, in which case, they would have necessitated as much opposition to Mahomedans as to Englishmen to obtain the supremacy desired.

Shajehanpore.
Tilhur.
Jellahabad.
Pillebheet.
Bareilly.
Budaon.
Suheswan.
Sumbhul with Tureenoo Surai.
Umroha.
Nujeebabad.
Moradabad.
Rampore.

11. It may be assumed as certain that, if the Government which was set up at Bareilly, had emanated from without or from Delhi, there would have been mention of this in the earliest representations addressed to Delhi from the local Government: but on the contrary the nature of the earliest missive to Delhi was to announce the establishment of a subordinate Government, which had not been established by previous concert with Delhi, and sanction for which was then solicited.

12. The state of the case throughout Rohilkhund was the same. It may be open to very reasonable doubt whether the Nawab of Rampore could have held his own as well as he did, had there been a formidable conspiracy at work before the outbreak.

13. Though after the retreat of the English, Rohilkhund was in anarchy, and the Mahomedan predominant, yet the King was fenced in at Delhi, and the Nawab by good pay was able to keep back the larger number of the Pathans of his territory from going there. This would hardly have been the case had the existing state of things been produced by a conspiracy previously laid.

14. The conspiracy, had one existed would have been mainfested immediately on the suspicion of the Nawab taking part with the English, and the lead when taken would have been followed to Delhi, by those engaged in the conspiracy. As it was, the unstable line of conduct adopted by the Nawab Kazim Alee Khan always jealous of his Brother; the course followed by the Pathans which led to pay at Rampore and Moradabad, under the Nawab, or to plunder under Khan Bahadoor or Mehmood Khan in Bijnore or Bareilly, are to my mind incompatible with their having had even the opportunity to join an organized conspiracy, for the establishment of Mahomedan rule under the King at Delhi.

15. This doubt of a planned conspiracy does not extend to disbelief of the existence of Mahomedan intrigue: the latter which must have had its ramifications throughout the army, doubtless pervaded a Province in the population of which the Mahomedan element so largely prevails.

16. The origin of the mutiny then being sought elsewhere than at Bareilly, I consider that the usurpation by Mahomedans which followed at Bareilly and in Rohilkhund was only what was to have been expected, but that in rebellion on the 31st May 1857, the Hindoo was not a whit behind the Mahomedan.

17. I think it most necessary to state this emphatically, because it will account for

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the scanty mention which can be made under paragraph 7th of the Circular, of Hindoos who have done good service.

18. It is not meant that to Hindoos can be attributed any of the cruel and infamous atrocities committed by the Mahomedan rabble, and sanctioned by Mahomedan bigots of high as well as low degree, though even in these atrocities it is believed Sobha Ram was quite a consenting party.

19. In complying with the instruction in paragraph 7th of the Circular, it is my first duty to notice all the European Officers subordinate to me in the Province. One and all behaved throughout the crisis with the courage, firmness and patience which become Englishmen. Not only would it be invidious, but it is beyond my ability to distinguish superior individual merit. Officers at stations without military garrisons had not perhaps the same anxieties which daily harassed those at military stations before the actual outbreak. But on the other hand they had not the support which association with their fellow countrymen gave to these last; and when the outbreak did occur they had possibly more difficulty in shaping their course to the asylum which they eventually reached.

20. Be this as it may I unhestatingly affirm that every British officer in Rohilkhund in the month of May 1857, deserves the notice of Government for his conduct in that crisis, and for those who fell, the sense of regret is fully due. Names of my subordinates are given in the margain.*

* Mr. Shakespear.
,, Palmer.
,, C. B. Saunders.
,, J. S. Campbell.
,, Guthrie.
,, Currie.
,, Pasley.
,, Carmichael.
,, Edwards.
,, Ricketts.
,, Jenkins.

21. I can refer only to Civil Officers who were subordinate to me and who corresponded with me daily and reported of those subordinate to them. It may not be my part to notice the behaviour of Military Officers; but as regards my experience of it at Bareilly, I should not be silent when I am able to report that no body of officers could have acted more watchfully and patiently, than did the offiers of the 18th and 68th Regiments, which part of the garrison alone at first were viewed with suspicion.

22. The partial disturbances at Moradabad, before the final defection of the Military, called out the exhibition of more active qualities in the officers at that place than could have under the differing circumstances been displayed at other stations, and the great courage and presence of mind, combined with accurate knowledge of the Native character, put forth by the Judge Mr. Wilson, have been the theme of universal approbation; but as that officer has sent up a separate report, it may not be necessary that I should make more than this passing allusion of his conduct on that occasion.

23. Of natives who have been loyal I would distinguish,—1st those in Official employ who accompained their European superiors—2nd those who rmaining in their respective districts, continued loyal and did what service they could—3rd non Official persons, of some of whom it can be said that they exerted themselves to the utmost of their ability, and of others that their loyalty is less presumable from their acts, which were far below their ability to perform, than from the known fact of their not having assisted the rebel.

24. To the first class belong Budr-ood-deen Kotwal of Bareilly, Ameer Alee Tuhseeldar of Pilleebheet, Abdoliah Khan Kotwal of ditto, Zekureea Khan Paishkar of Jehanabad and a few sowars and footmen who accompained Mr. Carmichael and remained at Nynee Tal.

25. All these men deserve unqualified praise. Ali had the option to return from Nyne Tal; but all cast their lot in with that of their European superiors, and all made considerable personal sacrifices. All have been recommended for reward, and I trust the memory of their excellent services and attachment may not be lost.

26. In the second class are Syud Ahmud Khan Sudder Ameen of Bijnore, Rehmut Khan Deputy Collector of Ditto, Torab Alli Tehseeldar of ditto, WuzeerSing Thanadar of Gonore, and the inferior grades of Gonore Tuhseelee. These too have been recommended for reward and their fidelity was not inferior to those mentioned in class 1.

27. The Officials in Moradabad had not similar trial, for they merely held to their offices, received their usual pay and had of necessity less than the ordinary duties to perform. Those among them who are deserving of special notice or reward have not yet been reported on by the Magistrate.

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28. I place in the first rank of the third class.

Rundheer Sing, Boodh Sing, } Of Huldour in Bijnore.

Pertab Sing, of Tajpore, in Bijnore.

Misr Byjnath, of Bareilly.

Nowbut Ram, of Ditto.

Sheoraj Sing, of Kashepore.

Shuruf-ood-deen, of Shakhopore, in Budaon.

29. By the three first-mentioned valiant deeds were displayed against our common enemy, the Mahomedan. All their strength and all their pecuniary resources were put forth to aid the Government and re-establish order; and when worsted, avoiding all compromise, they retired, leaving all they had behind them to the right bank of the Ganges. Boodh Sing remaining a captive in the enemy's hands.

30. Misr Byjnath would in my opinion have done no less than those good men abovenamed had he had the opportunity. His circumstances were different. A Banker of no great wealth, but of noted probity, he set the example of uncompromising, though necessarily unobtrusive, allegiance to the Government which had been, and utter abstinence from courting that which existed, and in consequence he suffered most severely in pocket, and more seriously in the personal indignities which were heaped upon him by an insulting foe. No single person in the province felt the cost and sacrifice which his duty and allegiance imposed more than Misr Byjnath. At one time it was reported to me at Nynee Tal that his mind had given way, and I know that by some persons, after the re-occupation of the province, it was supposed that the shock had shaken his intellect. This however has happily not been the result. I can state of Byjnath, what I can of no other man in Bareilly, that not only has there been not a whisper of suspicion against him, but that the voice of the whole public is consentaneous to the fact of his unswerving conduct from first to last. All that he could do to the relief of every Christian was done, and to this all those who were saved in the Bareilly district bear testimony.

31. Nowbut Ram comes short of this excellence *longo intervallo*. I have not the same unqualified respect for his allegiance as for that of Misr Byjnath. He would more readily trim his sails, and accept the terms of the ruler for the time. But to do justice to Nowbut Ram, I should state that he first of all, and that as early as 2nd June, sent me intelligence of doings at Bareilly, and continued to do so throughout the year at intervals to the latest. I have not doubted his loyalty, and when the ascendancy of the Mahomedans was known, I was sure that the hereditary hatred between him (the head of the Hindoo community, whose father was murdered by them as an enemy to their faith) and their race would keep him aloof from fear and policy, as well as from the desire of our return to power.

He was the rallying point for all Hindoos of Bareilly and Shajehanpore who desired to communicate with me, and who were, or would be thought, faithful. He had not the ability himself to act, being reduced, by a course of extravagance, to comparative poverty; and among all the Thakoors with whom he treated to combine against the Mahomedans, he gained nothing but words.

32. Of Sheoraj Sing I have written in a separate letter.

33. Shuruf-ood-deen's act, were limited to the assistance to escape afforded by him to Mr. Edwards, and the Gentlemen in his company; but I do not think he had opportunity to do more after the Mahomedan occupation, and I consider the standing aloof, in a season of much trial, to be very creditable to him.

34. All individual instances of housing, protecting, and aiding the escape of Europeans and other Christians having been separately reported to Government, I am concluding that such need not be mentioned in this place. In most instances those acts spring less from a motive of active loyalty than of charity and kindliness, and in some cases being combined with open adhesion to the rebel, a double motive was obvious to suspicion.

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35. In the second rank of this class, I name those in the margin* who occasionally corresponded with me at Nynee Tal, and sent money for the service of Government, though in amounts very inferior to their ability.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| * R i Likraj, Rs. | 1,000. | Bareilly. |
| Doorga Pershaud,.., | 3,600. | |
| Madho Sing, ....,, | 1,000. | |

36. Those belonging to Bareilly are beyond the scope of reward, as they are known to have been more or less intimate with Khan Bahadoor Khan, though, as they allege, by constraint.

37. Those of Moradabad are and were thorough well-wishers of the British Government, but they had no temptation to other course than loyalty, and they were saved from pillage by the Nawab's Government. Their contributions, too, lacked the merit of spontaneity, and in mostly all instances they may be held in the light of Revenue payments. But these persons deserve commendatory notice by Government, and some assignment out of the confiscated estates of the district.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Luchme Narain and Dwarka Dass, ..... | 5,000 Rs. | Moradabad. |
| Byjnath of Thakoordwara,..... | 13,000 Rs. | |
| Ramdyal Chobay,.... | 2,000 Rs. | |
| Purdamun Kishen,.. | 4,000 Rs. | |
| Bulde o Sing of Nerowle,..... | 800 Rs. | |
| Buldeo Sing of Banpore. | 1,000 Rs | Budaon. |
| Purwur Sing,..... | 200 Rs. | |
| Mote Sing and others, .... | 350 Rs. | |

38. Two persons of the district of Moradabad remain, of whom I would make notice in this place, though they will be also doubtless reported on by the Magistrate in his list of loyal subjects. One is Willayut Hooseyn, then an Ex-Deputy Collector; but as he has been rewarded by restoration to the service, and his prominent conduct has been, since the re-establishment of the Government, I need only state that he was loyal from the first, and through the year.

39. The other is Nundkishore, the Superintendent of Roads. This man did excellent service for me, in correspondence and in obtaining intelligence; and at considerable risk to himself, according to my order, went to Bareilly, to see with his own eyes what was going on, and to report to me verbally the result. I shall recommend the grant of a suitable reward, on receipt of the Magistrate's report.

40. The Narrative of the Magistrate of Moradabad, with its enclosures, is forwarded in a separate envelope. I believe I should not keep back the latter, the Magistrate having submitted it as a "faithful account," but not only do I consider it an unbecoming paper to forward to Government, on account of its excess of irrelevant personality, but I utterly deny its fidelity, *quoad* the statement of personal experience, for beside the episode of the writer's apprehension and interview with Bukht Khan, which is fact, I well know, from contemporaneous report and subsequent information, that the writer took the best care to keep himself close during all the interval between his escape from Bukht Khan and the fall of Delhie. He is therefore indebted to hearsay for his facts, and has trusted to imagination for his description. The letters of Roopkishore, to which he alludes, were written by him, but I was always to understand the extreme difficulty in writing and sending letters.

41. Respecting the murder of a Mr. Smith, which is mentioned both in this and Mr. Dunlop's Narrative, the case is this:—The young man, whose father, a writer in one of the offices, died many years ago, and whose mother, a native, is living at Moradabad, was all the time of the mutiny living a loose life, unemployed and idle.

42. On the occurrence of the mutiny, he at once became a Mahomedan by profession, and when the Nawab regained the occupation, after the departure of Bukht Khan, and took charge of the Christian families, this man was so thoroughly associated with the Mahomedans, that the idea of protection was out of place. Soon after the fall of Delhie, the unhappy man had the folly or foolhardiness to give out loudly, that now that the English would soon return, he would know whom to denounce. The speech cost him his life before 24 hours were over. The intelligence reached me the next day I think, and the Nawab was desired to report the investigation in the case. This resulted in no more satisfactory conclusion than in ascertaining that the poor man had been killed in a quarrel among Mahomedans with whom he was daily associating, but that proof of the actual murderers was wanting. The fact doubtless was, that no one would bear witness. Since that time I believe Hindoo and Mahomedan will come forward to swear to the actual murderers, but they have not lost the opportunity to escape.

43. I have, in a separate letter, submitted a report upon the Nawab's administration of Moradabad. In that I have mentioned that the destruction of record prevented any

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close examination of past proceedings, but that all my Hindoo informants, both by letters continually sent to Nynee Tal, and verbally to me both there and at Moradabad, characterized the Nawab's administration under the circumstances to have been most successful. I therefore regard with extreme doubt the disparaging expressions in the account by the Brahmin translator of the Judge's Court.

44. In extenuation of the demerits and short comings of this report I have to state, that notwithstanding repeated calls, neither Mr. Saunders nor Mr Wilson have given me the information I solicited, and which is contemplated to be afforded by Paragraph 4 of your Circular.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. ALEXANDER,

*Commissioner.*

Rohilkhund Commissionership,
Bareilly.
The 30th November 1858.

PRINTED AT THE CENTRAL PRESS ALLAHABAD.

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# CIRCULAR.

No. 342 of 1858.

From

R. ALEXANDER, Esq.

*Commissioner of Rohilkhund,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, Esq.

*Secretary to Government, N. W. P.*

Dated Bareilly, 3rd December 1858.

Sir,

Referring to Paragraph 20 of my letter No. 331, dated 30th November, submitting the account of the Mutiny, I have the honor to request that the names of Mr. Orr and Mr. Wyatt, which were inadvertently omitted by me, may be added to the marginal entry of that paragraph, as they have been to that in my office draft.

2. Mr. Wyatt's devotion of his time and energies in assisting the Magistrate and visiting the Town,—frequently sleeping there,—was most praiseworthy; and Mr. Orr, throughout the season of anxiety and suspense, was courageous and collected, giving a very good example to the Native Officers,—specially when he was deputed to the interior of the district.

3. It would have been a just reproach to me, had I, from any other cause than momentary inadvertence, omitted the names of these unfortunate gentlemen, in giving he list of Officers who did their duty to my satisfaction and their own credit.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. ALEXANDER,

*Commissioner.*

Rohilkhund Commissionership,
Bareilly.
The 3rd December 1858.

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# 1858.

## *JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.*

*From*

*Commissioner Rohilkhund,*

*To*

*Secretary to Government, N. W. P.*

*Dated 3rd December.*

*Received,*

*No.* 342 *of* 1858.

*Supplement to Narrative of Events attending the outbreak of disturbances.*

*Referring to Paragraph* 20 *of his address No.* 331, *dated* 30*th November, requests that the names of Messrs. Orr and Wyatt be added to the list of Officers who did their duty to Commissioner's satisfaction and their own credit, as he inadvertently omitted to name them.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

# RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# ALLAHABAD,

IN 1857-58.

---

No. 2646 OF 1858.

FROM

E. C. BAYLEY, ESQUIRE,

*Officiating Commissioner,*

*Allahabad Division,*

To

W. MUIR, ESQUIRE,

*Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

SIR,

DATED ALLAHABAD, THE 15TH NOVEMBER 1858.

In obedience to the instructions of your letter No. 212, dated 30th April last, requiring a Narrative of the outbreak and progress of revolt in this Division, I have the honor to submit the original documents noted in the accompanying Index.

2. It is much to be regretted that several Officers and others, who possessed the power of giving important information had, before the date of your letter under reply, proceeded to Europe, or had otherwise passed out of reach, without leaving on record any official statement of the facts to which they could bear witness. It is particularly unfortunate that my predecessor, Mr. Chester, whose personal knowledge of the scenes narrated in this correspondence, and of the actors in them, made him the fittest person to compile a general narrative of the course of rebellion in the Division was, shortly after the crisis of the revolt had passed, compelled by ill-health to quit his post.

3. Labouring therefore under the double disadvantages of incomplete information, and of defective personal knowledge, I consider that I shall be acting in accordance with the object which Government proposes in directing the preparation of this narrative, if I leave, for the most part, the accompanying documents, the most authentic procurable, to speak for themselves, remarking only on a few of the chief points regarding which their information appears defective, or on which it may be desirable to make further researches in other directions. In some few instances, I shall endeavour to reconcile discrepancies in the accounts given by various persons.

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4. It will also be my gratifying duty to bring to the notice of Government, the specially meritorious conduct of such of its Civil Officers, as at a time when scarce one man fell short of his duty, stood forth pre-eminent for devotion and ability; and of such others also, who, though not directly in the service of Government, similarly distinguished themselves amidst those trying scenes. It will be my earnest endeavour to make this portion of my remarks as full as I have the means of doing; but I fear I may still omit services scarcely less deserving than those I submit for the favorable notice of Government.

## ALLAHABAD DISTRICT.

5. In dealing with the general subject, it will be most convenient to proceed first with the District of Allahabad, both because it was the central seat of Civil Government in the Division, and also because it became in some measure the chief local centre of revolt, and the events which occurred within its limits exercised a most important influence over the course of affairs throughout the neighbouring Districts.

6. The first point which seems to demand remark in the Narratives relating to this District, is the assertion contained in the private narrative of the late Dr. Stiven, viz., that it was well known that, at a comparatively early period, and before the relief which removed the 34th and 11th N. I. from Allahabad to Barrackpore and Meerut respectively, that the fidelity of those Regiments had been corrupted at Allahabad by extraneous influences. Dr. Stiven unfortunately does not mention the grounds of his assertion, or the nature of the external influence employed; and his lamented decease prevents further enquiry on this head. I merely therefore give prominence to the paragraph, as containing testimony which, perhaps, may be useful in any future enquiry as to the causes of the general outbreak.

7. To proceed, however, in the order of events as they occurred, it will be seen that all the Narratives treat, comparatively briefly, the anxious period which elapsed between the Meerut outbreak and the 6th of June, on which day that at Allahabad occurred.

8. It does not, however, deserve to be passed over entirely without notice, the conduct of the Civil Authorities, as related by Mr. Monteath, appears to have been marked with singular sagacity, energy, and resolution; nor do the general measures adopted by the Military Authorities seem to have been at fault. The advice and behaviour of Captains Russell and Hardinge particularly, are known to have been of much use to the Civil Authorities. So far as I am aware, no exception can be taken to any thing which was done, except perhaps as to the non-removal of the contents of the Treasury to the Fort. But on this point the Civil Authorities considered, and subsequent events left little doubt, they thought rightly, that the temptation of the Treasure might have been too much for the wavering fidelity of the Sikhs. By sacrificing the Treasure, large as was its amount, it can hardly be a question they saved the Fort at Allahabad, and all it contained, the preservation of which was at that time of incalculable importance; and I venture to think that the Authorities with whom the decision lay, are entitled to all praise for the foresight and resolution they displayed in adopting the responsibility of the measure.

9. That all else was done, which could be done, by the Civil Officers, the narratives subjoined, I think, fully show. It is clear that they were never blind to the impending danger; that they took measures, and successfully, to obtain accurate intelligence as to its extent and progress; that they neglected no available means at their disposal to ward off the eventual calamity, and that they never for one moment allowed their personal interests or feelings to deter them from braving the peril, so long as there remained the least hope that such conduct might avert it. I trust I may be pardoned in

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speaking thus of Messrs. Chester and Court, both my seniors in the service; but it is impossible otherwise to write an accurate history of the time under review. Mr. Willock also, the Junior Civil Servant in the station, though not charged with equal responsibilities, displayed no less loyal self-devotion and individual gallantry.

10. It is only to be regretted that the warnings given by these gentlemen were not more implicitly believed by the community. Had this been the case, it is probable, that hardly any lives would have been sacrificed, except those of the Officers necessarily present with the Regiments.

11. With regard to these latter, the question is one of which the Military Authorities are best capable of judging. I believe, however, I may add, though it is not otherwise on record, that Colonel Simpson had been urged to send the unposted Ensigns to the Fort for safety. He however thought it unwise to comply with this advice, and he has doubtless submitted to Government his reasons for this determination.

12. That the 6th Regiment delayed so long to break into open mutiny was, as far as appears, owing to their inability to deal with the Sikhs. There is reason to believe that they originally intended to await the arrival of the 47th N. I., which had been ordered to Allahabad, conceiving themselves equally unlikely to succeed in tampering with the Sikhs, or in contending with them openly. It was not until they discovered that the 47th Native Infantry, whose co-operation they had expected, were not to come nearer than Mirzapore, that they attempted, as a last resource, to persuade the Sikhs to join them. It was known to the Civil Authorities that these attempts were being made, but it was not fully known how nearly they had been successful, until the last message received from Sir Henry Lawrence before the Telegraph ceased to work, which ran thus :—"Do not trust the Sikhs, but hold the Fort by European blood alone."

13. This advice was, I believe, forwarded on information received from Captain Hardinge, who had meanwhile proceeded to join the Head Quarters of his Regiment at Lucknow. I do not know the exact nature of this information, but it was communicated, I believe, by letter from the detachment at Allahabad, either to Captain Hardinge himself, or to some of his trustworthy Native Officers at Lucknow.

14. The warning could not at the moment be literally obeyed, but it was nevertheless of great value, as will appear in the course of the Narrative. On the other hand, that the force of circumstances compelled the Authorities in some degree to trust the Sikhs, was also fortunate; for they not only eventually redeemed their own, but what was at this moment yet more important, their national character for loyalty, which the Benares and Jounpore mutinies had in some degree put in question.

15. It is now necessary to advert to the circumstances of the actual outbreak itself. From the Narrative compiled by Mr. Monteath, it might be concluded that the mutiny commenced suddenly at Daragunge, and that it only broke out in the Lines, when the news reached the sepoys of the outbreak at the former place.

16. The Narratives of Mr. Willock and Dr. Stiven, however, leave no doubt that the whole was carried out according to a pre-concerted plan. Rockets were at the same moment sent up from Daragunge, from the city and from cantonments, immediately after the firing of the 9 o'clock gun, which appears to have been the appointed signal.

17. From what I can learn, the first notice was given to the unfortunate Officers whose party at Mess was breaking up at the report of the evening

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gun, by a bugle which sounded the alarm in the lines, followed almost immediately by the roll of musketry which was fired at the tank, where Lieutenant Alexander met his death; and in fact, by the time the Daragunge detachments reached the Mess House, (as is proved by the Officers who were carried up prisoners) the guard there had mutinied, and were hunting down the few Officers who remained in the Mess; this too, it would seem from Colonel Simpson's account, did not occur till he had seen his Adjutant and other Officers murdered on parade, and he had himself been compelled to seek safety in flight.

18. The mutiny was therefore almost simultaneous both at Daragunge and the Lines, and the point is of some importance, as it negatives all idea of the outbreak having been the result of any sudden panic or phrenzy, and proves it to have been one of the most deliberate and cold-blooded pieces of treachery perhaps ever planned.

19. There is but little to be said in addition to the details given by Messrs. Willock, Stiven and Monteath, of the catastrophe which followed, or the providential preservation of the Fort. Humanly speaking, the latter was in a great measure brought about by the prominence given to the European Volunteers and Invalids, and to the careful handling of the Sikhs, in accordance with Sir Henry Lawrence's warning, as well to the marvellous personal influence over his men, and the tact, judgment, and sagacity of Lieutenant Colonel Brasyer.

20. In that awful crisis, the exertions of this Officer, of Major Haslewood and Captain Russell, were pre-eminently conspicuous. It is not indeed directly within my province to draw attention to their services, but I may perhaps be excused for mentioning one fact concerning the latter, which I believe cannot otherwise be brought under the cognizance of Government; for it was known only to himself, to Messrs. Chester and Court, (from the latter of whom I received the story,) and to the Conductors whose assistance was required in the execution of the plan.

21. It is this:—no sooner was the actual occurrence of the mutiny ascertained, than Captain Russell (who, having been consulted on all occasions, was aware of the full extent of the danger) at once determined that, in no event, should the Fort fall into the hands of the rebels. He therefore laid trains to all the Magazines, which were distributed in various quarters of the Fort, and which contained altogether an enormous amount of ammunition. The trains were all conducted to a spot near to which Captain Russell himself stood beside the loaded guns, assisting in the disarmament of the company of the 6th, and had that crisis ended otherwise than it did, the insurgents would have found the coveted Fort and Arsenal little else but an empty mass of blackened ruins.

22. Civil Government was, after this period, for a time necessarily suspended. All men became per-force soldiers, and all did their work well. Mr. Willock, whose own modest account scarcely does justice to his services, was appointed to command a company of Railway Volunteers, whose Adjutant was Mr. Betagh, the Local Railway Engineer; other military duties were similarly assigned to other Civil Officers; but Messrs. Chester and Court, from the first moment, exerted themselves also to open communications with friends outside the Fort, to get provisions, money and intelligence, and as soon as possible, some standing ground from which to re-assert their civil authority.

23. It is already known to Government how faithfully they were assisted by certain of the native Government officials, and by other natives, both Hindoos and Mussulmans, and these have already received liberal rewards.

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24. Within the Fort, Messrs. Palmer and Sandys, residents of the station gave valuable aid in the collection of supplies and information; they subsequently also did good service when attached to the Sikhs in action outside the Fort.

25. Conspicuous also, in various ways, were the services of Mr. Glynn of the Customs Department, who shortly after the first outbreak arrived from Oude with a party of refugees.

26. Without the Fort meanwhile, as will be seen from Mr. Monteath's interesting Narrative, entire confusion prevailed. He does not however attempt to account for the fact, which he mentions that the revolt within the Doab at once assumed the character of a Mahomedan religious war. But it is worthy of remark, that not only were the population of Pergunnahs Chail and Kurra, chiefly Mahomedans, but that the city and its immediate neighbourhood contained a somewhat unusual number of decayed families of that persuasion, who had derived their original importance from connection with the old Governments of Delhi and Lucknow, and who therefore, it might be supposed, would not unnaturally look to the restoration of a Mahomedan empire, as the means of regaining their former social status.

27. To whatever degree, however, this feeling prevailed, I believe it was to be found chiefly among the low hangers-on of such families, and among the connections of their dependants, rather than among the numbers of the families themselves: few of these at least shewed any open disloyalty, while some most creditably refused to countenance the fanaticism of their brethren. Indeed, the actual leaders of revolt were mostly men of comparatively humble station in life.

28. The Moulvie, Leakut Allie, himself was a man of no birth, and small social importance; and his letter, apparently addressed to the Begum at Lucknow, a translation of the rough copy of which (found by Mr. Willock at Dehyiyon) is annexed, shews that his chief associates were men of his own class.

29. The rapidity, however, with which the general Mahomedan character of the revolt developed itself in the Pergunnahs of Chail and Kurra was certainly remarkable, and must be attributed to a general readiness for revolt, whether arising from the causes, I have attempted to describe, or from any others.

30. There is but one other incident of the outbreak which particularly requires notice: it is the defence of the Railway tank at Bharwari, a Narrative of which by Mr. Keymer will be found among the documents* now forwarded. It is a simple statement, but it gives due credit to the merits of Major Ryves, to whom under Providence, the ultimate escape of the party may be fairly attributed. This gentleman was subsequently severely wounded in endeavouring to prevent the escape of a party of rebels who crossed the Railway in their flight from Banda, after the re-occupation of that station; and I think he is deserving of some notice on the part of Government.

* Enclosure No. 5, of a letter No. 126, from the Magistrate of Cawnpore, dated 7th July 1858.

31. It is needless to expatiate on the various incidents which immediately followed on the arrivals of Generals Neill and Havelock, for these were mostly of a military nature, and as such have been already reported to Government, through other channels. The rebels were not expelled from the station, until after several days of severe fighting, nor without considerable loss on our side. The Volunteers took their share in these operations, and did their duty well. The sudden outbreak of cholera in the Fort taxed also to the utmost, the energies of the few available medical men, and of the ministers of religion; but they too responded to the call, and it seems almost invidious

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to particularize the zealous services of Doctor Irving, and of the Reverend Mr. Spry. Much labor also at once devolved on Doctor Spry, on the members of the American Mission, and on the Civil Officers, in providing for the immediate wants of many sufferers, who were utterly ruined by the destruction of their property, and were left helpless and destitute; nor was the task a short or an easy one. Refugees from other Districts poured in on every side, and it was full twelve months before claims of this nature ceased to be made upon them. Funds were at first locally raised, but as you are aware, subsequently supplied from the general Relief Fund.

32. The restoration of order was not so rapid in the District as might have been hoped. In the Doab, the general anarchy at once indeed subsided, and the Trans-Jumna pergunnahs, though sorely tried by the passage through them of the Dinapore mutineers, and of the detachments of the 32nd N. I. were never seriously disturbed. But in the Doab, order was not restored. It was not till the 30th of June that Major Renaud, with the advance guard of General Havelock's force, was able to leave Allahabad, or could in fact be fitted for a march. Mr. Willock accompanied the column, and advantage was taken of its services to replace some police posts and Tehseelees. But great difficulty was experienced in collecting trustworthy men to occupy them, and this was only gradually overcome, very soon too the column was rapidly pushed on towards Futtehpore, in the vain hope of relieving Cawnpore; military exigencies compelled General Havelock likewise to press on, without more completely settling the Allahabad District.

33. The mass of the population between the rivers had taken advantage of the general interregnum to commit crimes of every sort. Many fled therefore with the first prospect of the restoration of order, in other places desperate characters had collected bands of plunderers, the means of enforcing the law were weak; and military aid, till the fall of Lucknow, was but very rarely available. Under these circumstances, the Civil Authorities, in spite of the most strenuous exertions, for sometime were not able at first entirely to clear this part of the District.

34. To relieve the Chief Officers of a portion of their unusual labor, powers under the special Acts, were conferred on several gentlemen hitherto unaccustomed to civil work. But it was found in practice, that functions requiring peculiar care and practised judgment for their proper exercise, could hardly with safety be entrusted to inexperienced hands, and these commissions were therefore soon recalled.

35. But the refugees from Banda, who now arrived, were at once of material service. Mr. Sherer (and with him Mr. Willock) was deputed to accompany the column proceeding upwards under General Havelock. Mr. Edmonstone took the place of the Judge; Mr. Masson, who, being absent on temporary leave when the outbreak commenced, had been unable to rejoin. To Mr. Mayne was committed the important charge of the Trans-Gangetic Pergunnahs and of the Grand Trunk Road. Mr. Moore, who had preceded him in the latter charge, had just been barbarously murdered; and the sole force at his command were a very few Sikhs and Irregular Horse, the latter under Major Matheson, and a couple of hundred of hastily-raised and half-armed levies, with a few police of doubtful fidelity. The difficulties with which he had to contend were peculiarly formidable. Not only had the revolt in this direction, as pointed out by Mr. Monteath, assumed an agrarian character, but it was to some extent organized. Before the end of June, a "Nazim" or Governor had been sent both to Sooltanpore and Salone, by the rebel Government at Lucknow, and they and their subordinates, supported by a few mutineers, and by a considerable body of the old Oude troops, who had been disbanded on annexation, but were now again collected round their colours, not only held their respective Divisions in Oude, but invaded our older Provinces. To their standard, flocked all the desperate refugees from the Doab, religious fanatics of every description, all the rebels of our own Trans-Gangetic territories, and many feudal Chiefs in Oude.

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36. Nevertheless, Mr. Mayne not only continued to hold his own, but even to gain ground; stationed at first at Goopeegunge, he speedily commenced strengthening himself, and by encouraging the loyal, confirming the wavering, and over-awing the disaffected, he managed soon to ensure the safety of the Grand Trunk Road. This was not, however, effected without several skirmishes, in which he was always personally among the foremost, and which were invariably successful.

37. At length fresh levies were raised, a party of the 50th Native Infantry, who remained faithful, joined Mr. Mayne; the loyal Zemindars and others, who had become tired of anarchy and plunder, began to yield active assistance, so that Mr. Mayne was able in November to move his camp from Goopeegunge to Hunoomangunge; and thence in December to Phoolpore, north of the Grand Trunk Road. Here he was very briskly opposed by the rebels, and though holding his own, compelled to ask repeatedly for military aid.

38. At last, when the rebels had for sometime dared to approach almost within sight of the station of Allahabad, and had continually insulted its Garrison, holding for many weeks, in considerable strength, a post at Papamhow, on the left bank of the Ganges, not three miles from the station, circumstances occurred, which admitted of operations being undertaken against them by troops collected for other purposes. Accordingly, early in January, a well-managed expedition under the late Brigadier Campbell, C. B., totally defeated, with considerable loss, the Naib Nazim of Salone, and his troops at Munsetha, about eight miles from Allahabad. In this action (the firing in which was visible from the banks of the river at Allahabad), Messrs. Mayne and Court rendered, as usual, signal service, the former killing with his own hand a petty rebel Chief, in the middle of his followers, he himself having but one man with him.

39. The rebels, however, again advanced and re-occupied Sooraon, and their old post opposite Papamhow, until General Franks' action at Nusrutpore; after which they entirely withdrew from the District, and never again permanently occupied any portion of it. Mr. Mayne then moved to Sooraon, and succeeded in re-organizing the Trans-Gangetic Pergunnahs, in charge of which he remained till summoned to his proper duties at Banda.

40. Meanwhile, Mr. Court had continued his exertions in the rest of the District, in which he received very valuable assistance from a party of the 12th N. I., who escorted their Officers from Nowgong, and whose subsequent career has been one of unflinching loyalty. Twice only was he able to obtain more extensive military aid; but when he was at length obliged by shattered health in April to return to Europe, the whole of this part of the District, with the exception of a small portion of the Atherbun pergunnah, was again in his hands.

41. It is stated by Mr. Monteath that the exertions of the Moonsiff of Munjhunpore, Peearee Mohun, kept the rebels here at bay, until the occupation of Banda compelled them to disperse also.

42. Since that period, an expedition was found necessary to destroy the boats on the Ganges, which was well carried out by a party of military police under Captain Dennehy, placed on board the *Burhampootra*, armed Steamer, and accompanied by Mr. Fendall Thompson, the Acting Magistrate of the District, and a subsequent raid of Rewah rebels into the Trans-Jumna Pergunnahs was also severely punished by the police under Captain Dennehy. In both instances, every credit is due to Captain Dennehy and his police, Mr. Thompson, and the Officers of the *Burhampootra* Steamer also deserved much credit, for their share in the first operation. In both cases, too, the rebels fought obstinately; but their fire was ill-directed, and our loss small.

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43. The capture of the Pretender by Brigadier Berkeley may be said to have finished the pacification of the District, for it put an end to the inroads of the Oudh rebels, which had become somewhat formidable, and drove them finally to a distance.

44. In recapitulation, therefore, I have only to bring to the favorable notice of Government, Messrs. Chester, Court, Mayne and Willock, Captain Russell, and the late Captain Hardinge, Major Haslewood and Lieutenant Colonel Brasyer. The services of the two latter, however, though acknowledged here, were more properly speaking, Military, and have as such been already noticed by Government. Captain Hardinge is unhappily beyond acknowledgment. In a secondary degree, the services of Messrs. H. R. Wilson, Glynn and Betagh, of Major Ryves, and of Messrs. Palmer and Sandys, also merit recognition on the part of Government.

## FUTTEHPORE DISTRICT.

45 The outbreak in this District was next in chronological order to that at Allahabad, and was to some extent a consequence of the latter ; it is therefore naturally the next to be narrated. The state of the District previous to the final revolt, and the circumstances of that event itself, are so vividly described by Messrs. Sherer and Macnaghten, that few additional remarks are required from me. No effort appears to have been wanting, and no probable means of averting the catastrophe to have been omitted by the proper Authorities of the District, that these exertions failed was at least owing to no fault of theirs.

46. It is true that the comparatively small number of sepoys and the compactness of their little body of Europeans, gave the residents at the station some advantages. Still I think that Mr. Sherer's account must make it quite evident, that they did not retire until their further stay would have been an useless sacrifice, and that they barely availed themselves in time of their last chance of escape.

47. But, while fully admitting that the persistence of these gentlemen was carried to the last point consistent with conscientious prudence, it is impossible not to admire, however it may be regretted, the heroic devotion of the late Mr. Tucker ; nor is it much a matter of wonder, that his conduct and his personal prowess (Mr. Tucker was, I believe, more than once slightly wounded early in the day) actually succeeded in preserving for a few hours longer, some show of order.

48. In connection with his death, I may here mention one incident, apparently unknown to Mr. Sherer, but which was subsequently elicited in the course of a judicial enquiry by his successor, and is worthy of notice.

49. Mr. Tucker, by his earnest and open profession of religion, and by his unbounded pecuniary liberality, had commanded the respect, if not the affection, of a large number of the inhabitants of the city, and when the excited mob returned in triumphant procession from his slaughter, two Hindoos of the town stood out before them, and reviled them as the murderers of a just and holy man ; it is scarcely necessary to add that they immediately shared his fate.

50. The account of these events by Mr. Manuel is, I believe, generally correct, though as to the direct connection of the Deputy Collector, Hickmut-oollah Khan, with Mr. Tucker's death, it may be open to question.

51. Mr. Tucker however, I believe, had relied on Hickmut-oollah Khan to procure him means of escape, should he be compelled ultimately to fly, and there is at least no trace of any effort on Hickmut-oollah Khan's part to save him. Mr. Sherer also I know warned Hickmut-oollah of his own intended retirement from the District, and begged the Deputy Collector to accompany him, but he absolutely refused to do so.

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52. It can hardly be said that the rising in Futtehpore presented any very definite characteristics. As the Narrative of Mr. Corrigan clearly shows, it was rather a sort of general saturnalia, the excesses of which speedily disposed the majority of the inhabitants to call for the aid of what seemed to them the actual existing Government. They submitted, therefore, at once to the Nana Sahib, and afterwards, when his forces were defeated by General Havelock, no wide-spread opposition was encountered on the part of the people at large. Only notorious tribes and villagers continued, till we were strong enough to repress them, to pursue their lawless career, and Government officials were attacked by them, not so much because they were loyal to us, as because they were the instruments of peace and order. Many of the outlying Thannahs and Tehseels were thus either destroyed, or their occupants compelled to retire, and no military aid of any kind being available for some time, but slow progress was necessarily made in the restoration of Civil Government.

53. Till the middle of September, indeed, although Mr. Sherer at Cawnpore nominally held charge of both Districts, it may be said no attempt could be made for the purpose. At that time Mr. Probyn was deputed as Magistrate and Collector of the District, and supported at the station itself by the presence of a small body of troops.

54. As subsequent events became the subject of some controversy, I beg to refer to the letter of the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, No. 72, dated 8th February 1858, and its enclosures, for a full, and I would hope, satisfactory review of their history.

55. I will only add, that Mr. Probyn eventually, by the occasional aid of some movable military detachment, by the assistance of one or two natives of influence, and by his own firm, but conciliatory demeanour, succeeded so completely in regaining possession of the District, as to collect the entire instalments of the spring moiety of the revenue, with nearly all the arrears of revenue for the foregoing year; the outstanding balances being merely nominal. He too has been compelled to return to Europe by the many hardships he underwent, but his conduct from the commencement of these troubles has done thoroughly good service to Government, and he deserves well at their hand. His subordinate, Mr. Elliot Macnaghten, too, has done thoroughly well. Both he and Mr. Probyn have been repeatedly under fire with troops; and he has given very efficient aid in the discharge of the arduous current work of the District. Mr. Glynn, whose services at Allahabad were rewarded by promotion, and appointment to the Revenue branch of the Uncovenanted Service, has likewise merited the good opinion of Government.

56. A larger proportion of the Native officials in Futtehpore remained stedfast to their allegiance, than in any of the neighbouring Districts, and to some extent Mr. Probyn's task was proportionably lightened by this circumstance. Such of these men as deserved reward, have been already brought to the notice of Government.

## BANDA DISTRICT.

57. The mutiny at this station, and the consequent abandonment and disorganization of the District took place next in order of time to that at Futtehpore. The graphic account of the period which preceded these events given by Mr. Edmonstone, requires no additions at my hands, and on Mr. Mayne's original Narrative, Government have already recorded an opinion, that Mr. Mayne erred, if at all, in daring to the verge of rashness. This opinion the documents now submitted go far to support there can be no doubt; to have even stayed many minutes longer would have been madness. The unhappy fate of the late Mr. Cockerell is further evidence, if such were necessary, to the same effect. This gentleman did not leave Kirwee, in spite of Mr. Mayne's urgent request, till the unwillingness of the Raos of that place to shelter him

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in case of necessity, rendered it impossible for him to remain; but it was then too late, and he only reached Banda to fall into the hands of the infuriated populace: and thus a very gallant and zealous servant of Government, like many others in this crisis, fell a sacrifice to a perhaps over-strained sense of his duty.

58. Mr. Mayne's Narrative of the further progress of events is so complete, that I can add nothing to it, but to urge again upon the notice of Government, the coolness, judgment, and gallantry of this most excellent Officer, and to state my own conviction that the rapid reduction of Banda, after a full year of anarchy, to a state of tranquillity, is mainly owing to his indefatigable labor, and his temperate and wise administration. I do not, indeed, believe that any Officer in the Division, nay few if any under this Government, have rendered so many and so great services to Government, or are so deserving of distinction and reward. His present Assistants, Messrs. James, W. Power, and Carne, have chiefly served beyond the limits of this Division, and I can only bear testimony to the zeal with which they have discharged the duties more recently committed to them. They have both been more than once called upon to accompany troops into the field, and have performed the delicate task, which thus devolved upon them, in all respects to the full satisfaction of their superiors.

I have, &c.,

E. C. BAYLEY,

*Officiating Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, 4TH DIVISION:
ALLAHABAD,
*The 15th November* 1858.

P. S.—No report is submitted as regards Cawnpore and Humeerpore, because up to the time of my making over charge to Mr. Thornhill, on his return from leave, no papers relative to those Districts had reached this Office.

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## LIST OF ENCLOSURES.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE

# ALLAHABAD DISTRICT,

IN 1858.

No. 376 OF 1858.

FROM

F. THOMPSON, ESQUIRE,
*Offg. Magistrate of Allahabad,*

To

E. C. BAYLEY, ESQUIRE,
*Offg. Commissioner 4th Division,*

DATED ALLAHABAD, THE 9TH NOVEMBER 1858.

SIR,

In reply to your letter No. 783, dated 8th May last, I have the honor to forward you a statement of occurrences from the first commencement of the mutiny up to the 14th of July last, when the fort of Dehiya was taken, and the district completely cleared of rebels. The statement has been drawn out by Mr. Monteath, Assistant Magistrate, from the records in this office, and from the *vivâ voce* evidence of several Officers, who were in the station from the commencement of the outbreak.

2. The first perceptible excitement in Allahabad was during that eventful period,—the first half of May,—when the British power in India was receiving the great shock which first revealed the gigantic proportions of the storm which had been brewing. An almost simultaneous outburst was taking place in widely separated places. Lucknow, Meerut and Dehli, Ferozepoor and Lahore, and wherever such awful news was listened to, a sympathetic excitement might be expected to arise. The 12th of May, on which day the report of the emeute at Meerut reached Allahabad, is the day from which was dated the commencement of excitement here. Tales of mutiny and outbreak went their rounds in the ranks and the bazar, and along with them was also canvassed another momentous question. The report of the proselytizing intentions of Government was fast becoming a belief, both in the

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town and barracks; cringing native servants in some instances took Christian names to show their non-resistance to the scheme, and the general panic was indicated by the sudden rise in the price of grain and other articles of food.

3. On the 17th, news of the fearful progress, and the awful character of the mutiny at Dehli arrived, and on the 18th the European community at Allahabad assembled to concert plans for united action, and agreed on an alarm signal in case of sudden disturbance. On the 19th, two troops of the 3rd Oude Irregulars arrived from Pertabgurh, under Lieutenant A. Alexander; and on the following day, a letter from Captain Hardinge, saying that Sir H. Lawrence had despatched these troops to be placed under civil authority here. Twenty-five of these were detached for the protection of the treasury, another twenty for the jail, and night patrols were arranged from Daragunge by the jail up to the treasury. In the fort were a wing of a Seikh Regiment (Ferozepoor Regiment,) and one company of the 6th N. I. The rest of the 6th N. I. were in their lines between two and three miles from the fort. Soon after this 60 European invalid artillery men were brought from Chunar, and constituted the only European element in the garrison of the fort at the time of the mutiny. Such was the disposition of troops in this station during the next eventful and anxious fortnight. Seikhs, sepoys, and a few invalid Europeans inside the fort, and sepoys and Oude Irregulars outside. Some there were, especially Officers, who, through all the alarming news and alarming symptoms, trusted to the last the fidelity of the native troops in the station. Others there were, who distrusted the sepoys of the 6th, but who relied still on the Seikhs and Irregulars, and looked to them as the great counterpoise to the other dangerous element. There were others, who looked with equal distrust on all native troops whatsoever, and who regarded the few invalid Europeans as the only safety in case of danger. It was then a question of great moment whether the treasure should be removed into the fort or not? If it was, the outbreak might be precipitated, and a fresh temptation added to the uncertain fidelity of the Seikhs. This question, we shall see afterwards, was most fortunately decided in the negative. On that decision, which was based on a despatch of Sir H. Lawrence, may be said to have depended the preservation of the fort; for if the Seikhs, who were inside, had had the treasure in their possession, they would in all human probability have seized it, and joined the rebel cause.

4. But at the time we are talking of, this decision had not been arrived at; and magazine carts and bullocks were placed in the treasury compound, ready to remove the treasure to the fort, if deemed advisable. While these precautionary measures were being made, the general excitement among the natives was rapidly increasing. The disaffection of the 6th N. I. was openly talked of in the bazar. A report got abroad that Government had fixed the 25th as the day to issue the objectionable cartridges; and for that purpose they were to be paraded on the glacis of the fort, where a commanding fire would enforce obedience to the order: but the sepoys, it was said, had determined neither to use the cartridge, nor to trust themselves on such dangerous ground. It was no use publishing in the bazar, or asserting to the men, that such reports were devoid of the slightest foundation; they too well suited the excited temperament of both people and soldiers to be easily divested of their apparent probability. On the afternoon of the 22nd, Sekundar Khan, Rissaldar, in charge of the Irregulars, posted at the treasury, informed Captain Hardinge, (commanding Irregulars,) that he had been asked by the Soubadar of the 6th guard to join in preventing the removal of the treasure if attempted, and this was soon after confirmed by the Duffadar, informing Alexander, (2nd in command,) that he and the sowars had been asked to join. The Magistrate, Mr. Court, reported this to the Officer in command, Colonel Simson, who intimated shortly afterwards his intention of repairing to the fort, which he considered his proper place. Mr. Court strenuously opposed this measure, which he considered to be a virtual abandonment of the cantonment, and almost certain therefore to lead to an outbreak of the bad characters in the city, and

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probably to the rising also of all the out stations. He was fully persuaded also, that the regiment would refuse to march to the fort, and that the attempt to make them do so would only precipitate the mutiny, which it seemed of the utmost consequence to postpone. Small detachments of Europeans were marching up to Allahabad, whose arrival before an outbreak might change the face of affairs, but whose very existence would be perilled by its taking place before. On these objections being made, Colonel Simson abandoned the plan.

5. On the evening of this day, (22nd,) Mr. Court, Colonel Simson, Mr. Chester, (Commissioner,) and Captain Hardinge, met for consultation, and determined to remove all women and children into the fort early next morning; but that no male should be allowed to enter it, as it seemed of the utmost consequence to postpone any disturbance outside. At 4 on the following morning, (23rd,) Colonel Simson and Captain Birch informed Mr. Court of the total abandonment of last night's plans. Captain Birch had been appointed Commandant of the garrison, and orders had been issued, directing other Officers to repair thither. Mr. Court objected, but in vain; and by 10 A. M. his anticipations were fulfilled, by a regular flight to the fort of men, women and children, carrying with them all the property they could. Mr. Court again remonstrated, and the orders were at last cancelled. The non-military portion of the community were formed into a volunteer guard, and the city and station were patrolled by them, accompanied by police sowars during the night. On the 24th, Mr. Court stationed a company of the 6th in Khooshroo garden, and sent his own tent there. Reports of the amalgamation of the 6th and Seikhs were rife, but the contagion had not yet done its work in full, for in the evening two Mewatees were handed up by the 6th, as having entered their lines to tamper with their loyalty. The 25th was the Mussulman *Eed*, and many therefore were the fears it brought with it. The day however passed off quietly.

6. In the evening a parade of the 6th Regiment was held, at which the sepoys, who had given up the spies, were presented with the ranks of Naek and Havildar, and the prisoners were removed to the Central prison. On the following day, a sepoy of the 6th complained in a mutinous way of the promotion of the day before, by which he had been superseded. Colonel Simson believed he was unsupported by the men generally, and the Officers declared their entire confidence in the regiment. The spies, who had been given up, were removed to the fort, as information of an attempt at release by the Mewatees of Sumdabad and Russoolpoor was received. Mr. Willock, Joint Magistrate, also was posted to the Jail along with a company of the 6th. From the 27th of May to the 3rd of June, everything seemed gradually re-assuming its wonted peace and quietness. Offices were re-opened, and business in all quarters recommenced. Fear began to subside, and those European detachments which arrived, were forwarded on to Cawnpoor; yet all this was but the lull before the storm; while the feeling of insecurity in the European community was daily lessening, the schemes for their destruction were daily being matured. About this time a telegraphic message was received from Sir H. Lawrence, advising not in any way to trust the Seikhs; and to this advice, as has already been mentioned, is due, in all probability, the preservation of the fort. The intention here had been, in case of necessity, to remove the treasure to the fort, where the Seikhs were stationed; and had that been done, the possession of the treasure would have formed one of the strongest possible temptations to them to join the absorbing tide of mutiny. Sir H. Lawrence's message showed to all the extreme danger of the ground on which they were resting, and the absolute necessity of not trusting too implicitly to any native troops whatsoever. From that date (June 4th) the lull of quiet began to be broken up, and the rising storm to gather rapidly around. Telegraphic communication, with both east and west, was broken off, and the dâk coachman hurried back with the news that Benares was in flames. The meditated outbreak had been there precipitated by the energetic measures of Colonel Neill, and both Seikhs and sepoys mingled together in the general melé,—

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had shared in the general destruction in which it ended. The news that the 13th Irregulars, with the Native and Seikh Regiments, having escaped from Benares, were in full march on Allahabad, gave a more definite shape to the alarm. The storm had long been known to be gathering, but people knew not on which side to look for its bursting.

7. Now all eyes were directed to the Benares road, and even the indefinite fear of mutiny within, gave place in a great measure to what was now considered a certain and definite danger from without.

8. Measures were at once taken by the authorities to meet this supposed danger, (June 5th) and so entirely did they regard it as the one imminent danger to be met, that steps were taken, which the result proved to have been very unwise. A company of the 6th N. I., under Lieutenant Hicks, was sent to Daragunge, and two 9-pounders, under Lieutenant Harward, were put into their hands by Colonel Simson's orders, though a strong remonstrance was made against it by Captain Russell of the Artillery. Means were also furnished to the Ghât establishment for destroying the passage by cutting away two or more boats, and sowar pickets were sent out on the Benares road. Every European was ordered to the fort, and there, to the number of 64, they were at once embodied, armed, and placed under a European officer. During the whole of this day (5th), great alarm was felt, but few probably thought how soon, and in what way, the danger would develop itself. The night passed off peaceably, and the morning of the 6th June, dawned in outward quiet on the city and the station of Allahabad. Several Europeans had refused to enter the fort, either from a belief that there was not just cause for such a step, or from unwillingness to abandon all their property to plunder, and several, this very morning, who had previously gone to the fort, returned to their houses, and to this is owing in a great measure the bloody character which the mutiny was enabled to assume. At 6 P. M. the 6th N. I., who had volunteered with enthusiasm to march against the insurgents at Dehli, were paraded to hear read to them the letter of thanks from the Governor General in Council. The men seemed highly pleased, and cheered loudly. The European Officers were more than ever confirmed in their implicit reliance on the fidelity of their men; yet in three hours and a half this loyal cheer was changed for the shout of mutiny and murder. At 9-15 P. M. the mutiny broke out at Daragunge. Lieutenant Harward in vain tried to stem the tide. The sepoys, who had turned out all accoutred, rushed at the two guns, seized them, and immediately commenced dragging them towards cantonments. Lieutenant Harward then galloped off to Lieutenant Alexander, who was posted with two troops of 3rd Oude Irregulars at Alopeebagh, between Daragunge and cantonments. The latter Officer at once ordered out his men, and they obeyed, though very tardily; and by the time they were ready, the noise of the guns being dragged along the road to cantonments could be distinctly heard. Harward despatched a short note to the fort, informing Brasyer of what had happened, and then set out with Alexander and the Irregulars in pursuit of the guns. They soon came up with them, and the order to charge was given. Only three men followed their gallant leader, who fell, shot through the breast in the volley which met them. All but one or two Irregulars now joined the mutineers, and Harward had again to escape for his life. This firing was the first intimation, to the fort and station, of the outbreak. It was at first almost universally thought to indicate the approach of the expected enemy from Benares. Harward's note first told the truth to those inside the fort, but it did not so quickly reach those outside. There was a large gathering in the 6th Mess-house that evening of 17 Officers, including 8 unposted Cadets, who had just arrived. The Officers talked of the fight, which had probably commenced, and were eager to share in its success. The bugle at this time sounded at the 6th lines, and thither many an Officer hastened. But the call was a treacherous one; as each Officer arrived, he was deliberately murdered. Colonel Simson was received with a volley, but managed to escape into the fort, as also did Captain Gordon, Lieutenant Hicks, and Ensign Currie. Of the Cadets, only two escaped, Messrs. Pearson and Woodgate. They, together

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with Lieut. Hicks, were at Daragunge when the mutiny broke out, as mentioned before. Lieut. Harward managed to escape, after finding that all attempts to stop it were unavailing. These three, however, were not so fortunate; they were taken prisoners by the sepoys, and marched triumphantly towards cantonments. They had just reached the mess-house compound, when suddenly a shout and noise were heard in the direction of the treasury, and the sepoys rushed off, it is supposed, to secure their share of the plunder; leaving their three prisoners standing alone. They immediately made for Hicks's house, and as they passed along the road, bounding the mess-house compound, they distinctly heard inside, the firing and shouts of murderers and the shrieks of the murdered. They at last got into Hicks's buggy, and drove to the banks of the Ganges at Papphamhow ghât, where they swam across the river, and going down its left bank, till they came opposite the fort, they again swam across and landed at the fort walls, inside which they soon managed to get. Meanwhile the work of blood and destruction had no lack of hands to perform it. Early in the morning the jail gates were thrown open, and 3,000 ruffians from its wards, and many thousand Mewatees and other miscreants from the city, rushed eagerly to help in the deeds of that night. Soon the whole horizon, looking north and west from the ramparts of the fort, became one mass of flame and lurid smoke, from which issued the yells and shrieks of thousands of infuriated devils doing the work of murder and rapine. By morning's dawn, 31 Europeans had perished, and it may be as well that the details of but few of so many murders are known with any certainty.

Next day saw the green flag of the prophet waving over the cotwalee, in acknowledged harmony with the scenes of blood and atrocity around it. While these scenes were being enacted outside the fort, a crisis of inexpressible danger had passed off within its walls in our favour. When it was certain that the 6th N. I. had mutinied, it became necessary of course to disarm the company of that regiment within the fort. This was accomplished by Lieutenant Brasyer, with consummate courage, temper, and tact, ably supported by Captains Hazlewood and Russell. The company of sepoys was assembled near the main gate; they had their muskets loaded, for they had been ordered to load by Lieutenant Williams, on the first sound of firing, when it was thought to be an attack of the enemy without. The Sikhs were drawn up in front of the barracks, facing the main gate, and before them the guns manned by the European invalid Artillery men. The Volunteers occupied posts previously assigned to them on the ramparts. One party being over the main gate, looking down upon the sepoy guard. It was an exciting moment when the order to pile arms was given, and the sepoys stood hesitating what to do. Two guns were at this moment brought up in a menacing position; one bore on the flank of the company, the other swept the main gate. The port-fires were lighted, and the carbines of the Artillery men, and the rifles of the Volunteers, were all equally ready for the worst, should it come. The disarming was at last accomplished without bloodshed, though not

*List of those murdered in Allahabad in the Mutiny.*

6TH REGIMENT N. I.

John Plunkett, Captain.
Robert Stewart, Lieut. and Adjt.
G. H. Hawes, Lieut. and Qr. Master.
G. S. Pringle, Ensign.
G. L. Munro, Ensign.
Thomas Farey, Sergt. Major.
George Watkins, Quarter Master Sergt.

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UNPOSTED CADETS.

Thomas L. Bayliff, Ensign.
Edward E. Beaumont, ditto.
Arthur M. H. Cheek, ditto.
Philip S. Codd, ditto.
Arthur J. Scott, ditto.
Marshal D. Smith, ditto.
Edward M. Smith, ditto.
Charles G. Way, ditto.

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Thomas C. H. Birch, Capt., 31st N. I., Fort Adjt.
Charles D. Innes, Lieut., Engineers.
Augustus H. Alexander, 68th Regt. N. I., 2nd in command of 3rd Regt. O. I. C.
Geoffrey Coleman, Conductor, Ord. Dept.
Anthony Fernardo, pensioned Drummer.

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Julien Boilard, Merchant.
Henry Archer, ditto.
George Fulow, ditto.
George D. Castro, pensioned Clerk.

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Mary, wife of Sergeant Collins.
Fredericka, M., daughter of John Jones, Clerk.
Mary Thomas, widow.
Susan Benson, ditto.
Ann, George, and Catherine; wife, son, and daughter of Drummer Diddear, 6th Regt. N. I.

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without the most evident desire to resist on the part of the sepoys. One man even cocked his gun, as Lieut. Williams was taking it from him. After this the two other sepoy guards were disarmed without resistance, and the whole were turned out into the ravelin, whence they were turned outside next day, being allowed to carry off all their private property. The Sikhs after this became steadier and quieter, and the European community in the fort could again breathe freely. During the night the few Irregulars who had remained staunch, came in, bringing with them the body of their officer, Lieut. Alexander, who had been shot as before related. His body bore witness to the mad cruelty of his enemies, for, besides the shot in the breast, which killed him, were sabre cuts all over his head and face. Great confusion existed inside the fort for some days, owing partly to the absence on duty of the Commissariat Officer, Lieut. Davidson, and the murder of the Fort Adjutant, Captain Birch. The confusion was greatly increased on the 9th by a party of Volunteers and Sikhs being sent out to bring in stores from the Government Steam Agency premises, &c.,—Messrs Hamilton's godowns. But first the Volunteers, and then the Sikhs, took to indiscriminate plundering; and as the plunder was principally wine and brandy, the result was very general drunkenness, and insubordination, both then and afterwards, in the fort.

But to return. On the very morning after the mutiny, *i. e.* on the 7th June, a small party of fifty, 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Lieutenant Arnold, arrived at Jhoosee, where the Benares road meets the bridge of boats. They were wearied and exhausted by a forced march; but the bridge was in the hands of the enemy, and no boats could be found. It was not till late at night that a Government steamer, which was lying at the fort, was despatched to bring them across, though the fact of their arrival was known in the morning. On the 9th June, another small detachment of the same regiment of 57 men, under Lieutenant Beaumont, arrived, and dropped down in boats to the fort. They had been attacked on the road by the villagers of Kutwa, and had lost their baggage, though no lives. On the 11th June, Colonel Neill himself arrived with 40 more men, and immediately assumed command. He at once set about taking measures for re-organizing the force within the fort, and commencing operations against the enemy without. It was high time that such measures should be taken. The insubordination in the garrison had reached a very dangerous height. The Sikhs were daily more overbearing and unruly. Every thing they could lay their hands on, they considered lawful plunder; and both they and the Europeans went in and out of the fort almost at pleasure. Colonel Neill, with equal caution and promptitude, enforced a more strict discipline, and kept the men occupied by the operations he commenced outside. Up to this time the rebels had been employed in daily burning and destruction. They were closely investing the fort, though doing nothing actively against it. They held the bridge of boats, partially destroyed, and occupied in force the important post of Daragunge at the Allahabad end of it. Nothing had as yet been done to dislodge them from any point, or disturb them in any way. The guns of the fort commanded Daragunge and the bridge of boats, but not a shot had been fired. The morning (June 12th) after Colonel Neill's arrival, fire was opened on that quarter by his orders, and he at the same time attacked it with a party of Fusiliers and Sikhs, drove the enemy out, and secured the bridge. It was at once repaired, and was ready next day for the crossing of one hundred more Fusiliers, under Major Stephenson, who had left Benares at the same time as Colonel Neill's party. On the 13th June, the native parts of Kydgunge and Jhoosee were attacked, and cleared of the enemy by a party of Volunteers and Sikhs under Mr. Willock, Joint Magistrate. Next day (June 14th) the Steamer *Jumna* arrived with another detachment of Fusiliers. The Sikhs, who had always been inclined to be unruly, were now removed from the fort much against their will, and cantoned outside on the banks of the Jumna; thus leaving the garrison of the fort entirely European.

On the 15th June, a grand attack was made by a land force, consisting of Fusiliers, Sikhs, and Irregulars, on the suburbs of Kydgunge and Moot-

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teegunge, supported by the Steamer moving up the Jumna with a howitzer and some riflemen on board. The enemy were everywhere beaten, and followed up by our troops close to the city. So great was the terror caused by this day's exploits, that, on the following night, the Moulvee and all his followers fled, leaving the two guns which had been seized at the outbreak, and a number of prisoners, chiefly native Christians, behind. These were brought into the fort early next day. Among them was poor young Cheek, an unposted Cadet, who died the same evening; his body covered with wounds and sores, and his mind wandering. His sufferings from the night of the 6th must have been dreadful; he had escaped with severe wounds from the mess-house, and was picked up by a zemindar of the name of Mohomud Tukee, by whom he was given over to the Moulvee, in whose hands he remained exposed and uncared for, until this time. Gopee Nauth Nundee, a native Christian and fellow prisoner, relates that when the Moulvee sought, by threats and wiles, to make him abjure Christianity, this brave young officer would call out to him, "Padree Sahib, never let go the faith." Conductor Coleman was another of those brought in. He had escaped destruction with his family on the night of the mutiny, though not without severe wounds, from which he afterwards died. While kept a prisoner in the hands of the mutineers, he recognised several Dehli sepoys among them.

On the 17th June, the Magistrate proceeded to the cotwalee, and there restored his own authority, and installed his own officers: no resistance was offered, and the whole place seemed deserted. On the 18th June, another expedition was made for the purpose of clearing and re-occupying the station. The steamer again was sent up the river, and a land force, including 20 mounted Volunteers and two guns, penetrated the cantonments. This morning, however, cholera broke out, and in a very virulent form. Eight men were buried in the evening, and 20 next day; and although after this it began to abate, and very rapidly disappeared, it carried off 40 out of 100 Fusiliers attacked by it. On its first appearance, Colonel Neill ordered all non-combatants out of the fort; he had already sent off two steamers full of women and children to Benares, so that the fort was now left to the troops alone. The European force was now rapidly increasing. Two more detachments of Fusiliers had arrived,(one on the 16th, by the steamer *Coel*, another on the 18th June,) making at this time a total of 57 men of that regiment. A detachment of H. M's. 84th, (100 men) under Captain Snow, arrived on the 20th, and on the 22nd June, the head-quarters of that regiment came up in the *Calcutta*. The *Mirzapore* also brought 240 of the 1st Fusiliers. Colonel Neill now began to make every preparation for despatching a relieving column to Cawnpore, with the least possible delay. The call for aid there was urgent, but the greatest difficulty was found in obtaining any of the means of travelling, and at last, on the 30th of June, Major Renaud's column started, with but few of those requisites. This column consisted of 400 Fusiliers, 300 Sikhs, 120 Irregular Cavalry, and two 9-pounders manned by the invalid artillerymen.

General Havelock arrived this day, (July 1st) and on the following, the startling news of the massacre at Cawnpore was received from Sir H. Lawrence. Next day, (July 2nd) it was confirmed by the report of some cossids, but seemed yet almost too horrible to be believed implicitly. Havelock immediately halted Renaud's advancing column, and prepared to reinforce it himself with 1,000 Europeans and three guns. On the morning of the 3rd July, he despatched a steamer with 100 Fusiliers and two guns on board, and provisions for Sir H. Wheeler, in case the news received might turn out false.

On the 7th July, Havelock's column left Allahabad; on the 15th, a further reinforcement of 280 men of H. M.'s 84th, and on the 16th, Colonel Neill followed by dâk.

While these preparations and despatches of troops were being made, the work of restoration of order and stern retribution was daily going on. Numbers of those who had taken an active part in the mutiny, still

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lurked behind in the hope of their guilt being undiscovered, and day after day arrests and capture of such were taking place. On the 22nd July, it was deemed advisable to issue the two first Special Commissions (under Government Notification No. 1124, 15th June 1857) to Mr. Willock, Joint Magistrate, and Doctor Irving. Two days afterwards, two more were issued to Messrs. Palmer and Sandys, and by their aid, the sternest justice was quickly and summarily administered. The result of such measures was soon visible in a wholesome fear pervading all classes of natives,—plundered property was cast into the fields and roads by those who felt that its possession was unsafe.

The destruction of public and private property was immense, every thing combustible seems to have been burnt, and even the Magistrate's and Sessions Judge's cutcherries, which were fine masonry buildings, were reduced to ruins. The Commissioner's cutcherry, strangely enough, escaped, though it was a thatched bungalow, and all the records in it were saved, but of course the loss of records has been most complete in the others.

As might have been expected, the outbreak in the Sudder station was very soon followed by anarchy in the district. The seeds of mutiny had been scattered there, and in many parts the flame burst out with almost equal fury. In some cases the bloody deeds of the night of the 6th in Allahabad were reproduced in almost all their atrocity; many a party of Europeans shut out from all aid, endured for long the greatest misery, and experienced the most wonderful escapes. Five* only actually perished in the district.

* *List of those killed in the Allahabad District.*
James Barrett, Toll Collector.
William Lancaster, Assistant to Contractor, East India Railway.
David Thomas, Inspector, ditto.
George Robert, Plate-layer, ditto.
Julia, L., wife of Major Ryves.

One large party of Railway officers were at Burwaree, about 24 miles west of the city. On the afternoon of the 17th they assembled in Major Ryves' bungalow, and on seeing a large body of armed men approaching, they betook themselves to the top of a large water tank, where they remained for two days exposed to the threats and insults of the rabble around them, and to the fierce rays of the sun above them. They witnessed during this time the plunder and destruction of all European property in the neighbourhood, which was joined in with fiendish exultation by all ranks and classes of natives. Mr. Smith, another Railway officer, joined them while there; he and Mr. Thomas had started together in flight, but the latter had been murdered in the way, and Mr. Smith himself wounded. On the 9th a party of 3rd Oude Irregulars who had remained staunch, arrived to escort them to Allahabad. Mrs. Ryves died immediately on being removed from the tank, from exhaustion and exposure, but the rest arrived safely in Allahabad on the morning of the 10th.* There were many other small parties or single families, including Customs officers, planters and merchants, who made their escape in different ways. Two parties came in from Oude, one on the 14th, under Doctor Grant, escorted by Ajeet Singh, talookadar of Mattoopore, from Partabghur and Sultanpoor, and the other under Major Barrow, escorted by Rajah Hunwant Singh, from Salone. This latter party, ten in number,—Major Barrow, Deputy Commissioner; Lieutenant Swanson, and Mr. Carnegy, Assistant Commissioners; Captain Thompson, commanding 1st Oude Irregular, (mutinied 10th June) Doctor Gayer, Lieutenant Chalmers, Adjutant; Mrs. Barrow, Mrs. Swanson, and two non-commissioned officers.) On the mutiny of the 1st Oudh Irregular at Salone, had been allowed to leave the station unmolested, and were taken by the Rajah to the fort of Dharoopore, where they were very kindly treated. On the receipt of satisfactory accounts from Allahabad, they were convoyed by the Rajah to the banks of the Ganges. Here however he left them, for he was under the insane idea that he would be forcibly converted to Christianity if he ventured any further. It is most strange how deep and strong a hold this monstrous delusion had got upon the native mind.

* *Burwaree Tank Party.*
Major Ryves, retired list, Madras Army.
Mrs. Ryves, wife of ditto.
Mr. Keymer.
Mr. Snow.
Mr. John Keymer.
Mr. Mattias.
Mr. Littlebridge.
Mr. Rose.

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The extent to which the outbreak in the station of Allahabad was carried out in the district varies very much in different portions of it.

In the *Doab* pergunnahs the character of the outbreak was worse, and the extent greater than anywhere else. The Zemindars there were chiefly Mussulmen, and with scarcely an exception they joined their brethren, with the object of exterminating the English, and upsetting the Government. Pergunnah Chail was the worst of all; the Moulvee was a resident of Mahgaon, one of its villages, and every Mussulman there joined his standard. The Pragwal brahmins of Allahabad, who were also foremost in the outbreak, carried with them the Hindoo population. The district police went almost in a body, and for a short time the greatest anarchy prevailed. When our power again began to be in the ascendant, and the Moulvee, with his followers, had fled, this portion of the district was left almost entirely deserted, and the greatest difficulty was at first felt in doing anything towards its resettlement.

In the *Trans-gangetic* pergunnahs the causes which acted to excite the disturbances were different. Religion had little or nothing to do with it. The villages in these pergunnahs were owned at the cession by large Thakoor families in large talookahs. The old Zemindars, habitually extravagant, because, by habit, livers on plunder, became ruined by their extravagance, and were sold up by our rule and by our laws. The cultivators and poorer classes still continued to look upon them with greater regard than the purchaser at auction, however long the latter may have been in possession of the property. The ex-zemindar and his family were still the most influential residents of the village. In most instances they received a kind of tribute from the poorer inhabitants, and helped them in return.

The auction purchaser, on the other hand, was generally a resident of the city, and never visited his village, except for the hateful purpose of collecting his rents, or enforcing his decrees. The people therefore naturally sided with the Zemindars, to whom the outbreak seemed a grand opportunity of recovering their position. They first set to work to destroy and plunder everything European, and took forcible possession of their old estates. Of course the auction purchasers were our friends, and rendered every assistance in their power for the restoration of order.

In the pergunnahs south of the Jumna the blow was less felt than elsewhere. Bad characters and disaffected individuals here and there assembled men, and burnt and plundered villages, where any person inimical to them lived. Yet the disturbances never took fair root, and as soon as our position at Allahabad began to look more favorable, they in a great measure ceased. This was owing principally to the great influence which the three Rajahs of Manda, Dihya, and Barra had in the district.

These men had too much at stake to enter headlong into the first outburst of disaffection. Their interest, besides, was more on the side of order than disorder, and hence the cautious manner in which they acted. The Manda Rajah at first took charge of the district police, and also of the treasure, which last act would evidently secure our favor if we won in the contest, and insure a rich prize to himself if we lost.

The other two Rajahs were equally opposed to disorder, and by their neutrality prevented a general rising at the outset. As our position improved at the sudder station, their neutrality was of course changed to a more decided co-operation in our favor. Such was the state of the district during the interval immediately succeeding the mutiny at Allahabad. The Doab population, led on by their Mahomedan Zemindars, had risen with enthusiasm to take part in a religious war, and had marked their rising with the usual accompaniments of Mahomedan fanaticism. The rising had been quickly checked, and a large proportion of the population, had fled, leaving the district partially deserted. The Trans-gangetic population led on by the old Talookdar families, had risen to restore the old order of things, and remained in arms against us. The

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Trans-gangetic population has, as before mentioned, been restrained by local influences, and never openly threw off our Government.

The Doab and Trans-gangetic provinces remained to be brought again under our rule by force of arms. In the former the task was comparatively easy. The continual upward march of troops, which for some time took place along the Grand Trunk Road, combined with the flight of all the worst characters, very soon reduced pergunnah Chail to order. In pergunnah Kurra, which was perhaps one of the most disaffected portions, open violence and plundering very soon ceased, and a sullen quietness took its place. In the remaining pergunnah of Utherbun, disaffection held for some time its last stronghold in the Doab.

Dhakun Singh, Zemindar of Dhurawal, and other Zemindars, bordering on the Jumna, continued for some time in open rebellion. They were assisted by Hunnooman Singh, an escaped convict, and Vilayat Hossein, who rendered their assistance for the sake of the plunder and the rapine in which they were thus enabled to indulge. Hunnooman Singh had his head-quarters at Koran, close to the line of Railway, where, in December 1857, he began to fortify himself. At Mr. Court's request, a force was sent by Brigadier Campbell, (15th December 1857,) which succeeded in demolishing the fortifications, and dispersing the party. Hunnooman Singh and his followers, finding they could no longer remain in their old haunts, sought an asylum with Dhakun Singh in a small corner of the pergunnah, of which Dhurawal is the centre. Here they were kept by the zealous efforts of Pearee Mohun, a Bengalee by birth, who had been appointed Moonsiff at Munjhunpoor, and who created a strong Government party in the district. On the re-occupation of Banda, (April 19th) the rebels were obliged to desert even this corner, and dispersed in the Rewah territory. From that time the whole Doab has been effectively in our hands.

In the Trans-gangetic pergunnahs the reign of disorder was much longer and wider spread. Nothing was done to check it till January 1858, beyond sending out a force of Benares Levies, under Mr. Mayne, for the protection of the Grand Trunk Road and its immediate neighbourhood. In January, a force under Brigadier Campbell left Allahabad, and driving the rebels before them, advanced the position held by Mr. Mayne as far as Phoolpoor.

In January 1858, General Franks's column advanced to Soraon, driving the enemy before it into Oude. Yet for some time they continued to infest the district, plundering and burning wherever they could, and retiring to their forts when pursued. Order cannot be said to have been effectually restored, until Brigadier Berkeley took the stronghold of Dehion on the 14th of July last. With that event, the disturbances consequent on the mutiny may be said to have been subdued in the district of Allahabad.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

FENDALL THOMPSON,
*Officiating Magistrate.*

ALLAHABAD:
COLLECTOR'S OFFICE,
*The 9th November* 1858.

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# APPENDIX.

No. OF 1858.

FROM

H. D. WILLOCK, ESQUIRE,
*Joint Magistrate of Shahjehanpore,*

To

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner of Allahabad.*

DATED SHAHJEHANPORE, THE 7TH DECEMBER 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward a narrative of events, occurring during the month of June 1857, and succeeding months, in the Allahabad Division, of which I was an eye-witness, and my subsequent adventures with General Havelock's force.

2. My departure from Allahabad, and late indisposition, have prevented my transmitting it at an earlier date.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

SHAHJEHANPORE:
*The 7th December* 1858.

H. D. WILLOCK,
*Joint Magistrate.*

## *The Mutiny of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry at Allahabad, in June* 1857, *and subsequent Events.*

1. The mutinies which occurred at Barrackpore and Meerut in May 1857, placed the residents of Allahabad on their guard against any sudden outbreak of the Native Infantry Regiment stationed in the cantonments, and measures were adopted to prevent any rising on the part of the troops and city men taking place without warning being communicated; and plans were agreed upon and made known to the residents for a general meeting at a fixed spot in case of an outbreak. When the first symptoms of disaffection in the army appeared, the 6th Regiment N. I., with a few Native Artillery men, were the only troops stationed in Allahabad. In the fort there were no guards, save the usual company of the 6th, on duty at the main gate.

2. As the danger seemed to increase, application was made to the Brigadier commanding the Division, for detachments of other Regiments that could be spared, and accordingly a party of invalided Artillery men, under Lieutenant (now Major) Hazlewood, from Buxar, 200 Sikhs of the Ferozepore Regiment under Lieutenant (now Lieutenant Colonel) Brasyer, and a body of Irregular Cavalry under Lieutenant Alexander, were sent. The Artillery men and Sikhs were quartered in the fort, and the Cavalry were posted in parties through the station. As each day passed, some fresh rumour was circulated regarding the state of public feeling in the city. Agents of the rebel leaders were evidently busy poisoning the minds of the people. The domestic servants learnt and believed, for they would not take the trouble to enquire into the truth of the report, that several boat-loads of adulterated flour were moored at the river bank, to be sold forcibly by the Magistrate to the bunneeahs, and a panic and an outcry was the result. The bazar was closed, and it was very evident that an outbreak in the city would follow an émeute of the soldiery. The men of the city warned the Magistrate against the fidelity of the sepoys, and the

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sepoys cautioned their Officers and the Magistrate against the city people, protesting against the tales that had been circulated, of their lukewarmness towards Government. They went so far as to give up two Mahomedans, who, they said, had entered their lines and attempted to lead some of the men astray, while at the same time they were sending their own men into the Cavalry lines to tamper with the troopers. It was evident that a crisis was at hand, and ladies and children were at last removed into the fort.

3. On the arrival of the news of the outbreak at Benares, the sepoys of the 6th Regiment protested their loyalty in stronger terms than before, and induced the Officer commanding their regiment and the station to post two guns, guarded by a company of their own corps, at the head of the bridge road leading to Benares, to oppose the crossing of a body of mutineers said to be marching on Allahabad from Benares. Captain Hicks, and Ensigns Pearson and Woodgate, commanded the Infantry, and Lieutenant Harward the Artillery. A company had also been posted at the jail, where I had taken up my quarters by the Magistrate's direction. Matters stood thus on the 5th, when a telegraphic message was received from General Wheeler at Cawnpore to this effect:—"Man the fort with every availble European," and in consequence every resident unconnected with the Native Regiment was directed to repair to the fort, and there take up his residence. A few disregarded the order, believing it to be merely the result of the many panics that had been witnessed lately. Among those who unhappily disobeyed, were Captain Birch, Fort Adjutant, Lieutenant Innis, Executive Engineer, Mr. Archer, Merchant, Mr. Boilard, Merchant, and Mrs. Boilard, and many other Eurasians. The night of the 5th passed by quietly, and on the 6th we again returned to our houses, entering the fort at sunset. By this time the garrison had been organized, and the "Volunteers," one hundred and ten in number, were armed from the Arsenal, and told off to their respective posts. At 8 o'clock that evening, the different detachments marched to the batteries, and sentries were posted on the walls of the fort. At 9 o'clock a rocket was seen to be fired from the direction of the bridge, and a corresponding one from cantonments. Shortly afterwards a musket shot from the direction of cantonment was heard; another, some straggling shots; then a peal and roll of musketry, as if a regiment was firing in parade. So many looked-for dangers had passed by, that even now false ideas and hopes were entertained. As the firing was less distinctly heard, it was *vainly* hoped that the expected Benares rebels had entered the station, and were being driven out across the Papamow ghât, so regular was the musketry. For some long time nothing was known of the cause of the firing. Not a man was able to leave his post; and it was only when the Volunteers were ordered to the main gate that the truth was learnt. The Regiment had mutinied, and had murdered the Officers whom they had cheered and sworn fidelity to only three hours previously. The two guns stationed at the bridge had been seized by the company posted there, and Lieutenant Harward, after escaping and warning Lieutenant Alexander, (in charge of the Irregular Cavalry,) returned to relate the fate of that gallant Officer, who had been shot by the men of the 6th, while galloping up to cantonment to the scene of the firing. The surviving Officers shortly afterwards made their appearance, and recounted the tale of treachery and blood. Thirty-nine Christian souls fell that night. Directly the firing ceased, the work of destruction commenced, and the prisoners of the jail, and bad characters of the city and neighbouring villages, finding themselves free from restraint, broke loose and joined the mutineers, first to plunder the treasury, and then to burn and destroy the station. The sepoys forming the guard at the main gate were at once disarmed, and being placed under charge of a party of Volunteers, told off for the service, were turned out of the fort at daybreak. The whole garrison remained under arms that night, in hourly expectation of an attack, but all was quiet, saving the station, which resounded with the cries of the exulting population. In the meantime the men of the 6th, glutted with their plunder, sought to reach their homes with their gains, and accordingly abandoning their guns, left the station, a disorganized body, the following day crossing the Papamhow ghât. On gaining the country, the villagers, aware of the sums of money they carried,

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surrounded and attacked them wherever they appeared unarmed, for they had thrown away their firelocks to lighten themselves. They afforded an easy prey, and it is generally believed that few succeeded in carrying away their spoil. So completely scattered were the men of the regiment in consequence, that they have never since been heard of as a body. Of the Irregular Cavalry, about one-half remained faithful. These offered their services to the Magistrate, and were directed to proceed to the Railway station of Burwaree, and rescue the party of Railway officials there besieged. They did so, and conducted them to the fort in safety. On Sunday the 7th, the first reinforcement arrived, consisting of a small party of the 1st Madras Fusiliers. Shortly after a second detachment of the Ferozepore Regiment, and again other parties of Fusiliers, and by the time that Colonel Neill arrived, a sufficient force was assembled, to enable him to take measures to re-occupy the station. At this time the city and suburbs were held by a body of rebels, under the, now well known, Moulvee Lyakut Alee. This man, a weaver by caste, and by trade a schoolmaster, had gained some respect in his village by his excessive sanctity; and on the first spread of the rebellion, the Mahomedan zemindars of pergunnah Chail, ready to follow any leader, placed this man at their head, and marched to the city, proclaiming him a Governor of the district, in the name of the King of Dehli. His head-quarters were fixed at the Khooshroo garden, where the two guns, abandoned by the 6th, were dragged, and there the rebel court was held. The first step taken by General Neill, after restoring order in the fort, was to take possession of the village of Daragunj, which commanded the bridge. A detachment of Fusiliers and Sikhs cleared the position, and it was finally held by a party of the Ferozepore Regiment. This secured the safety of the bridge over the Ganges. The next step was to clear the city and station of the rebels. One party sent to occupy the station was driven back, the rebels being too strong, and daily encounters took place between the insurgents and detachments told off to protect foraging parties. The insurgents consisted chiefly of followers of the rebel zemindars of Chail, and the bad characters of the city and station, principally low-bred Mussulmans and others, who were induced to take up arms, in the hope of finding sufficient plunder in the station. No active movements were made by the insurgents, who were in fact a mere armed mob; but they were sufficiently strong to hold the city and station, and bid us defiance. They appear to have entertained an idea of attacking the fort, for a white flag, mounted on a long bamboo, was found one morning attached to the palisades below the Flagstaff battery, supposed to be one of the weakest points of the fort. Treachery was doubtless breeding among the natives employed in the fort, for on the eve of the attack on the city, the Ferozepore Regiment, which marched out to occupy a building in Kydgunj, was received, on passing a walled garden, by a volley from a body of concealed men, which disabled many of the Privates, and fractured the thigh of the Adjutant. The intended movement had evidently been communicated by some one having access to the Order Books. The force now under Colonel Neill being strengthened daily, a final attack upon the city was determined on, and consequently, on the 17th of June, the plans were carried out. A party of 50 men of the Madras Fusiliers, with a company of Volunteers under my command, with two howitzers, under Lieutenant Harward, proceeded up the Jumna, while General Neill, with a detachment of the Madras Fusiliers and the Ferozepore Regiment, attacked the city by land. The Steamer anchored at the north side of the city, while the Volunteers under cover of the guns and Fusiliers' rifles, landed, and co-operating with the main body, drove the rebels from the town. The rebels fled precipitately, and the station was occupied on the following day without opposition. Thoughts were now turned to the situation of the Cawnpore garrison under General Wheeler, who was known to be closely besieged by the mutineers. A force was accordingly organized by Colonel Neill for the relief. Considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting carriage for the troops, from the state of the station and district; but the relieving force was equipped by the 30th, and started that evening. It consisted of the following troops:—400 men of the 1st Madras Fusiliers; 400 of the Ferozepore Regiment, under Lieutenant (now Lieutenant Colonel) Brasyer; two 9-pounder guns, under Lieutenant Harward; and a party

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of Irregular Cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, composed of the loyal men of two mutinied corps. The column commanded by Major Renaud, (Madras Fusiliers,) was ordered to reach Cawnpore by forced marches, in consequence of General Wheeler having named a certain date as the last day the ill-fated garrison could hold out. At the same time a Steamer proceeded up the Ganges, with a hundred men of the Madras Fusiliers, to co-operate with the column. I accompanied the force, having been appointed to do duty with it as Civil Officer by the Commissioner. On the evening of the 1st of July, the fourth encamping ground was reached, when a spy despatched by Sir Henry Lawrence from Lucknow, with letters to General Wheeler and the Magistrate of Allahabad, arrived in camp. He was the first man to communicate the tidings of the fate of the garrison. This tale was at first doubted, but his story being corroborated by each successive traveller from the direction of Cawnpore, this intelligence was communicated to Colonel Neill at Allahabad, who in reply stated his suspicion that the story had been propagated with a treacherous design, but ordered Major Renaud to proceed by short marches, and shew no sign of a halt or retrograde movement, adding that a force under the command of General Havelock would shortly follow. The column accordingly encamped at Khaga on the 11th of July, and being joined by General Havelock's force at midnight, the whole party reached the village of Bilinda, four miles from Futtehpore, the following morning. No information having been received of the presence of any strong body of rebels in Futtehpore, the camp was drawn up and tents were pitched. It appears however that a force had been despatched from Cawnpore in the meantime to oppose the progress of the British force, and from papers found in the office of the rebel Deputy Collector Hickmut-oollah, it appeared that the information afforded by the enemy's spies regarding the strength of our column was entirely at fault. Hickmut-oollah was directed to summon the neighbouring zemindars and their followers to oppose the march of the two companies of European soldiers proceeding up the road until reinforcements were sent. This accounts for the bold advance of the rebel force. On taking up a position, a reconnoitring party of the Volunteer Cavalry had been sent forward with Colonel Tytler, Quarter-Master General. The enemy perceiving their approach, took for granted the arrival of the small force expected, and acted accordingly. Colonel Tytler, riding back to the camp, gave intelligence of the presence of the rebels. The whole force was under arms immediately, and moved out to receive the enemy. The ground was most favorable for General Havelock's movement, and equally disadvantageous to the attacking force. The ground in front of the camp was firm and dry, while on the other hand the enemy were forced to proceed by the road alone, a morass on each side preventing their deploying into line, or bringing their guns advantageously into action. The consequence was that their first gun was speedily disabled by Captain Maude's fire, and a panic ensuing in front, the whole force was thrown into confusion. The advantage thus gained was quickly followed up, and a retreat ensued. The enemy held the city of Futtehpore and suburbs for a short time, but were unable to stand the steady advance of the Infantry, and were soon forced to evacuate the position. The day was then gained. The whole of their Artillery, consisting of 12 Government guns, was captured with their camp. In this engagement the Irregular Cavalry proved themselves unworthy of the confidence placed in them from their previous good behaviour. On the evacuation of the city the Volunteer Cavalry was ordered to reconnoitre the country to the left, while the Irregulars were ordered to the right. They proceeded some distance, when they came across a party of the 2nd Light Cavalry, amounting to about forty men. Our party (I accompanied the Irregulars) numbered nearly a hundred men. The order was given to charge, when the mutineers rode forward at a gallop to meet us, waving their swords as if to invite the Irregulars to join them, and showed their indisposition to fight by their gestures. The Irregulars pulled up, while the mutineers rode round them, clashing their swords against theirs, while a few dashed in at the officers, who were however nobly supported by the native officers of the regiment. Some hand-to-hand engagement took place, and in the meantime a strong body of the Light Cavalry appeared in the distance, making for us, when the Irregulars turned their bridles and fled.

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4. Nothing remained for the Officers to do but to follow, and in a very short time the main body of the force was gained. Seven horses of the Irregulars fell at a ditch, and their riders cut up as they lay. Among those who fell was the Rissaldar of the regiment, a fine gallant man, who had saved Lieutenant Palliser's life in the fight when unhorsed, and who was among the last to fly. The men were subsequently disbanded by General Havelock's order. The column halted at Futtehpore on the 10th, to refresh the men who had suffered great fatigues the day previous. It was then that Lieutenant Brown, of the 50th Regiment, joined us. He alone had escaped from Humeerpore, from whence Mr. Loyd the Collector, Mr. Grant the Joint Magistrate, and another Officer had been forced to fly. He had wandered from village to village for six weeks, well received by the inhabitants of some, and driven on by others, and arrived in camp, much exhausted by fatigue and exposure. He died at Cawnpore of cholera, shortly after the re-occupation of that station. Several families of Europeans hiding in the district of Allahabad had been rescued by Major Renaud's party previously. The column resumed its march on the 14th, and on the morning of the 15th, reached the village of Ouq, in the Futtehpore district, where a second rebel force were intrenched, ready to oppose our progress. The enemy was quickly dislodged, and was forced to fly, leaving their cannon again. A stand was made by them at the Pandoo river, a strong position, the only passage over the river being, in consequence of its swollen state, the bridge, behind which were the enemy's intrenchment. One of the enemy's guns (two in number) being disabled by Captain Maude, and the Infantry making a rapid advance, they soon gave way, and the force bivouacked on their position that night. Information was then received of the position taken up by the rebels at the village of Aherwan, at the entrance to Cawnpore, where their Chief evidently intended to stake his fortunes. This village is situated about 16 miles from the Pandoo river, and General Havelock consequently determined to make the march as easy to his men as possible. The column accordingly broke ground at daybreak, and halted and breakfasted half way. At 2 P. M. the enemy's position was gained. Knowing their strength and plan of defence, from the information afforded by spies, the General determined upon turning their flank. This manœuvre completely prevented the enemy using their Artillery with the effect that had been intended by their position, and intrenchment by intrenchment being taken in detail, the enemy was, after a hard struggle, forced back. The state of the country now prevented Captain Maude bringing up his gun to the advance, and the temporary check in the progress of the line gave the flying rebels heart. They rallied, and again opened with their guns upon the column, which was now lying down in the open field. The repeated efforts to move the guns were of no avail, and the enemy's Artillery remained unanswered. They gained fresh courage, and showed signs of advancing, the band playing in the ranks. General Havelock saw that that moment would decide the battle, and ordering the line to rise, he ordered a final charge. Discharge after discharge of grape swept the ranks; but the line pressed steadily on, and the enemy, dismayed by the cheers of the gallant line, turned, fled, and abandoned the city and station of Cawnpore that night. The next morning the force advanced, and encamped on the Cavalry parade ground, on which the position held by General Wheeler was situated. As the column left its ground, the earth shook with the explosion of the powder magazine, which was blown up by the guard before retreating. On that day the fate of the unfortunate ladies and children of the garrison was learnt, and their remains were discovered in the well, where they had been thrown after the massacre on the 15th. The first step taken was to secure a position, and on the 18th the force was marched to Nawabgunj, at the extreme west of Cawnpore, the enemy having fled in that direction. A detachment was sent to Bithoor, which took possession of 12 guns left in the town, and destroyed by fire the premises lately occupied by the miscreant Nana. The relief of Lucknow was the next object, and with the greatest exertions the passage of the Ganges was effected on the 25th, and General Havelock, with 1,500 men, commenced his first advance upon Lucknow. The greatest difficulties had now to be contended against. Supplies were scanty, the weather was most unfavorable, and the troops suffered great hardships from the want of tents, which was not

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allowed to accompany the force, to enable the column to march lightly, and save the necessity of weakening the force by detaching parties of Infantry for baggage guards. On the 29th the village of Oonao was reached, where the advanced body of mutineers was posted. The troops, in their usual gallant manner, drove the enemy back, capturing their Artillery. The rebel force retired upon Basseerutgunj, a strongly fortified village, four miles distant from Oonao, and situated on the main road to Lucknow. Here again General Havelock gained a victory, driving the enemy back with a heavy loss, and taking their guns; but disease and casualties had so weakened his force, and the strength of the foe was so apparent, that the idea of a further advance, with the hope of a successful entry into Lucknow with the force in the field, was abandoned, and with heavy hearts the column marched back to the village of Mungrawa, where the troops took up their quarters in the deserted huts of the villagers. I was then summoned by General Havelock to join him, having in the meantime assumed the office of Joint Magistrate of Cawnpore, to which post I was appointed on arrival. Endeavours were then made to induce the peasantry to return to their homes, and printed proclamations were issued by General Havelock's orders, assuring the people that the force had entered Oudh with the sole object of punishing rebels, and calling upon all well-disposed people to assist the force. These notices had but little effect. The people, well aware of the position of the besieged garrison, and seeing our backward movement, feared the punishment which they knew would await them on the part of the rebels, in case of any expression of loyalty should *we* be unsuccessful. One family alone came forward, whose members afforded most important services in the time of need. Their head man, Omrao Singh, zemindar of Mungrawa, assisted by his relatives, procured provisions for the camp, workmen for the intrenchments, and information of the movements of the rebels. He removed his family to Cawnpore for security; but on our recrossing, his house was plundered, and he suffered considerably. He and his relatives have, however, been well rewarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Oonao, in consequence of a representation on my part of his services. In the meantime reinforcements were daily arriving at Cawnpore, and General Neill, who had reached the station, was enabled to forward additional troops, swelling the force to 1,400 men, with two heavy siege guns. The second advance upon Lucknow was commenced on the 4th of August. The enemy in the interim had once more occupied Basseerutgunj. The column bivouacked that night in the rain, on the plain in front of Oonao, and in the early morning renewed the march. The enemy's position was attacked with the same result as before. Their guns were taken, and they were dispersed. The victory however was dearly gained. The force had sustained a heavy loss from the engagement and effects of the sun, and General Havelock was once more forced to retire. The village of Mungrawa was barely reached, when information was received that a strong body of mutineers had reached Basseerutgunj, and were preparing to follow up our apparent retreat. General Havelock had resolved upon recrossing the Ganges, as no hope could be entertained of reinforcements for some time, the disturbed state of Bengal necessitating the detention, in the lower provinces, of troops destined for Cawnpore. To secure a safe passage, therefore, General Havelock determined to attack the rebels again, who threatened his rear. All baggage was sent over the river, and two days' provisions found the only burden carried by the column. A third time the force advanced to Basseerutgunj, and defeated the enemy after a severe struggle with overpowering number, capturing two guns. The column renewed their march, and on the 10th of August recrossed the river in safety. At this time Bithoor was again occupied by the rebel force, consisting of the mutinied 42nd Native Infantry Regiment and detachments of corps, with a large body of Cavalry, together with a large assemblage of matchlock-men, amounting to 4,000 men, with two Government 9-pounder guns. The Cawnpore garrison, previous to the recrossing of the force, was too weak to hold the entire station, and the rebels were in consequence emboldened, and made several demonstrations of their power. On one occasion, a party of sowars actually entered the station, and destroyed a police chowkee, situated at the west of Cawnpore. On Sunday the 16th, General Havelock marched to

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Bithoor, and attacked the enemy's position, which was one of great strength; the city in front, of which the intrenchments were thrown up, being situated on a hill, and surrounded by a deep ditch, then filled by the Ganges. In front, and in rear of this natural defence, were fields of thick sugarcane, which afforded excellent cover for the enemy. Our Artillery consisted of twelve guns, including several mortars, which were not brought into action; and notwithstanding our superiority in this branch, the enemy made a most obstinate resistance, and it was only when one of their guns was disabled by the treachery of a Sikh, who was fighting in their ranks as an Artillery man, that they broke from their position. This fact was communicated by the Thanahdar of Bithoor, who had been seized, and who effected his escape on their flight. This man's heart failed him on perceiving his countrymen advancing, and driving home a round shot without a cartridge, he rendered the gun ineffective, and fled. The gun was found thus loaded by the Artillery Officer in charge of the Park, on examination. A slight resistance was made in the town, but the troops, vieing with each other in the pursuit, drove them rapidly before them. Having only the Volunteer Cavalry, General Havelock was enabled to follow the flying enemy, and the Infantry being too much exhausted to march beyond the town, the rebels were enabled to cross the Ganges at their leisure. The force bivouacked at Bithoor that night, and returned to Cawnpore the next morning. The camp now pitched on the Cavalry parade-ground waited the arrival of fresh reinforcements under General Outram. These consisted of regiments fresh from England,—the 5th Fusiliers and the 90th, with the addition of batteries of Artillery and heavy guns. A bridge of boats was thrown up, in spite of the attempts of the enemy to oppose our crossing, a position having been taken up by them at Mungrawa. On the 19th of September preparations having been completed the force crossed, and after a short engagement with the enemy, who were driven back to their position, the camp was pitched about a mile from the river. On the 20th the advance was commenced, and shortly after leaving ground the action commenced. The enemy, driven back to their intrenchments, had their right flank turned by the Infantry, which threw them into confusion. They fled, and were hotly followed up by the Volunteer Cavalry, headed by Sir James Outram, and were forced to desert two of their guns. The pursuit was continued to Basseerutgunj, and for the first time the enemy suffered severely in their flight. Volunteers from their ranks had joined Major Barrow's Cavalry, and they now numbered nearly 100 sabres. The troops occupied Basseerutgunj that night. The unexpected movement of the Cavalry caused such a panic in the enemy's ranks, that the positions at Bunnee and Nawabgunj were abandoned, and the whole force retired upon Lucknow. This march proved the most harassing of the whole campaign. From the day of crossing to the close of the 20th, the rain fell in torrents. Officers and men were unable to change their clothes; servants deserted their masters; and the troops were nigh worn out with the fatigue and privations. On the afternoon of the 23rd the plain in front of Alum Bâgh was reached, where the enemy were drawn up in considerable force in line to meet us. Both armies advanced, and a severe engagement took place. Again the steady and determined front of the British line proved irresistible, and the enemy were driven back into the suburbs of Lucknow, fronting Alum Bâgh. There they stood, and General Havelock forming up his camp in both flanks of Alum Bâgh, halted. The 24th was passed in giving the wearied troops rest, and making arrangements for the occupation of Alum Bâgh. The whole of the baggage and wounded men, with 250 Infantry and two guns, were placed within the walls, and at 9 o'clock in the morning of the 25th, the advance to the Residency was commenced. The usual route to the Residency was abandoned, and a by-road being followed, the force marched forward. Strong positions had been selected at the outskirts of the city, and the first mile was passed through almost literally a sheet of fire. The swamp on each side of the road compelled the force to advance in one long line towards the city, and for some time the whole body of Infantry was ordered to lay down in the ground, while Captain Maude, in front, directed his fire against the enemy's Artillery. Their guns being silenced, the troops advanced, and driving the enemy into the city,

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pursued the route laid down by General Outram. This step being unexpected, little opposition was offered until the Kaisur Bâgh was reached, from which point the route lay through the city. After a halt to allow the whole of the force to collect, the advance was again sounded, and after running the gauntlet through streets lined with sepoys, sheltered by loop-holed walls, the main body of the Infantry reached the Residency as the sunset;—the Artillery, and a strong body of Infantry, in the mean time remained under cover at some distance. The intervening palaces were quickly cleared, and a communication being opened, they joined the garrison. The relieving force was now besieged, with the rest of the garrison, and so remained until the final relief in November. On the evacuation of the Residency I returned to Allahabad.

H. D. WILLOCK,

*Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector.*

SHAHJEHANPORE:
*The 7th December*, 1858.

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# APPENDIX NO. IV.

*Memorandum of the particulars of the escape of Mr. Corrigan and family, eleven in number, during the Rebellion of* 1857, *from Futtehpore to Allahabad.*

On the 6th June 1857, about 1 P. M., I heard the report of guns in the direction of Cawnpore very distinctly, and wrote to Mr. Macnaghten to say that I thought the troops at Cawnpore had mutinied. The firing continued, without intermission, the whole of the afternoon and night. At 6 P. M. I went to the Collector's, and found most of the European residents of the station, and the Railway people, collected there, busily engaged in fortifying the roof of the Collector's house. After a short stay I returned home, with the intention of taking my family to the Collector's, as soon as I saw any signs of an approaching outbreak. About 10 P. M. my road Jemadar, Bhujjun Lall, came to inform me that the news of the Cawnpore mutiny had reached Futtehpore, and that the towns-people were arming themselves in every direction, and begged of me to leave the station with my family. I immediately ordered two dawk carriages, and in the mean time went to Mr. Sherer's, to tell him that I thought the best thing I could do was to proceed to Allahabad, and leave my family in the fort. On my return I found the carriages ready, and after packing up our valuables and some clothing, we started for Allahabad. I must add that my father-in-law Mr. Lawrence's family were living with me at the time, Mr. L. having proceeded to Agra on leave of absence; he was subsequently massacred at Mynpoory by the Jhansie mutineers. There were eleven of us, *viz.* Mrs. Lawrence and four daughters, myself, Mrs. Corrigan, and our four children, between the ages of 9 months and 7 years. We proceeded without difficulty for a few miles; but as soon as we passed Bilinda, word was passed by our servants (of whom we had two stationed on the carriages as look-out men) that a body of sepoys were coming towards us from the Allahabad direction, and on coming closer, I looked through the *jhilmils*, and recognised them as the detachment which had lately escorted our surplus treasure from Futtehpore to Allahabad; they were now returning towards Cawnpore. The party consisted of some sowars of the damnable 2nd Cavalry from Cawnpore, and sepoys of the —— N. I. from Banda. Just before leaving home, an aged female servant, who had been about 26 years in the service of Mrs. Lawrence, advised the ladies of our family to put on a number of Hindoostanee bracelets, *(choories,)* which she had brought with her, on each wrist; to take off all European jewelry; and to provide themselves with chudders to cover their heads. This advice was followed, and, as will be seen, saved our lives. Our carriages were stopped by the sowars, some of whom said, "This is probably the Collector Saheb of Futtehpore running away; let us *mar* the *sala.*" The coachman protested that it was a native zenana sowaree; and at this critical moment my little girl began to cry, and Miss L. put out her hand below the *jhilmils*, as if unintentionally. The brutes saw the hand and *choories*, and immediately desisted, saying, "Oh *bhaee*, they are our own people; let them pass." While this was going on, one of the sepoys pushed his bayonet through the back panel of one of the garees, but fortunately without injury to any of us. We drove on, thankful to God for the interposition of his hand, and blessed the rare foresight which had prompted our old ayah to think of the *choories*.

2. After we had got about a mile further, we found the road covered with torn letters, books and newspapers, and further on a heap of mail bags burning, and the mail cart standing on the side of the road, without horse or driver. The wretches had destroyed the Calcutta mail. I picked up a number of the letters, but lost them subsequently.

3. We passed Khaga about 9 A. M., where all appeared to be quiet, and at 2 P. M. we reached Lohunda, and went into the dawk bungalow to obtain some refreshment. I had scarcely entered, ere I was startled by the report of a gun in the direction of Allahabad; several others followed. In an hour we

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harnessed the horses again, and continued our journey. After driving on for ten minutes, we met a dawk garree coming from Allahabad with native passengers. We tried to stop them, but they drove on rapidly, crying out as they passed, "Don't go to Allahabad there has been fearful work there." I was almost paralysed, for Cawnpore and Allahabad were both in open rebellion, and I was between them. There was however no time to lose, and we decided that the nearer we go to Allahabad the better. On we went therefore until we came to Synee, where we were to change horses. There was some delay here, and I asked the man in charge of the chowkey why it occurred. He coolly told me, his horses were knocked up, and couldn't get on without "*mussala*." I understood the hint, and told him that I would pay for "*mussala*," but that I would inform the Agent of his conduct. He looked at me with a fixed stare and said, "*Ure jao, toomara Ujunt juhunnum ko gya.*" I had a pair of pistols with me, and was inclined to use them, but on looking round at the large family of helpless ladies and children with me, I felt that it would be prudent to swallow the affront for the present. I paid him for "mussala" accordingly, and had the satisfaction of seeing two fresh horses harnessed and put to. We had got about a mile east of Synee, when we were stopped by a police Jemadar, (?) who told us that the villages on the road side between Allahabad and Synee were full of armed Mahometans, who had begun the work of plunder and bloodshed, and that they had taken away and released a prisoner he was escorting to Allahabad. He begged of us to return, urging that our lives would be sacrificed to a certainty if we proceeded. We turned the carriages round, and returned towards Futtehpoor, and about 7 P. M. we reached Khaga, one of our Tehseelee and Moonsiffee stations. I knew Rujjub Alee, the Tehseeldar, well, and had frequently obliged him in many ways. I accordingly drove into the Tehseel compound, and asked him to let me remain there for the night. He reluctantly agreed, and directed me to an empty hut near the gate. We went in, and I borrowed a few charpoys from the omlah, and after getting the children something to eat, we laid down to rest, disheartened and hopeless. I sent one of our servants to Futtehpore, to bring information of how matters stood there, and endeavoured to sleep. After many weary hours came the morning, and we were discussing all kinds of plans for our escape, when Rujjub Alee sent us some dall and rice in *multee* dishes. We were just about to begin our breakfast, when intimation was received that a body of rebel Cavalry, (probably some of the 12th Irregulars) had just arrived, and had encamped near Khaga. The Tehseeldar immediately ordered some of his men to wait on them, and to furnish them with *russud*, and sent word to me that our dawk carriages should be sent away at once, to prevent the suspicion that he was sheltering Europeans. We sent away the carriages with heavy hearts, for with them all chances of escape by flight were gone. About 9 A. M. we heard that some of the sowars intended to visit the Tehseeldaree, to have the treasure *looted*, and the Tehseeldar came shortly after, and directed us to leave the place, telling us he was not going to risk his life for us. I was surprised to see the change which had come over the pliant and obsequious Rujjub Alee of former days; but as I was so entirely in his power, I was obliged to maintain a civil tongue. I begged of him to obtain shelter for us in the village of Khaga, feeling certain that he possessed some influence there, but all in vain. He directed us in a peremptory tone to leave the Tehseeldaree. I then sent a man to the Moonsiff of Khaga, (Salamut Ali is his name I believe,) begging to be sheltered until the sowars left Khaga, telling him also that if he would only permit the ladies and children to remain in his house (as he had a family of his own), I would take my chance outside. But I had mistaken my man; he, too, was a scoundrel Moslem, true to his creed, and sent word to me that he couldn't assist me in any way; and on my repeating the request, he told my servant to go away, and to trouble him no more. This man is still one of our Uncovenanted Judges at Futtehpore!

4. We prepared to leave the Tehseelee, and procured some articles of native clothing, and endeavoured to disguise ourselves with the assistance of our servants, and one or two of the Hindoo omlah, who appeared to entertain some

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degree of pity of us. We got enough of chudders, &c., and having completed our disguise, we left the Tehseelee. Our change of costume was only of service to us in preventing our being recognised as Europeans at a distance: it did not attract the notice of the mob to as great an extent as European garments would have done; but our walk, accent, manners and habits betrayed us wherever we went.

5. At noon precisely we left the Tehseelee gate. We had previously divided our valuables (worth between 5,000 and 6,000 rupees) into several small packets, each one of the party having secreted one. One of the servants who accompanied us, carried a tin cash-box containing jewelry, silver spoons, &c., worth about 1,800 rupees. We were all bare-footed, and before we were many minutes out, the scorching sand (8th June) blistered our feet completely, and we were unable to move without severe pain, especially as our way lay partly through cultivated fields, where the stalks of the last crop were yet standing. A Brahmin (of Sursye, near Khaga) had accompanied us, under the pretence of shewing us the way to the nearest dhak jungle, where we could conceal ourselves until the sowars passed on. We had not gone more than 500 yards, when I heard a shriek, and on turning round, I saw with horror that Mrs. Lawrence had been attacked by two men with drawn swords. I begged of her to give up her packet; she did so, and they made off as quick as lightning. I recognised these two men; they were both chuprassies, one of the Tehseelee, the other of the Moonsiffee establishment of Khaga. We had not got 50 yards further, before another party of seven armed men attacked us, and rid us of a few more packets. We were then about $\frac{3}{4}$ths of a mile from the Tehseeldaree, and shortly came to a large cutcha well, where an old man was irrigating a field, and after drinking some water, we went down into the lowest part of the excavation (*pyree*) attached to the well, to rest ourselves. While sitting there, we saw a column of smoke in the direction of the Tehseeldaree, and learnt from the Brahmin that the sowars had given up the Railway Engineer's bungalow and other houses, and the Tehseeldaree Cutcherry, to the mob, to be plundered and destroyed. The villagers were hastening in large bodies to the scene of loot, armed principally with iron-bound lattees; and shortly after we saw them returning, laden with spoil. We arose from the *pyree*, and went into a cotton field, about a hundred yards further on, and sat down in a corner. The field was surrounded by a mud wall, about 4 feet high; the cotton plants were nearly the same height, and rather bushy in the middle of the field. The Brahmin took the cash-box from our servant, telling us he would take care of it for us, and as he had a drawn sword in his hand, we thought it best to be extremely polite. About half an hour after this, a mob of about two hundred villagers, armed with lattees, came towards the field, and we begged of the Brahmin to endeavour to divert their attention, while we went into the thickest part of the field, where we gathered our little ones, and sat down encircling them. The mob came on, and the Brahmin entered into conversation with several of them, and directed their attention to the quantity of loot the Tehseel and other places would afford. He appeared to be a man of some influence, for the mob moved on towards the Tehseel, excepting a few men, who appeared to be his personal friends, and who came into the field and sat down near him. It was then about sunset, and I begged of the Brahmin to take us to his house for the night, apprehensive that the mob would murder us on their return, if they found us alone. He told us he would, and we arose and followed him to Sursye, surrounded by his friends; and on arriving at his house, we sat down in a cow-house at the entrance, when he coolly took a ring off my finger, and a silver watch which was hanging inside my pyjamahs, and took these and the cash-box inside to his family. I could hear the females inside talking to him, surprised and overjoyed at the rich booty he had acquired; they talked of it as a 'God-send!' It was now dusk, and he came out and told us that his village wasn't a safe place, and that he would take us to a friend's house, at a short distance off, where we should be protected. Some of his people led the way, and after another weary trudge of a mile, we arrived at a small *poorwa*, and were stopped at a house near the middle of it. The Brahmin held a whispered

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conversation with the owner, and left us, telling us he would call to see us daily. We saw him no more. I have since ascertained that his name is Ramsahai. The owner of the house, accompanied by some others, led us into the court-yard, and asked us if we had any valuables, and on my replying in the negative, he took a bundle from one of our servants and opened it. It contained some children's clothing, and a small bag containing ten rupees, all of which he gave back to us; but about midnight, when the other men were elsewhere, he asked me to give up the bag, and on my replying that I hadn't it, he made a blow at me with his lattee, but I was standing near a wall at the time, and as soon as I saw the lattee coming down, I moved to one side, and a projecting timber from the roof caught the blow. He then left me, and went up to Mrs. Corrigan, and holding his club above his head, asked her for the bag; she gave it up, and he retired. Although we had been plundered of the greater part of our jewelry, the ladies had contrived to secrete a couple of gold chains, and some rings, in the folds of their hair, and a packet containing a hundred rupees and a gold watch in their dresses.

6. We were not molested the next day until about 4 P. M., when, as my family were sitting in a cow-shed at the entrance of the house, and I was in the court-yard, I heard a shriek, and the ladies and children rushed in, followed by three armed sepoys in the service of Duriao Singh of Khaga, two Thakoors, and a Brahmin. One of the Thakoors made me strip to the waist, and stand up against a wall, when he presented a matchlock to my breast, and blew the match afresh, to sucure a good burning point, telling me "it made his blood boil to see a Feringhee." The ladies and children surrounded him, and begged my life, offering to give up all they had. The Brahmin took the two gold chains and some of the rings, and persuaded the Thakoor to put off killing me for the present. We were then taken to another village by these sepoys, and thence to Duriao Singh's *gurhee* in the evening. Duriao Singh was absent on a marauding excursion in Oude, and one of his sons, Soojan Singh, directed that we should be taken to the village, (Khaga,) where we were put into a small house, and the door locked on the outside. I observed previously that there were about 200 armed men outside the gurhee, and on coming to the village, I saw numbers of them posted about the place. We remained in confinement for thirteen days, during which we suffered a great deal in mind and body. We had some money by us, but it was nearly all eventually taken away by Duriao Singh's people. Ramgolam, the Bukshee of the Khaga Tehseel, also eased me of my gold watch under false pretences, and a chuprassee named Deena Singh, fraudulently obtained possession of some rings and cash from us. These have since been recovered.

7. Shortly after we were placed in confinement, I heard that the Nana Saheb was coming downwards, with a large army and 44 guns, to besiege the fort of Allahabad, and that it was Soojan Singh's intention to make us over to the Nana, on his arrival at Khaga. This I felt sure would have been certain death, and we accordingly prepared to die. A few days were passed in this miserable state of suspense, when, as I was standing near the door of our prison one evening, I heard a pilgrim, who had just arrived from Allahabad, telling the people that the British had re-settled Allahabad, and were hanging the rebels by scores. This reached Soojan Singh's ears, and the next morning he sent us some goat mutton, and shortly after some articles of European clothing, with a message that he would be obliged if I would prepare to go forward to the British camp, when the troops arrived at Synee, and speak in his behalf to the General commanding. He also sent out scouts in the direction of Allahabad to bring information, and in a couple of days we heard that there was not the slightest chance of the British troops advancing westward; that there were barely enough to garrison Allahabad; and that the country was still in the hands of the natives. A Thanahdar, with a whole possé of sowars, matchlock-men, chuprasees, &c., arrived at Khaga at the same time, and established police chowkees along the road for several miles below Khaga, on the part of the Nana. At length intimation was received that the British troops were preparing to march upwards; and on the 22nd of June,

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Soojan Singh directed us to leave Khaga. We did so on the 23rd, about 1 A. M., and reached Ursrye, a village a short distance east of the Lohunda toll gate about noon, where we were sheltered by Golab, a Khatee, and kindly treated, and plentifully supplied with food by the village people.

8. On the 24th, a detachment of about 40 sepoys of the 12th N. I. arrived at Ursrye. The Havildar held a certificate, signed by Captain Scott, stating that these men remained faithful to their Officers, when the wing at Nowgong mutinied. They proposed to escort me to Allahabad, and I was only too glad to accept the offer, for several villages between Ursrye and Allahabad were still full of armed Mahometan budmashes. At one village (Muhungaon,) the people tried to tamper with the fidelity of my escort, offering them high salaries to give me up, and to join the rebel mob, but to no purpose. They remained true to their salt.

9. On the 27th June, at 6 P. M., we reached Allahabad.

10. The sepoy escort is at present stationed as a Tehseel guard at Mooftee-ka-poora, in the district of Allahabad.

11. Want of time has compelled me to omit many details, but the above will be found a correct sketch of the particulars of my escape.

T. H. A. CORRIGAN.

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# Supplement

TO THE

# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS, &c.

IN THE

# ALLAHABAD DISTRICT.

THE following is a detailed account of all that took place in the city of Allahabad during this troublous time, when the wrath of God was visited upon the Nazarene race. The sepoys of the army murdered the English Officers, and released the prisoners; and after waiting hopelessly for the fulfilment of their engagement by the Sikhs, of whom there were about 500 in the fort, they took from the treasury (in which there was about 22 lakhs) what was required by them, and plundering the rest, departed. On hearing this, your humble servant, who lived about seven coss from the city, considered in his mind that, as the ancestors of the people had once lived under the ennobling auspices of this great Government, the fulfilment of the conditions of loyalty, and the protection of the people was now incumbent on him. He at once therefore, along with several champions of the faith, and a number of Talookdars, (viz. Sheikh Nizamut Ashruf and Gholam Ismael, and Mohummud Hossein and Choudhree Meeran Buksh and others,) went into the city to institute a religious war, and send to hell the English, who remained, and with the intention, after sending a *congratulatory* address to your invincible Highness, of assuming charge of the Zillah until the receipt of supreme orders. The flag of Mahomet was planted in the Chouk, and a proclamation was made in the city to this effect:—"The "Nazarene race is the enemy of the life and faith both of Hindoos and Mussul- "mans. This Fukeer having girded his loins to protect the life and faith of the "people of God, and to fulfil the conditions of loyalty to the ministers of the "kingly Government, it becomes you also to assist with all readiness in the "destruction of the English who remain."

On hearing this proclamation, Moulvee Syud Ahmed Alee and Moulvee Gholam Hyder, and Moulvee Amjud Alee and Hossein Khan, Kurm Shere Khan and the inhabitants of the mohullahs of Russoolpoor and Shumdabad, coming to the assistance of this Fukeer, succeeded by the grace of God in beating the accursed ones in the first battle.

In the second battle, from among the great men of the city, Sheikh Lutuf Alee, prime minister of His Highness Scindia Buhadur, with his followers, and several Chiefs of the mohullah, viz., Sheikh Futtah Alee, darogah, Sheikh Nuzuf Alee, naib kotwal, and Nuzuf Khan, naeb thannadar, and others, with a great crowd, having joined this Fukeer, so arranged the battle field, that by the grace of God on that day they sent to hell a number of the accursed ones, who being entirely routed, took refuge in the fort. Two magazine carts, some English horses, and 49 Artillery bullocks, fell into the hands of the victors. In this way, on three several occasions a fight took place in this Zillah. At last the accursed ones being reduced and vanquished on all sides by the vengeance of God, and the arms of the victors, retired into the fort, closed the gates, and remained hopeless. After this the whole Zillah, Sudder and Mofussil, came under the control of this Fukeer. At this time the accursed ones, and

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some few who had sided with them, took counsel together. Fear and dread of this Fukeer so predominated in their minds, that they talked of flying from the place. Some Sahibs had on that day started for Calcutta, and the rest now proposed committing their allies to the care of God, and following their companions in a steamer. These evil-minded men, lamenting over the fate that would befall them, urged upon the Sahibs that for some time the fort would be a safe retreat, and that if they would remain in it a few days longer, they would contrive to spread a panic in the city, and cause the people to flee, and that then the Moulvee Sahib, being left alone, would be powerless. So it turned out by the evil destiny of the people, and by the will of God, that these enemies spread abroad in the city fearful reports, that the English were preparing the Artillery of the fort to destroy the city, and that before dawn they would commence bombarding it with shot and shell. To shew the sincerity of their advice, these men, with their families, set off, giving out to all that they had left their houses and property to God's protection, and were going to save themselves by flight. On hearing this fearful report the people, notwithstanding my repeated injunctions, commenced a precipitate flight with their families and goods; so that by nightfall not a house was tenanted, and not a light was to be seen in the whole city. I then, being thus left alone and helpless, went to Cawnpore, to the army of Nana Rao Buhadur, and sent an address to your Majesty's ministers, detailing the above events, with a request for a conquering army to be sent to my aid. I do not know whether this ever came before the Illustrious eyes or not. I formed the design of presenting myself at Court; but owing to the disturbances created by the accursed ones, and the blocking up of the road, I remained for some time unable to perform it. At last, in despair, I set out for the capital city of Shahjehanabad, and presenting myself before the ministers of the shrine of your holiness, the shadow of God, (may your kingdom prosper!) represented the state of affairs. By reason of the fierce contest then carried on by the army encamped before the city, and the entrance of the army of the accursed inside the city of Dehli, the idea of despatching an army, or of rendering me any assistance, was out of the question. However an order, with the royal signature and seal, addressed to all the Chiefs and Princes, and people of the Zillah of Allahabad, was obtained, a copy of which I send with this narrative for your Majesty's inspection.

(Signed) ———— ,*

*His Narrative copy of Perwanah.*

(True Translation,)

A. M. MONTEATH.

* The signature has been torn off.

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# APPENDIX No. III.

*Mr. R. J. Keymer's Narrative of the Defence of the Railway Water-Tank, at the Bhurwarry Station, twenty-three miles from Allahabad, opposite the 27th mile-stone on the Grand Trunk Road.*

On the 7th June 1857, the party from the posts of Khaga and Sohunga came down on the Railway waggons and trucks. The party consisted of the following persons: Mr. John Keymer, wife and three children; Mr. Lethbridge, wife and child; Mr. R. J. Keymer, Mr. Snow, Mr. Rose and Mr. Matthews.

At 2 A. M., we arrived at the Bhurwarry Station, at Major Ryves's house. Our intention was to pick him and Mrs. Ryves up, and proceed, if possible, to Allahabad. While making further movements, we were informed by the natives that the road to Allahabad was entirely in the hands of the rebels, and that we could never reach Allahabad; and further, that the Railway road had been destroyed by the villagers.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock, Mr. Snow's syce, who was taking his horse down to Allahabad, was attacked, about four miles off by the villagers, and the horse taken from him. This news made us prepare for our defence.

At 11 A. M., we were informed that Mr. Lancaster, who lived down the line, about four miles, was trying to make his way to us, and join our party. When he had got about half way to us, he was attacked and murdered: we could see the crowd, but dare not venture to assist him. On hearing of his death, Major Ryves ordered the tank to be held in readiness for defence, and we provided ourselves with several chatties of water, hermetically sealed provisions, beer, &c., as also a box of ammunition. For these arrangements we are solely indebted to Major Ryves.

At 3 P. M., we observed a number of men coming up the road, and at 4 P. M. we took possession of the tank, and placed the ladies and children in it. Half an hour afterwards, the mob appeared at the back of Mr. R. J. Keymer's bungalow, opposite to Major Ryves'; they looted and destroyed every thing; after which they crossed the road, 300 yards from the tank, and getting into the Major's bungalow, set fire to the out-offices, and looted and burned the bungalow. In a very short time the mob increased to a thousand or more; and about half-past 6 P. M. they came under the tank, shouting and abusing us, and pelting stones and broken bricks, by which several of our party were injured. The ladies and children protected themselves with the mattress, which had been taken up for them to sit on.

The temporary shed or grass "*chopper*" which was erected for the engine, had been cut down previous to our getting on the tank; this was brought back by the mob, placed against the wall of the tank, and set on fire. Fortunately the tank was built on arches, and the wind at the time blowing strong, the flame went over our heads. All this time the natives tried every means to make us leave our stronghold, but luckily we had drawn up the ladder after us, so as to prevent any of them from climbing up to us. Most of them

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were armed with guns, swords and sticks, and two double barrelled guns, belonging to Major Ryves and Mr. Rose, were also in their possession. They demanded the money we had taken up with us, and we were obliged to give them above Rs. 1000, which sum was divided equally between the Hindoos and Mussulmans.

Between 12 and 1 o'clock, the mob began to disperse, leaving a few to watch our movements.

The following morning (8th) at 5 A. M., Mr. Smith of Seeratoo was seen coming down the line, severely wounded, and assisted by three or four natives. He was drawn up by a rope, and informed us that he had been attacked at 8 P. M. the preceding evening; his bungalow was set on fire, and he and Mr. Thomas made their escape, leaving Mrs. Smith and children in charge of a bearer, who conveyed them to some village for safety. Mr. Smith and Mr. Thomas travelled all night from Seeratoo, 14 miles, until daybreak, when they were attacked by the insurgents, about three miles from our little garrison, and Mr. Thomas was murdered.

We remained on the Water-tank for three days and three nights, without any cover over our heads. At 3 P. M., on the 9th, 30 Sowars arrived, who had been sent to our assistance from the Fort. On our coming down from the tank, Mrs. Ryves was attacked by sun-stroke, and expired half an hour after our relief. We buried her on the bank of the river. We were obliged to get country carts and bullocks to convey the surviving ladies to the river: we put them on board of a boat, together with Mr. John Keymer. Mr. Matthews and Mr. Smith, and six Sowars to escort them to Allahabad. We, with the remaining Sowars, travelled all night, and reached Allahabad at daybreak next morning, avoiding the City and the Railway Station, which the Moulvee had in his possession.

I must remark here, that on the morning of the 9th, a message was conveyed to us by the Zemindars to the effect, that the Moulvee had sent word to them, that if we would turn Mussulmans, they could spare our lives, otherwise they could do nothing. We replied, that we must have time to consider of so serious an affair.

We were all well armed, but on account of the ladies and children, did not use our arms; though we had made up our minds to sell our lives as dearly as possible, if pushed to the last extremity.

In conclusion, I have much pleasure in mentioning, that we are deeply indebted to Major Ryves for his excellent arrangements. I must record the fact that it was his cook who conveyed the message to the Fort, in consequence of which we were so opportunely relieved, after having been for three days exposed to the rays of the burning June sun, and to the taunts and jeers of an infuriated and barbarous mob.

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No. 91 OF 1858.

FROM

W. G. PROBYN, ESQUIRE,

*Magistrate and Collector of Futtehpore,*

To

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,

*Officiating Commissioner, 4th Division, Allahabad.*

DATED FUTTEHPORE, 1ST JUNE 1853.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 783, dated 8th May, forwarding copy of Circular Order of Government, No. 212, dated 30th April, and calling on me for information regarding the events which have occurred from the commencement of the disturbances, until the final restoration of peace, in the Futtehpore District.

2. Mr. Macnaghten, who was at the time of the disturbances Assistant Magistrate in this District, has, at my request, written a report regarding the circumstances attending the outbreak, copy of which I have the honor to forward herewith. Mr. Macnaghten's report has been most carefully written, and as it embraces every circumstance of note which occurred until the re-occupation of the District, any thing that I would now write, would be a mere recapitulation.

3. The events which have taken place subsequent to the re-occupation of the District, have been detailed in my letter to your predecessor, No. 46, dated 28th December 1857.

I have, &c.,

W. G. PROBYN,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

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*Camp Ghatumpore, 17th May, 1858.*

SIR,

In compliance with your request, that I would furnish you with a short Narrative respecting the outbreak of the disturbances in the Futtehpore District, and the subsequent progress of events previously to your assuming charge, I have the honor to make the following statement:—

Authenticated accounts of the fearful tragedies enacted at Meerut and Delhi, were received at Futtehpore about the 15th May. The loyalty displayed shortly afterwards by some of the 9th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, at Allygurh and Etawah, led us to hope that the mutinous spirit that had displayed itself in many instances was not participated in by the whole Army; and that we might rely upon the fidelity of, at any rate, some portion of it. These hopes however were not destined to be realized, for about the 23rd of May we received information, that the Head Quarters of that Regiment stationed at Allygurh had mutinied and gone off to Delhi, and that other detachments located at Boolundshuhur, Etawah and Mynpoorie, had followed the example set them. We then fully appreciated the exigency of the crisis: the ladies and children were sent off to Allahabad, and the male members of our community congregated in our house. Extra Sowars were entertained, the Police Force of the City was considerably augmented, and several of the Zemindars of the District were requested to furnish men.

The Treasury Guard at Futtehpore was a Soubadar's party (I believe 67 men) of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry; the Soubadar seemed a frank-spoken honest old man, and as we heard from Allahabad the good opinion the Officers had of the men of the Regiment generally, we hoped that we might weather the storm, though we feared the worst.

About the 26th or 27th of May, three Companies of the 56th Native Infantry, under Captain Halliday, and Lieutenants Fagan and Henderson, of that Corps, arrived at Futtehpore from Banda. They had been at the latter Station on detachment duty, and were on their way to join the Head Quarters of their Regiment at Cawnpore; they brought about three lakhs of Treasure with them from Banda, and had orders to leave the greater part of this at Futtehpore, and to take the remainder to Allahabad, with any money that might be lying in the Futtehpore Treasury, ready for transmission to Calcutta, to be recoined at the Mint there. As we had heard from Cawnpore that the 56th Native Infantry was the most mutinously inclined of all the Regiments stationed at that place, and that Sir Hugh Wheeler was only waiting for reinforcements to apprehend several of the men, we were rather anxious to see how they would behave at Futtehpore. Their conduct was apparently all that could be desired, the Officers spoke of their men as being trustworthy and loyal, and the men outwardly at least, did not belie the trust reposed in them; but some of their conversation which was overheard, and reported to the Magistrate, clearly showed the frame of mind they were in. The Treasure which was despatched from here, was under three lakhs, and consequently the presence of an European Officer was not required with the detachment that escorted it. The detachment consisting of 75 men of the 56th Native Infantry, and 25 Sowars of the 2nd Cavalry, the whole under the Command of a Jemadar of the 56th, left for Allahabad the morning subsequent to their arrival at Futtehpore. The remainder of the 56th, with their Officers, also halted but one day at Futtehpore, and resumed their march towards Cawnpore on the same day that the Treasure party left for Allahabad.

The last letter received from Cawnpore at Futtehpore, was dated the 4th of June; it mentioned, that they expected the Sepoys to break out into mutiny at any time, and that all the Europeans in the Station were inside of a small entrenchment, which had been hastily thrown up round some barracks. On

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the night of the 5th of June, no dâk came in from Cawnpore, and we were in a state of fearful anxiety. We were not however to remain long in doubt, for on the 6th the booming of guns from the west, which were heard plainly all day, indicated that the Sepoys had broken out into open mutiny. Hoping for the best, we could not but fear the worst, as we knew too well the small number of men General Wheeler had available.

On the morning of the 6th, the Natives in the bazar received a garbled account of the Benares mutiny: it was said, that the Europeans had fired on the Poorbeas and the Seikhs, while they were standing quite passive on the parade ground. We had received no account of the proceedings of the 4th of June from Benares, and were consequently unable to allay the indignation excited by giving the true version of the affair, although we thought that we were justified in asserting that the report current in the bazar was altogether false.

The party of the 56th N. I. and of the 2nd Cavalry, which had left Futtehpore with Treasure, on or about the 28th of May, delivered the money safely at Allahabad, and started again for Cawnpore; they ought to have halted at Thurreeaon, (one march from Futtehpore,) on the 7th of June. On the morning of that day, we received intelligence that they had driven off the bullocks posted along the Trunk Road, to expedite the transit of Troops, had passed the Thurreeaon purao, and were hurrying on towards Futtehpore. The Soubadar of the Treasury Guard was made acquainted with this news, and told that we would be down at the Treasury almost immediately; he sent back a reply, that we had better stay where we were, and that if we came down to the Treasury, he could not answer for the safety of the Treasure. Shortly after this, we heard that the Sepoys and Sowars, attended by all the budmashes of the City, had approached the Cutcherry compound, and were parleying with the Treasury Guard: we waited in breathless suspense to hear the result of the interview. It was not long before we heard, that the Sepoys and Sowars had taken the Cawnpore road, and in a few minutes afterwards, a man from the Treasury Guard came and reported to the Magistrate, that in consequence of the Soubadar having threatened to fire on them, if they came near the Treasury, they had moved off and taken the Cawnpore road. We subsequently however learnt, that the reply of the Soubadar was: "If I let you have the Treasure, how shall I excuse my conduct to my own Regiment." The Sepoys and Sowars after leaving Futtehpore, went on to Kulleanpore, at the Tehseeldaree; there they found Rs. 9,000, which they appropriated: on being asked by the Chuprassees and other Government employees how they were to get their May pay if the money was all plundered, they gave them Rs. 1,000. Mahomed Moojtoba Khan, Tehseeldar of Kulleanpore, brother of Hikmut-oollah, Deputy Collector, made *sherbet* for them; they halted at Kulleanpore, cut down the Electric Telegraph posts for firewood, and proceeded on to Cawnpore in the evening.

As it was well known that many of the 3rd Cavalry were residents of Kotli, the Magistrate, about the middle of May, sent Hikmut-oollah, the Deputy Collector, to Ghazeepore, that he might be on the look-out for them, if they attempted to pass through that part of the District. Hikmut-oollah was recalled to the Station on the 6th or 7th June, as it was considered that his presence in the City would be beneficial.

On the night of the 7th, an *urzee* was received by the Magistrate from some man who had been sent to get news from Cawnpore; the writer mentioned, that the Europeans were besieged by the Sepoys, headed by the Nana, and that he had seen the dead bodies of three or four Europeans. We received no more information from Cawnpore; a man sent with a letter was stripped of his clothes before he had gone many miles, and deprived of the letter.

On the morning of the 8th, rumours were current in the bazaar, that the 6th Native Infantary at Allahabad had mutinied, had broken open the Jail, and had been joined by the Sikhs; that the Fort had been taken, and that every

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European, man, woman and child, had been massacred. We could not bring ourselves to believe this, though we could not help thinking that our informants themselves believed in what they told us. A man who had left the Allahabad Fort on the 7th, came in to Futtehpore on the 9th; he had started with a letter which had been taken from him, but his having left on the 7th, relieved our minds of apprehensions as to the safety of the Fort.

Cutcherry was held on the 8th of June, the current business was disposed of, and pay for May was issued to the establishment; the Treasury Guard all this time remained quiet, and the men performed their duties as usual.

On the evening of the 8th, information was received, that some 200 Sowars had arrived that day at Khaga, and had plundered the Tehseeldaree there, and about the middle of the night, the Magistrate heard that they were marching on Futtehpore. The Foujdaree Nazir, Ishree Tewarry, and the Kotwal of the City, Ahmed Ally, on whom the Magistrate mainly relied for information, and who, up to this time, had apparently done their best to supply it, were now found to have left Futtehpore. Not a single Government servant proved his fidelity by coming to the Magistrate on that night, and the only men we had, were four Nujeebs, (the Magistrate's private guard) and some 8 or 10 Sowars, who were in the compound. We had marked the progress of the Sowars from Khaga, by the blazing bungalows on the Railway line, and expecting their arrival shortly, we proceeded to carry up the furniture to the roof of the house. About three in the morning, a Sowar galloped into the compound, but retired quickly on being challenged, and we heard that the remainder had avoided the house and passed on.

At dawn, on the morning of the 9th, we heard shots in the direction of the Jail, and a heavy musketry fire commenced, which was kept up for a short time: on its cessation we learnt, that numbers of the budmashes of the City had gone towards the Jail. We agreed not to leave the house where we were, as we knew that the Nujeebs could, if they choose, disperse any number of budmashes, and we wished to be all together, and not to weaken our party at the house. The Duffadar of the Jail Guard, and some five or six Nujeebs, shortly afterwards came and reported, that they had fired on the mob, who had in consequence left the Jail. The Nujeebs however took particular care not to hit the rioters, and confined themselves to frightening them, for though the Guard numbered seventy, and each man on an average fired ten rounds, not a single budmash was hit. The Post office, the Dâk bungalow, the Road Sergeant's bungalow, Mr. Corrigan's house, and the Mission premises were now plundered and burnt. Mr. Tucker, the Judge, accompanied by three or four Sowars, rode down to the Jail, and through some portion of the City; but his efforts to restrain the lawlessness of the inhabitants proved unavailing. On his way back from the City, he came upon some rioters, who had attacked the Opium Godown, and were bearing off some Treasure which had been deposited there. Assisted by the Duffadar and five or six Nujeebs of the Jail Guard, he succeeded in recovering most of the money, and returned to the house. On this occasion three or four of the rioters were killed and wounded.

About the middle of the day, Hikmut-oollah, the Deputy Collector, attended by about 200 armed men, came to the house; they were principally Mussulmen, and we did not at all like their looks, as they came into the compound. We attempted to persuade the main body to halt some fifty yards from the house; they stated however, that it was very hot there, came on and located themselves in the verandahs of the house. They professed to be astonished at our numbers, and asked, where all the Sahibs had come from? Our party numbered eleven, including four Gentlemen and two Inspectors, connected with the East India Railway. After talking for some time with the Magistrate, and making some lame excuses for not having previously appeared, the Deputy Collector left with his attendants, and we felt considerably relieved when watching them retiring. Cutcherry was not held on this day, though some Rupees were taken out of the Treasury to pay some of the newly-raised Police.

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I ought to have mentioned, that about 9 A. M. Mr. Bews' bungalow was visited by a large mob, and although Messrs. Bews and Heathcote made a sally, and inflicted signal punishment on one of the rioters, this example did not deter the villagers from plundering and eventually burning the house: the work of devastation was carried on all day, and we subsequently learnt, that many of the escaped convicts from the Allahabad Jail were present, and joined in it.

Up to this time communication had been kept up with Banda, and in a letter received this day, the Magistrate of that District mentioned that the people were up to that time quiet, and that in the event of our being obliged to leave Futtehpore, and seeing no other loop-hole for escape, he recommended us to come to Banda.

As the authority of Government had been wholly subverted, as we looked in vain for assistance from any quarter, and as we had not the means to offer an effectual resistance in case we were attacked, we determined, after due deliberation, that we were justified in leaving the Station, and accordingly accompanied by four Sowars, left Futtehpore at 10 P. M. on the evening of the 9th of June.

Mr. Tucker, the Judge, I grieve to say, firmly refused to accompany the party; and after almost superhuman efforts to restore order, was killed the following day by a party of Mussulman fanatics.

Previously to our departure, we saw the sky to the east and west of of us lit up by blazing houses and villages. We passed a number of the escaped convicts of the Allahabad Jail on the road, who however confined themselves to shouting at us. The inhabitants of Lallowlie had returned from a marauding expedition, some little time before we arrived at that village; and we fortunately passed through it unmolested, and reached the Chilla Tara Ghât about 3 A. M. on the morning of the 10th of June.

Order was gradually re-established in the Futtehpore District, after General Havelock's march to Cawnpore in July, and the administration was carried on by Mr. Sherer from Cawnpore, till your arrival towards the end of September last.

I have, &c.,

E. MACNAGHTEN,

*Asisstant Magistrate.*

(True Copy)

W. G. PROBYN,

*Magistrate.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# CAWNPORE,

IN 1857-58.

No. 268.

FROM

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,

*Offg. Commissioner, Allahabad Division,*

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

*North Western Provinces.*

SIR,

DATED ALLAHABAD, THE 28TH APRIL 1859.

In continuation of the Narrative* of my predecessor, I have the honor now to forward the reports which have been received from Messrs. Sherer and Freeling, of the events connected with the mutiny in the stations of Cawnpore and Humeerpore.

* No. 2616, dated 15th November 1858.

2. CAWNPORE. I will not attempt to epitomize Mr. Sherer's clear and graphic description of deeds and sufferings, which have stirred every English heart. He has given an historical sketch of Cawnpore, from the commencement of open mutiny on the 6th June 1857, to the final restoration of order in the following May, when Calpee fell before Sir Hugh Rose, and British Supremacy was re-established throughout the Doab.

3. With the knowledge we now possess, we may imagine that had a different policy been pursued by the authorities, the subsequent catastrophe might have been avoided. We have not, however, the means of fully ascertaining the grounds upon which they decided, and we know that the course adopted by many natives was such as to render all previous experience and knowledge of their character of little use in anticipating their tactics. We have seen men, who apparently had strong inducements to take part with the rebels, maintain an undeviating fidelity to the British Government; while others, who were certain to be heavy losers by a change of rulers, and had no reasonable grounds for anticipating any personal advantage from the subversion of our dominion, became our most virulent antagonists.

4. General Wheeler acted upon the supposition, that the Regiments would mutiny, and at once leave for Dehli, the great centre of revolt, and that the Nana would not take an actively hostile part against us.

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5. To a certain extent, his anticipations were justified by the event. The Regiments did move off at once towards Dehli; and up to the time of their doing so, the Nana does not appear to have had any idea of the position he would hold in a few short days.

6. Had any understanding existed between the Nana and the troops, there would have been no object in the march they made on the Dehli road. It was not until they had gone, that the Nana seems to have finally determined on embarking in an enterprize, in which he staked his life, on the chance of gaining a throne, as the founder of a new Mahratta dynasty.

7. How he brought over the troops to his interests; how he endeavoured, with his newly-acquired army, aided by vast stores of artillery and munitions of war, contained in the abandoned Magazine, to annihilate the handful of Europeans in the so-called intrenchments; how, when force could not conquer that devoted band, they were deceived and betrayed by treachery of unparalleled baseness; how the dastardly traitors dare not even approach their unarmed victims, until from a safe distance they had poured deadly discharges of grape into the unsuspecting and helpless crowd; how the crowning atrocity of slaughtering helpless women and infants was perpetrated almost within hearing of the victorious shouts of Havelock's conquering army;—are best told in Mr. Sherer's own words. I would only here observe, that the more searching the investigation into the details of those horrible events, the greater has become the assurance, that the rumours of atrocious indignities upon the persons of our countrywomen, which at one time were so rife, are almost without foundation.

8. It is not to be denied that one or two exceptional cases may have occurred, but as a general rule, the extirpation of our race in India was the object by which these murderers were actuated; and in the prosecution of this design, they were swayed by no passion short of the thirst of blood.

9. The investigations recently completed by Colonel Williams, appear to place this long-vexed question beyond a doubt; and the hearts of those who have been so tortured with the thoughts of what their dearest relatives may have suffered before death, can now accept with confidence the no small consolation, which the result of these searching enquiries has offered them.

10. HUMEERPORE. This district has been transferred to the Jhansie Division since the mutiny.

11. The details furnished by Mr. Freeling, comprise all the information which has been obtained of the occurrences at the station.

12. The conduct of Mr. Loyd, the Collector, and of Mr. Donald Grant, the Joint Magistrate, claims the highest admiration. From private letters written by Mr. Loyd, and forwarded to Banda, he evidently saw that certain death awaited him if he remained at his post. Yet he felt it his duty to do so; and his colleague would not leave him. As a high-minded Christian gentleman, whose heart overflowed with the warmest love for his fellow-creatures, his memory is preserved in the affections of all who knew him; and the slaughter of such a man, in a place where he was known only as the benefactor of all, is one of the worst of the many black crimes which polluted the rebellion.

I have, &c.

C. B. THORNHILL,

*Offg. Commissioner.*

ALLAHABAD:
*The 28th April* 1859.

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# SOME ACCOUNTS

OF THE

# MUTINY AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS AT CAWNPORE.

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[*N. B.—The paragraphs within the brackets are* verbatim *from Lieut. G. Watson's Narrative.*]

At the time of the revolt at Cawnpore, the European Force, including the reinforcements they had received, consisted of

Artillery, one Company, 59 men and 6 guns.
Infantry, 60 men of H. M.'s 84th.
„ 30 men of H. M.'s 32nd, invalids and sick.
„ 15 men of 1st Madras Fusiliers.

The native troops consisted of the 2nd Regiment of Light Cavalry, the 1st, 53rd, and 54th Regiments of Infantry, and the Golundauze, or native gunners, attached to the battery. General Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded the Division. There was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the Civil, Railway, Canal and other Departments; there were also nearly the whole of the soldiers' wives of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population therefore in Cawnpore—men, women and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 souls. News of the outbreak at Meerut and Dehli reached Cawnpore on the 14th of May, and though the mistrust prevailing more or less throughout the Bengal Presidency was felt at Cawnpore, more especially with reference to the Cavalry and the 1st Regiment N. I., who had been cantoned together for one year, and whose seditious feeling had been pretty openly expressed—no precautionary measures were adopted, except that the Artillery was moved up to the European barracks; and this movement was caused by a supposed incendiary fire, which occurred in the lines of the 1st Regiment N. I., on the night of the 16th of May.

The ladies, and merchants also, about this time, sought refuge in the barracks. A company of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment arrived from Lucknow, and officers of all corps were ordered to sleep in the lines of their regiments.

Further cause of alarm was given by rumours having been circulated in the city, that the objectionable cartridges were to be served out on the 23rd of May, and that the Artillery were to act against all who refused them. A good deal of excitement prevailed, and on the 24th of May, the Queen's birth-day, it was not considered advisable to fire the usual salute.

There was at this time residing at Bithoor, which is a sacred village on the Ganges, and much resorted to by pilgrims, a Hindoo of rank, named Doondhoo Punth, but commonly called Nana Sahib—a title frequently occurring amongst Mahrattas. He was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, and inherited his houses, landed property, jewels, &c., but did not succeed to his large pension, which, in default of heirs of his body, lapsed to the Government in 1852.

The Nana lived in comfortable circumstances at Bithoor, in a large mansion not far from the Ganges, with stabling and elephant sheds, and large gardens surrounding, and a massive temple near at hand, which Bajee Rao had built at a considerable expense. Here he was surrounded by a band of wily Mahrattas, some relations and some friends, who, living up to the time of the mutiny in complete obscurity, have since become perfectly well known wherever English newspapers are read, and their names are now familiar in our mouths as household words.

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There were his two brothers, Bala Rao and Baba Bhut, the latter said to be the most influential man in the household; Rao Sahib, his nephew; Azimoollah, a young man of low origin, who had had the dubious advantages, in his case, of a trip to London and Paris, but who was undoubtedly talented; and last, but not least, the Nana's faithful servant Tantia Topee, the present Abdool Kadir of Central India. The Nana was a man of no capacity and of debauched tastes, a fair specimen of the Indian Prince badly brought up, with ample leisure and ample means; strong passions, and no principles to control them. He was known to consider himself aggrieved by being denied Bajee Rao's pension, as well as to have resented the reduction of the five per cents; but he maintained outward relations of civility with the Europeans, and invited them occasionally to entertainments at his house. As matters grew doubtful and dark at Cawnpore, the Nana put himself in frequent communication with the Magistrate, Mr. Hillersdon, and proffered offers of assistance in case of an outbreak. He was allowed by Government a retinue of 500 Cavalry and Infantry, with three guns of small calibre, which were entirely under his own control.

On the 26th of May, therefore, the Magistrate thought it advisable to call in his aid, and he was put in charge of the Treasury, which was near the Nana's own house in Nawabgunge. To the Treasury he brought two guns, and two hundred armed retainers, and there was there also a company of the 53rd N. I.

(Shortly after, the 2nd Regiment Oude Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Barber, 30th N. I., marched into cantonments, and furnished patrols, together with a picquet of the 2nd Cavalry.

A few days after their arrival, the Oude Irregulars were suspected, and were accordingly marched out towards Futtehgurh. Captain Hayes, 42nd N. I. Military Secretary to Sir H. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oude, and Captain Cary, 17th N. I., accompanying them; and they were followed, a day or two later, by Lieutenant Ashe, with a half battery of Oude Horse Artillery.

A few marches from the station the Cavalry Regiment mutinied, and succeeded in murdering all the officers who were with them. Some Seikhs in the regiment, however, returned towards Cawnpore, and met and brought back Lieutenant Ashe, and the guns. General Wheeler dismissed the Seikhs, and commenced intrenching the barracks of the depôt of H. M.'s 32nd, to which all the Europeans at the station were ordered to repair.

On the 4th of June, provisions for a month had been stored, and one lakh of rupees was removed within the intrenchments; but nine lakhs still remained in the Treasury. No steps were taken to remove or secure the ammunition and stores, which were lying in large quantities, both in the Ordnance and Regimental Magazines. It is necessary to mention this fact to show, not only that full confidence was placed in the Nana, but that no very serious view was taken of matters in general. The officers of the 2nd company, and 1st and 56th Regiments N. I., were ordered to discontinue sleeping in their lines.

The mutiny commenced on the morning of the 6th, at 2 A. M., when the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Regiment Native Infantry left thir lines; without, however, molesting their officers, who on the first alarm had proceeded to their lines. The insurgents proceeded first to the Treasury, which was situated in the civil lines, at the western end of the station; they obtained possession of this building without any opposition from the guards placed over it. They then entered the jail, set the prisoners at liberty, and burnt all the adjacent public offices, and the records in them. They afterwards marched out to Kulyanpore, the first halting place on the road to Dehli, and there encamped, being joined before noon of the same day by the 53rd and 56th Regiments N. I.

Seizing the opportunity of the revolt, the Nana possessed himself of a great portion of the Treasury; then repairing to the rebel camp, he persuaded

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them to return to Cawnpore, to destroy the houses situated therein, and annihilate the British officers and soldiers, and every Christian resident, and then proceed to Dehli, or Lucknow, leaving a garrison behind to retain possession of the city and district of Cawnpore.

Acting on his advice, and placing themselves under his orders, the rebels returned to Cawnpore the same evening. The Nana at once informed General Wheeler that he had returned to attack him.

Intimidating all natives of any standing, or importance, plundering every thing in his way, and murdering every European who fell into his hands, the Nana soon made good his words, by bringing into position two of his own guns, and two heavy guns which he had procured from the Magazine.

The cannonade from these guns commenced about 10 A. M., on the morning of the 7th June.)

It is necessary, in order to render evident the situation of the besieged, to give a short account of the position that had been selected by General Wheeler, and of such means as had been taken to secure it.

(The depôt of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the Regiment, was located in two long barracks, in an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station. These barracks were single storied buildings, intended each for the accommodation of a company of 100 men; one of them was thatched, and both were surrounded by a flat roof, arcade, or veranda; the walls were of bricks, one and a half foot thick. A well, and the usual out-offices were attached to the buildings. Around these barracks, a trench was dug, and the earth thrown up on the outside, so as to form a parapet, which might have been five feet high, but it was not even bullet proof at the crest: open spaces were likewise left for the guns, which were thus entirely unprotected. It may be imagined what slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish, either for the barracks, or for men in the trenches; while there was plenty of cover, both for musketry and guns, within a short distance of the barracks, of which the mutineers soon availed themselves.

To enclose the barracks, a parapet was required; and it is supposed, that scarcity of labour, and the stiffness of the soil, which at the close of the hot season was nearly as hard as rock, were the causes which prevented the construction of more solid defences.)

This position has been made the subject of much criticism. Without venturing to offer an opinion upon a scientific military subject, I may be allowed to say so much, that I think we must guard against post-facto wisdom, and beware lest our experience bias our judgment.

It is clear to me, that General Wheeler considered two things certain:— first, that the Nana was not in league with our native soldiery; and secondly, that our native soldiery, if they did break out, would make off at once to join the insurgents at Dehli. He apparently considered, therefore, that the only danger to be dreaded was, what might occur in the sudden fury of an outbreak. So long therefore as he was sufficiently on his guard against this, all would be well; and the outbreak over, he might choose a strong position. Events showed that he was right in every respect. He weathered the outbreak in safety, the mutineers *did* make off for Dehli, and the Nana was clearly not in league, previously, with the native soldiery, or it would not have been necessary for him to pursue them down the road, and entreat them, with lavish promises, to return. The treachery of the Nana disturbed all calculations. Now that we know what the Nana was, it may seem very blind and credulous to have relied upon him at all. But have we not relied on the Nawab of Rampore? Have we not relied on the Rajah of Chirkaree, and not been

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deceived? It has been well said, there are prophets of the past, as well as the future. There is a danger, surely, to be avoided here. But to return.

(The cannonade commenced from the four guns before mentioned, but the enemy's artillery was soon strengthened from the Ordnance Magazine, and in a few hours they brought a fire on the barracks on all sides, from fourteen guns and mortars in position.

At first the besieged replied briskly to the fire of the rebels, but without any signal success; for the guns in the intrenchments were field guns, and the enemy had not as yet advanced within 1,000 yards from the barracks. The fire of the rebels also had little or no effect, but on the second day of the siege they adopted more energetic measures; the Mahomedan flag was raised in the city; all true Mussulmans were directed to join, and those who demurred were threatened, insulted, or fined. The Nana's force was soon augmented by large numbers, and reinforced daily.

Having at his command a Magazine, stored with every description of ammunition and ordnance, a Treasury full, and the city bazar in his hands, it is not to be wondered at that he soon rendered the situation of the Europeans next to hopeless. An incessant fire of musketry was poured into the intrenchments from the nearest buildings, guns of large calibre, drawing gradually closer and closer, sent their shot and shell, without intermission, against the brick walls of the barracks; and carcases fired the thatched buildings, in which numbers of sick and helpless women and wounded men were huddled together, many of whom were burnt alive.

The Hospital stores were lost or destroyed, and all being now crowded into one building, without medicine, the sick and wounded died without relief. With the greater portion of their ammunition spent, the besieged were also forced to slacken their fire. In short their position was rendered hopeless and helpless in the extreme; and all this before the firing had lasted for half a week.

There was a nullah or ditch some distance in front of the intrenchments, by which the enemy pushed on a sap towards the barracks, and from this they poured in a near and deadly fire.

On the west of the besieged an entirely new range of barracks had been in the course of construction, and behind the unfinished walls the rebels posted their matchlockmen. They were, however, dislodged by sortie after sortie, and at length two of the barracks were held by picquets from the garrison. But the strength of the garrison was insufficient to prevent the rebels from placing their matchlockmen on the other side. Communications between the barracks became difficult, no one could move out of cover for an instant without drawing on himself the fire of twenty pieces. Water was at last drawn under shelter of the parapet at the edge of the wall; but the parapet was knocked over, and soon not a drop could be obtained, save at the risk of almost certain destruction.

The half-destroyed walls of the barracks, or the temporary expedient of piling up tents and casks, formed the precarious but only shelter that could be obtained. Food could only be carried from post to post by day, and the dead were removed at night, and thrown into an adjacent well without the decency of burial. Relief was expected on the 14th June; but day after day brought no succour. Round shot and disease were doing their work, provisions ran short, and the misery endured by all can hardly be imagined.

Yet the besieged in successful sallies, took and spiked the nearest guns, driving away the mutineers, and retiring with little, if any, loss to the trenches; but the guns were either repaired or replaced by others from the Arsenal. Still though the position in the barracks was quite untenable, the mutineers never mustered the courage to assault it.

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Nor were the Europeans in the trenches the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, many of the Natives suspected of aiding or serving the British Force, were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulcted of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed by the rebels. Up to the 26th June however, the British Force held their own, though their loss in killed alone was upwards of 100, and the ladies and others were maddened by suffering. It can scarcely be wondered at, that when, on that morning, the Nana offered to treat, his proposition was listened to. It was worded as follows:—

"All soldiers and others unconnected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, who will lay down their arms and give themselves up, shall be spared and sent to Allahabad."

Captain Moore, commanding the Detachment of H. M.'s 32nd, who had from the first directed the energies of the besieged, and invariably led their sallies, seeing the reduced state of the besieged, and relying on the word of the Nana, obtained permission to sign the paper; and, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of many other officers, the treaty was agreed to.

Boats were immediately provided for the conveyance of the remains of the garrison to Allahabad, and to these boats they proceeded on the morning of the 27th of June. And now followed the most dastardly piece of treachery that has perhaps ever been perpetrated. Only a portion of the party had taken their places in the boats, when, by previous arrangement, the boatmen set the awnings of the boats on fire, and rushed on to the bank. A heavy fire of grape and musketry was then opened on the Europeans. Out of thirty boats, two only managed to start; one of these was shortly swamped by round shot, but its passengers were enabled to reach the leading boat. Of those on board the other twenty-eight boats, some were killed, some drowned, and the rest brought back prisoners.

The remaining boat, having fifty of the fugitives on board, proceeded down the river, followed by the rebels, who kept up an incessant fire from both banks. At the distance of six miles the boat grounded; its passengers remained passive until night, when the darkness enabled them to shove her off. They pursued their way without interruption till the boat again grounded at Nujajgurh, eight miles lower down. Here again the rebels attacked the boat, killing many of the passengers; but the assailants were driven off, and retired to Cawnpore. The Nana then immediately despatched two complete regiments in pursuit. At night a violent storm fortunately forced the boat from the sand bank; but from ignorance of the channel, the boat was again allowed to ground further down. When daylight came, it showed the unhappy fugitives that their remorseless enemies had followed them up, and were on the bank. They had now reached Soorujpore, thirty miles from Cawnpore.

As it was found impracticable to move the boat, a party of fourteen landed to drive back their assailments, which they did most effectually; but proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and on their making their way back to the river, lost all sight of the boat. They accordingly followed the bank for about a mile; when being hotly pressed, they were forced to take refuge and breathing time in a small temple.

At the door of the temple, one of the party was killed; the remaining thirteen, after attemping a parley in vain, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were killed, or put *hors-de-combat*. The rebels fearing even to attack this small band of Englishmen, brought a gun to bear on the temple; but finding that it made no impression, they had recourse to heaping up firewood before the door-way. Unfortunately, the temple was round, so that the party within could not prevent their pushing the wood round to the front. The fire however did not have the desired effect; some handfuls of powder were therefore thrown on it, the smoke of which nearly suffocated the

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fugitives, who determined to sally out and take to the river. On their charging out of the temple, the enemy fled in all directions. Six or seven of the party who, it was supposed, could not swim, ran into the crowd and sold their lives as dearly as they could; the remaining seven threw themselves into the Ganges; two of these were shot ere long; a third, resting himself by swimming on his back, unwittingly approached too near the bank, and was cut up; and the other four swam six miles down the river, three of them being wounded. At last, the leader was hailed by two or three sepoys belonging to a friendly Rajah, who eventually proved to be Maharajah Deg Bejah Singh, a Baiswarra Chief in Oudh.

Exhausted by a three days' fast, and fancying from their not having been pursued for the last half mile of the flight that they were safe, the fugitives at once went to the Rajah, who protected and fed them from the 29th of June to the 28th of July. He ultimately provided for their escort to the Camp, by a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore, to join the force under the command of Brigadier General Havelock.)

Meantime at the Cawnpore ghât, after the partial escape of the two boats, the massacre continued. Musketry was kept up from behind neighbouring garden walls, and sowars made attacks on the helpless crowd by riding in amongst them, and slashing in all directions with their tulwars. There is an old half-caste woman now alive in Calcutta, named Murray, who in this tremendous moment was dropt full length on the sand by a ghastly sword-cut on her back. At last some person in authority, who, there is some reason to suppose, was either Bala Rao, or the Rao Sahib, gave orders for the slaughter to cease, and those who were still uninjured were all collected together and carried off towards a large house, called "Salavadar" or Savada Kotee, in the south-east corner of the parade ground. Here it seems likely the men were at once selected from amongst the women and children, and then and there slaughtered.

The women were all huddled together into an apartment, and kept close prisoners.

The boat which, as we have seen before, ran aground at Sheorajpore ghât, remained immoveable. All those who were still in her, were made prisoners and brought on shore, and were afterwards put on country carts and taken back to Cawnpore. There appears to have been delay in procuring this carriage, for the party was seen at Aherwan by one named Thomas, himself a prisoner, some four or five days, as he says, after the massacre at the boats. Thomas estimates the number of ladies and gentlemen about 80. This witness also tells me, that when he reached Cawnpore, he found the Nana in Savada Kotee, and large bodies of the rebel soldiery encamped between that and the Railway. I suspect the males of the Sheorajpore party were killed on arrival, and the women and children added to those already in confinement. About the 7th of July, there appears to have been a general move towards the town. The Nana occupied the then Hotel, and the women and children were located in a small house, badly built, partly on a native plan, which was called "Beebeegurh," from having been erected by an officer, some years ago, for an Indian mistress. Here common matting was provided for them, and chuppatees and water were supplied them. They seem to have been suffering fearfully from disease, if we may judge from a memorandum, found in the house, of deaths during a very few days, kept apparently by a Bengalee Native Doctor. I remember one entry striking me as very touching:

In the "name" column—"ek bebee"—a baby.
In the "disease" column—"ap se"—of itself.

Here then they remained till the fatal 15th. Before narrating what occurred on that day, I would just touch on two points. First, with regard to the Futtehgurh fugitives. I can only, with distinctness, make out the arrival of two batches, but I have no doubt the Futtehgurh narrative will throw light

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on the subject. There was the party with whom the Missionaries were. This seems to have arrived before the capitulation, and I think none escaped. They were all at once murdered.

The second, which was a larger party, got to Cawnpore early in July. My reason for thinking this, is that in the list found in the Beebeegurh, apparently written by some guard on taking over charge, after all the other names, he puts in, "from Futtehgurh," and then occur about 70 names more.

The other subject I would briefly mention, is the much-disputed question of the treatment of those who suffered death, or imprisonment. I entirely disavow any desire to make out a case, or to take one side of the question, or indeed do any thing but speak the truth. The alleged occurrences appear to be torture, mutilation, and dishonor.

1*st*.—With regard to torture, I simply say I have not heard of a case. Tell me of a case, and I will investigate the evidence and report on it.

2*nd*.—Mutilation. With regard to this, there appears to have been a great deal of intentional prevarication. If by mutilation, is meant cutting off the hands and feet of corpses, it is well known to be a common practice; and though I do not remember to have seen any dead body at this place in that plight, most undoubtedly they have been so seen in other stations. The other mutilation, viz., that of cutting off the extremities of living persons, is also practised by natives. There are at least fifteen mutilated natives at this moment in the Cawnpore district. A mutilated European in this sense, I have never seen, nor have I heard of an authenticated case of one having been seen by any one else.

3*rd*.—Dishonor. It is surely most heartless to the friends of those who have perished to argue whether this is a circumstance *likely* to have occurred or not. The point is, what evidence have we? If the story of the girl in Calcutta brought forward by Dr. Knighton in the *Times* is authentic, this is clearly one case. With regard to poor Miss W—, if the drummer's evidence that he saw her at Futtehgurh be true, the other story of her drowning herself in a well here must be false, and *vice versâ*. This case is not as yet so clear. I have not heard of any others.

But we have now to narrate the last scene in the Nana's rule at Cawnpore.

The battle of Aoung was fought early in the forenoon of the 15th, and the Pandoo Nuddee was forced to the best of my recollection, by about 11 o'clock the same day. There was therefore ample time for news of the repulse, and the steady advance of the British troops to have reached Cawnpore early in the afternoon. There is every reason therefore to suppose that the fate of the unhappy captives was immediately made the subject of discussion. The decision arrived at, is now known and execrated throughout the civilized world. It was decided that the captives should be put to death. The order was carried into execution about sun-down. There were four gentlemen, three of them of the Futtehgurh party, who by some mischance, or for some especial reason, had been reserved from the fate which had already fallen upon their male companions. These were first taken out of the Beebeegurh, and murdered on the high road. Then the general massacre commenced. It seems probable, that vollies were first fired into the doors and windows, and then that executioners were sent in to do the rest with swords. If the work was any thing like completed, it must have taken a considerable time. At length, the doors were closed, and night fell upon what had happened. The Hotel, where the Nana had his quarters, was within fifty yards of this house, and I am credibly informed that he ordered a *nautch*, and passed the evening with singing and dancing. Early next morning, orders were given for the Beebeegurh to be cleared. There must have been near upon 200 corpses.

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So many, I do not think, could have been thrown into the well. It seems probable, that a portion were dragged down to the Ganges. Considering the smallness of the house, and the crowded condition of the captives, it is next to impossible that all can have been slaughtered the previous night. It is exercising, therefore, no morbid imagination and pandering to no prurient curiosity to say that I hold no doubt some of the living met a more terrible death than assassination, even by being plunged with their dead companions into the tainted waters of the well.

The small, but determined band under General Havelock, who were destined (I may say, surely without profanity) by God's aid, to avenge the scenes described above, left Allahabad on the afternoon of 6th July. The rain fell with almost tropical violence, for some hours. We pitched the first night, only a few miles out of cantonments, in a sea of mud. The next morning however was dry and clear, and the men soon getting into the motion of the march, all spirits rose again, and every heart beat high with the prospect of the work that had to be done. The force consisted of about 1,200 Europeans, 150 Sikhs, and 20 or 25 Volunteer Cavalry. The marches were at first only from one encamping ground to another. Throughout the Allahabad district, we found the ruined Burdast Khanas well supplied, and the Thannahdars and Tehseeldars at their posts. But many of the villages had been burnt by the way-side, and human beings there were none to be seen. A more desolate scene than the country we passed through, can scarcely be imagined. The swamps on either side of the road, the blackened ruins of huts now further defaced by weather stains and mould; the utter absence of all sound, that could indicate the presence of human life or the employments of human industry (such sounds being usurped by the croaking of frogs, the shrill pipe of the cicala, and the under-hum of the thousand-winged insects, engendered by the damp and heat); the offensive odour of the neem trees; the occasional taint in the air from suspended bodies, upon which, before our very eyes the loathsome pig of the country was engaged in feasting: all these things,—appealing to our different senses;—contributed to call up such images of desolation, and blackness, and woe, as few, I should think, who were present, will ever forget. We were at Khaga, in the Futtehpore district, on the 11th. The village was almost entirely deserted. We experienced no difficulty however in obtaining supplies. The Moonsiff of Hutgaon, Salamut Alee, was in attendance, and gave every assistance. A Thannahdar was appointed, and a Thannah established, which was never been relinquished since. I presume the General heard during the day, that the Rebel Force was advancing on Futtehpore, for at midnight we marched to catch up Major Renaud, who with 400 Europeans, and about as many Sikhs, two field pieces, and 80 Irregular Cavalry, had preceded our General by a few days, and was then a short march ahead.

The two Forces were amalgamated in the middle of the night, and, marching on together, reached Belanda, about four miles on the Allahabad side of Futtehpore, by, I suppose, 7 o'clock in the morning. Here, too, we had no difficulties about supplies; Munnoo Lall, the faithful merchant, and zemindar Hunsooa, and Zoolfikar Khan, an old cavalry soldier of the same place, who had made their village the head-quarters of all those well affected to the British Government, were in attendance, and proffered every aid. Aid at Belanda, however, as it turned out, was not necessary, for a reconnoitring party soon brought word, that the enemy were advancing in force down the road; and whilst we were yet drinking our morning tea, under the shade of some trees, their guns opened and behold a battle had commenced. Here the enemy advanced their guns in rows of two or three, at a time, in a perfectly infatuated manner down the Trunk Road. How Maude's well-directed shrapnel from the flank, drove them in such confusion back into Futtehpore, that they scarcely attempted to hold the strong posts afforded by the garden walls and thick trees in its environs; how the misbehaviour of our Irregular Cavalry, nearly allowed the enemy's horse temporarily to turn our right, has all been described by persons qualified to judge of military movements. I need therefore say no more, than that, by twelve o'clock we found ourselves lying

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under trees, a mile and half on the Cawnpore side of Futtehpore, waiting for our camp to come up from Belanda, the town ours, and the enemy miles away.

On that day Futtehpore was given up to plunder, the country people had the boldness to come in, in crowds, and assist in carrying off property, making themselves our syces and grass-cutters, when interrogated by the soldiers. The inhabitants had fled to a man, so the shops and houses were ransacked without remonstrance, and next morning, when we marched away, the Sikhs were left behind to set the town on fire in several places at once. On the 14th, we were encamped near Kullianpore, and on the evening of the same day, the Irregular Cavalry were dismounted and disarmed. Early on the 15th, we marched on towards Aoung, where the General had been led to suppose he should meet with considerable resistance. His information was perfectly correct,—the village was occupied in strength.

The enemy had intrenched themselves across the road, not indeed in a very formidable manner, but the village offered great cover in the walled gardens, thickly grown with trees, which flanked it on either side. From this shelter, a steady fire of musketry was kept up for a considerable time. It was in this engagement that the enemy's Cavalry made more than one attempt to get round our Force and cut off the baggage. Once or twice, they regularly charged, but as soon as the bullets of the baggage guard began to fly amongst them, they pulled up and galloped away in quite a ludicrous fashion. After a struggle of some little endurance, the village of Aoung was taken, and as it was supposed the enemy would try and injure the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, the General pushed on. The rebels had placed two heavy guns on the bank on the opposite side of the Pandoo, one a 12-pounder, and the other an old carronade, I think, of large calibre.

These were fired straight down the high road, but Enfield riflemen were sent on through the fields to the river bank, and from that position, very soon dislodged the gunners, and the whole body then made off, leaving the guns. Some miserable attempts had been made to blow up the bridge, but quite ineffectual in their nature, and our troops marched across with perfect ease, and occupied the opposite bank. There we remained for the rest of the 15th, but by sun-rise the next morning we were again on our march. In passing through the village of Sirsoul, the zemindars came out to receive us, and promised to send on supplies after us to Aheriwan, which they faithfully did. We reached Aheriwan by noon; it was the hottest day I have ever been out of doors in; a clear, blue sky, with small patches of dazzling white cloud, which seemed to serve only to reflect the heat more intensely. Nothing but the excitement could have supported the troops under such exposure. The baggage was all collected into a grove, and a body of guards left to protect it, with four guns to be worked by some men of the line who had learned the rudiments of Artillery practice. The troops having rested for a couple of hours and taken refreshment, started about half-past two for the last battle, which was to decide the fate of the Nana's rule. The particulars of the battle are well known. To us who remained in the grove, it was naturally a time of great interest and excitement. I remember we could not possibly account for the altered sound of one of the heavy guns. The fact was afterwards explained to be, that the enemy had moved round one of their 24-pounders towards the Grand Trunk Road to meet the attack on their left, by which they were finally overcome.

It was dark before the firing ceased, but no one returned, and the last firing had been the most distant: this we knew indicated advance, and therefore victory, and so we fell to sleep assured; though we had no communication whatever with the main body, till the summons came next morning for the camp to advance.

In obedience to this summons we were proceeding along the road, when suddenly, in the direction of Cawnpore, a gigantic tongue of flame leapt up as it were to lick the sky, followed by a large cloud of smoke, which, preserving

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somewhat the shape of a balloon, ascended swiftly; we looked at each other, and that moment experienced a slight shock, like a weak electric current, and then the mighty thunder broke in the distance, and seemed to roll towards us and around us. The powder magazine had been exploded.

That day the army was encamped on the parade ground; and we, for the first time, saw the deserted intrenchment which Wheeler had occupied scarcely three weeks before.

That scene of matchless desolation, the monument at once of astounding cowardice on the part of the enemy, and of incredible courage and endurance on the part of those besieged, has been already often described. I will only observe that the cry in all mouths was, in such a position, and against such odds to have held out a couple of days, seems almost a miracle. The next morning (the 18th) the troops were ordered to march by the Trunk Road to the Mission premises, the most distant buildings to the west in Cawnpore, and situated close by where the Cantonment and Grand Trunk roads join. This wise movement not only protected the station in the direction of Bithoor, but also preserved the soldiers from the temptations of liquor, as well from any desire to take vengeance into their own hands. That day, with the General's permission, I rode with two of the Volunteer Cavalry into the city, having the re-establishment of the British power proclaimed in several places, and meeting almost the whole mercantile population at the Cotwalee where they professed (I cannot say with what sincerity) the greatest delight at our return. We had also the great pleasure of liberating one or two half-caste Christians, who were concealed in remote lanes and alleys. From the city we proceeded to the Hotel, which we found just as the Nana had left it. He slept on one side, and on the opposite had rooms for pooja and cooking, keeping two large centre apartments for Durbar purposes. Thence we were directed to the Beebeegurh, and well. And then broke upon our sight that dreadful spectacle, over the very idea of which there are still broken spirits and widowed hearts mourning terror-striken in distant England. I have no more details to add to what is already too well known, and must dismiss the sad subject with one or two brief remarks. The stories of children found suspended on the trees, and of mutilated dead bodies lying in the enclosure, are entirely fabrications. There were no dead bodies, except in the well. The well was narrow and deep, and on looking down you could only see a tangled mass of human limbs entirely without clothing. To the best of my belief there was not a word written on the walls. I searched myself, and I know that others did so too, but without discovering any intelligible marks.

The only documents I ever heard of being found were:—

1st.—A list in Hindee, giving the names of all the prisoners received apparently on the 7th of July, and made over to some other guardian on the 11th. This list I took possession of, but careful copies of it have been taken, and it forms the basis of all lists which have been published.

2nd.—A list of sick and memo. of deaths, in the Beebeegurh, for two or three days, kept apparently by a Bengalee Native Doctor. This was in the possession at one time of Major Gordon, of the late 6th Native Infantry, and was published in the *Phœnix* newspaper, August 1857.

3rd.—A skeleton diary, believed to have been kept by one of the Lindsay family, made over, I fancy long since, to survivors.

On the 19th, Major Stevenson of the Madras Fusiliers, commanded a party, which went out to Bithoor. This place was occupied without the least resistance, and thirteen guns removed from it, besides a great deal of valuable property. The Nana's palace was destroyed, which was a pity, as any chance

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of finding treasure has been rendered far more remote. The Nana himself was far away. To the best of my information, he left Bithoor on the evening of the 17th. He found it impossible to get any of the soldiers to rally round him; they had thrown off restraint, and abused him and Baba Bhut in open terms, clamoring with threatening gestures for money, and so off, helter skelter, for Futtehgurh. That evening he embarked himself and the ladies of his family on a large boat. He had given notice that he should drown himself, I suppose as a blind to prevent pursuit, and it was understood the signal was to be, when the light was put out. The Gungapootras were watching on the shore. About mid-stream the light was extinguished, and with a yell, that must have reached the boat, the mendicant Brahmins rushed up to the palace, and commenced plundering all they could lay their hands on. The crafty Nana was disembarking in the darkness on the other side; but if in so callous a heart, any bitter reflections could arise, the ingratitude of his adherents and the falseness of those he had cherished, might well have induced them.

General Neill arrived with some 400 men, I think on the 20th, and the next day we all moved down to Permit ghât, from whence the embarkation was commenced to Oude. This took some days; meantime every exertion was made to render the new intrenchment (which had been chosen by General Havelock on the 19th,) capable of defence when the Forces intended to relieve Lucknow had all crossed. General Neill was left with a garrison of less than two hundred men to hold Cawnpore. The day I entered the city, (viz. the 18th) I appointed a Cotwal, and city police, and a day or two afterwards I sent out a Thannahdar to Sirsoul, with a band of burkundazes. This Thannah is on the Allahabad road, and has never been given up since. I was very anxious also to get outposts to the south and west, that we might as it were have police pickets on all sides of us. Two men readily volunteered to go out as Thannahdars, one to Suchendee, about ten miles down the Calpee road, and the other to Sheorajpore, a village on the Grand Trunk Road towards Dehli. They both went out, attended by as many men as could be collected together. This was a most unfortunate undertaking. The 42nd Regiment of Native Infantry, (than which no Corps showed more courage or greater ferocity) having mutinied at Saugor, crossed the Jumna at Calpee, accompanied by some Irregular Horse, and marched direct upon Akberpore. Here it was supposed they would turn off towards Bithoor; before doing so, however, they sent a considerable body of men to destroy the temporary bridge over the Pandoo, and these men advancing rapidly, surprised the Thannah of Suchendee, and capturing the Thannahdar put him to death, under circumstances of great cruelty. The main body afterwards marching on Sheorajpore, surrounded the Thannah there also, and the Thannahdar, a young Mussulman of considerable personal courage, was shot, and his body hung with the head downwards from a tree. General Neill, who on taking command of the intrenchment, told me that as the occupation of Cawnpore was wholly military, he considered it of great importance that the city police should be in the hands of a military man, that they might be made to co-operate with military movements, had already appointed Captain Bruce of the Bombay Army, Superintendent of Police, with (as I understood the General to say) the express approbation of Government. The serious gathering at Bithoor, which shortly after the departure of General Havelock, began to draw all our attention for a while, postponed any further attempts to re-establish provincial police stations. The 42nd Native Infantry, which after leaving Sheorajpore, had occupied Bithoor, were soon joined there by men of the 17th and other Regiments, and by sowars of the 2nd Cavalry and 3rd Infantry. General Neill was all activity, constantly marching out in the environs of the town, with a couple of guns and all his available men; keeping the Steamer moving up and down the river, (it made two warlike visits to Bithoor) and in every way showing that he was on the alert and prepared for emergencies. It is certainly untrue, though it has been often repeated, that the Nana recrossed to Bithoor at this juncture; he has never since he first left Bithoor revisited this bank; nor do I think, as I have seen it stated, that Cawnpore was at this time in any particular danger. The enemy were numerous, but they had only two small pieces of artillery, and

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though their sowars did occasionally by night ride into the suburbs, it was mostly I fancy for the sake of bravado. However General Havelock considered it his first duty on returning from Oude, to turn its rebel occupants out of Bithoor. Accordingly on the 16th August, a large party, commanded by General Havelock in person, marched on Bithoor, and after an hour's cannonading entirely cleared the town. During the presence of General Havelock's force in Cawnpore, of course we had a stronger hold on the neighbourhood, and I was commencing an attempt at again establishing police posts, when I received a very kind letter from General Neill, of which the following are extracts:—"Attempting to establish your police, is not only useless, but risking "the lives of men well disposed to the state, to no purpose. The capture and mur- "der of your men at Sheorajpore and Bithoor prove this." And again, "Having "no soldiers to send out, the common police under Military rule, Bruce is get- "ting together, is the best substitute." Then after very highly praising the police on the Allahabad road for having kept open communication so well, he adds "When the sanction of the Government is requested, the reason why, must "be fully stated as above; most certainly the grounds for sending the request "will not be the inefficient state of the present police." The posts therefore of Bithoor, Sheorajpore and Suchendee, passed into General Neill's hands, and were garrisoned by degrees under Captain Bruce's orders with what was then called the 'Mahter police.' About the same time, General Neill also nominated Captain Young of the 4th Native Infantry to be Superintendent of the Grand Trunk Road for aiding the transit of troops. Both these appointments were sanctioned, and Commissions for administering the Penal acts were sent me by Mr. Chester for Captains Bruce and Young. I being already on the Commission, swore them both in. I merely mention this to show that my partial supercession (of which I have no wish to complain in the least, for I think it was quite proper under the circumstances) was not only known to, but acquiesced in by the Government under whose immediate orders I was then acting. Had we been strong enough then, to have thoroughly occupied the district, I make no doubt most of the zemindars would have at once given in their adherence, and things would have quieted down. As it was, several large zemindars, amongst them Doorga Pershaud of Suchendee, began to feel their way, and to make inquiries as to whether bye-gones stood any chance of being considered bye-gones. To these, we could only guarantee a fair trial. But this did not meet their views. Gradually as it became seen that Cawnpore was only a garrison, when it was clearly known that the troops collecting at Cawnpore had not for their immediate object, the pacification of the Dooab, but were intended to cross the river, this desire to conciliate died away, and the disaffected began to look towards Gwalior as affording them some hope of a second subversion of the British power, and this time, with a more permanent success. The active part taken by Doorga Pershad and Rajah Suttee Pershad, of Sheorajpore, heads as they were of the Chundel Rajpoots, naturally influenced the conduct of most of the higher class of Thakoors. I am afraid the most I can say of the better specimens, is, that they were neutral. The infidelity also of the Omlah, doubtless, had a very bad influence in the district. To a man almost, with the Deputy Collector at their head, they quietly changed sides and acquiesced in the new administration. Ram Lall, the Deputy Collector, took a very active part in attempting to organize the Nana's government. This marked treachery, a treachery which ruined the whole body of officials, I punished with death on my first arrival. At the time then, that Sir James Outram arrived with reinforcements, the state of the district was this: first, as regards Police; Captain Bruce held the city, Bithoor, Suchendee and Sheorajpore; had a slight hold on Belhour, and had established one or two smaller posts in the neighbourhood, so that Cawnpore was well surrounded by a series of police pickets. In Police I had the Thannah at Sirsoul, and a Thannah at Ghatumpore, and for awhile one also at Bhogneepore. These three Pergunnahs were under Mr. Griffiths, both in Revenue and Police. There were no Tehseeldars appointed, but he had two Peshkars under him, at Sarh Sulem, and at Ghatumpore. The Pandit, Umr Nauth, was appointed Sudder Tehseeldar. We collected in the Huzoor Tesheel and Bithoor, and got a little money in from Russoolabad and Sheorajpore. When the Force left us on the 19th of October, for the relief of Oude, and when many

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days passed without any intelligence being received from Lucknow, considerable anxiety was naturally felt in the town; but the glorious news of the capture of Dehli raised our prestige again, and the large preparations which were being made for Carriage and Commissariat stores, re-assured the people that the *Gorah log* were not so completely run out of soldiers as ill-disposed agitators had tried to lead them to believe. No material change took place in our position. We could not strengthen our hold on the district; Bhogneepore, and Secundra, and Akberpore, were very much under the influence of the trans-Jumna rebels, whilst the large clan of Mew Thakoors were to a man in open rebellion, and two malcontents, the Rajah Bhao, and Kalundur Gir Gossain, managed to keep the whole of that part of the district in a disturbed state. In Russoollabad, there was a strong party, headed by Pem Singh, and Duriao Singh, (since hung at Gwalior) against us, and connected with a rebel party in Etawah; but there were some influential men for us. Sheolee and Sheorajpore were subject to inroads from sowars connected with the Nana and Nurput Singh, and were kept in constant disturbance and excitement. Bithoor was strengthened by the proximity of Cawnpore, but still on the Dusseerah, the enemy from the other bank managed to surprise Captain Bruce's police, and killed a considerable number of them, including the Superintendent. A party from Akberpore also attacked Suchendee about the same time, and killed the Thannahdar and several burkundazes. The capture of Dehli drove the fugitive rebels down the country, and the large party (diminished though I fancy on the road) which crossed at Muttra, under Bukt Khan, advanced into this district as far as Sheorajpore. Brigadier Wilson, however, went out to meet him on 19th October, with 600 Infantry and several field pieces. There was scarcely an engagement, as after firing a few shots the enemy made off, but although little harm was done to him then, there is reason to suppose the check received at Sheorajpore, threw back into the jaws of Greathed's column, that body of rebels that were annihilated on the morning of the 23rd October near Kanouj. Soon after this brush, in upon us, full of life and vigour, and flushed with victory, part of the glorious band that had expelled the rebel from his fastness, had upraised again the British flag in the deserted halls of Timoor, the 'pursuing column,' as it was called, first commanded by Greathed and afterwards by Grant, arrived on the 26th of October, and doubtless the sight of so large a body of men would have tended entirely to pacify the district, had not ominous whispers from the south-west, told us of the advance of the large Force and powerful Artillery, that was to introduce another disturbing element into all plans. But days passed on, the 'pursuing column' crossed the river; Infantry, and Cavalry, and guns, came up and crossed and disappeared, and at last, the Commander-in-Chief himself made a start, and the relief of Lucknow commenced.

What occurred during his absence, has been often related. Time fails me to give more than the merest outline. Taking advantage of the comparatively unprotected state of Cawnpore, the Gwalior Contingent, after many hesitations, at length crossed the Jumna and marched upon the station. On the 26th November, General Windham went out to meet them at Bhoutee, about ten miles down the Calpee road, gave them a very decided repulse, and brought in one of their 10-inch howitzers in which they placed such reliance. The next morning, the enemy again advanced, and turning off the Calpee road crossed by Rawutpore to the Grand Trunk Road, where being joined by a considerable force of rebels, which had crossed from Oude at Sheorajpore, made a joint attack on Cawnpore.

The endeavours to keep them off, were not that day, as is well known, altogether successful, and the troops slept at night inside the intrenchment. A sally however was made on the 28th, and with considerable success on the left. But the advantages gained could not be sustained with the force available, and when Sir Colin rode into Cawnpore, on the evening of the 28th, he found the entire force within its intrenchments, and the enemy in possession of the whole city and station. It was on the 1st December that Captain

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Bruce received a Staff appointment, and wishing to be at once relieved of his police duties, he wrote to ask me to take over charge. I went over to his house, which formed part of the intrenchments; I think the enemy had got some idea that the Commander-in-Chief was staying there; but however that may be they selected this wretched house for a target, and I wrote my letters with round shot whizzing over our heads. Fortunately the enemy were not very good shots, but they carried away part of the balustrade of the roof twice. I should not think it has happened before for a Magistrate to take charge of a district, a few hundred square yards only of which were then in British possession, and to sign the usual papers under a heavy cannonade playing on his predecessor's house.

Here as Captain Bruce's administration ended, let me venture to bear my tribute to its vigor and its justice. Much has been said, I understand, about the executions at this place. All I can testify is, that I believe the executions to have been far less numerous here than at most other places which the rebels had had possession of. Fair and careful trials were always accorded, and I never heard the natives complain of the result of any, except that of Azim Alee Khan. In that case Captain Bruce asked my opinion, and it confirmed his own, that the Khan Sahib was guilty. As for myself, I trust I was of some use in collecting Commissariat stores, building carts, &c., and keeping up a *liliputian* correspondence with Agra. I also attempted, not wholly without success, to keep order in the Futtehpore district, and when Mr. Probyn was made Magistrate in October, he found all the Thannahs and Tehseelees restored. But I draw to the close of my Narrative. On the 6th of December, Sir Colin arose in his strength, and scattered the Gwalior Contingent in every direction, taking all their guns. The delusion was over, the district saw that British Supremacy was inevitable; and sick of misrule and confusion, and disorder, it finally succumbed. The Column under Brigadier Walpole, which marched on the 18th December, was received with apparent pleasure by the people. Captain Bourchier writes:—"The whole population flocked to see us." The ousted zemindars began to see that their dream of getting rid of auction purchasers was over, and they must submit to their fate. These men were made our enemies by circumstances. We ruined them to be sure, but it was in our attempt to benefit them, and if our desire to liberate them from the yoke of the Talookdar, had subjected them to the ten-times more disastrous yoke of the Borah, still the consummation was one we never contemplated. The selling up of estates however was doubtless one of the principal causes that gave the rebellion that popular phase it gradually assumed. Bacon has remarked with rare sagacity, that "it is certain so many overthrown estates, "so many votes for troubles." This must be remembered with regard to confiscated estates too, as well as those the Civil Court has laid its hand upon.

Opportunity was taken of Brigadier Walpole's column, to re-establish Thannahs and Tehseelees, at Akberpore, Russoollabad and Derapore, which have stood ever since. Mr. Griffiths re-established his Thannahs at Sirsoul and Ghatumpore, and when the chief advanced towards Futtehgurh, Sheorajpore and Billour had their establishments restored, which have never since been disturbed. Bhogneepore and Secundra, continuing under the influence of Calpee, although they were kept out of active mischief by the movable column under Colonel Maxwell at Akberpore, were too disturbed to admit of Government servants being located there, and it was not till the fall of Calpee in May, that by their complete subjugation, I was enabled to report to the Commissioner, *ubique pax*.

That peace, with God's blessing, I hope we shall be able not only to maintain by armed force, but to ensure gradually on a much firmer ground, by pressing upon the people the conviction, that a Christian rule is synonymous with a wise and just one.

I do not think I have omitted any thing of importance, bearing on the general aspects of the rebellion in this district. I recall the burning of

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Russoollabad Tehseelee by the fugitives, after the battle of Khujwa in Futtehpore. I recall a raid of Rao Sahib, from the Ganges to the Jumna, and an attack on Russoollabad by Etawah zemindars; but these were detached incidents, scarcely calling for notice in a narrative of this kind. I followed but the other day close upon the retreating footsteps of Feroze Shah, but I found the ploughman in the field; the boy singing at the well as he urged the bullocks down the slope; the old woman sitting at her door, twisting her little cotton gin, (I fear with scarcely velocity enough to compete with the New World) and her daughters grinding the millet, all supremely unconscious of the descendant of Timoor, who with somewhat unseemly haste had made but yesterday a royal progress through their fields and villages.

The taste for misrule has clearly for the time departed. The people have seen that neither Rajah nor Nawab can construct a practicable administration, and the old rule seems better than none.

I trust experience may teach us to amend those parts of our administration, which may be oppressive or distasteful to the people, so that they may accept our rule, not only as inevitable, but also as that with which they are best satisfied.

JOHN WALTER SHERER,

*13th January* 1859. *Magistrate of Cawnpore.*

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# MEMORANDUM,

*By Lieut. Col. Williams, Military Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces.*

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THE investigations regarding the outbreak at Cawnpore in June 1857, have been temporarily closed.

Forty-two depositions from individuals of all classes and creeds, Christians, Mahomedans and Hindoos have been recorded, and valuable evidence obtained from respectable and influential residents in the city. These depositions, together with the native journal of a city resident, have been translated, and relate the first attempts made by the Nana to tamper with the troops; his ready success; the earliest meeting held by the conspirators; and their proceedings on, and subsequent to their mutiny, from the 1st of June, to the advance of the British force in July.

It is proposed to have these printed; and from them to draw up a report cast in the form of a Narrative, showing all that the evidence contained in them proves.

The evidence shows the Nana's brother, Bala Sahib, to have taken as (if not more) active and prominent part as even the Nana himself.

There are no traces of any conspiracy prior to the arrival of the Nana at Cawnpore on the 22nd May 1857, with two guns, and 300 horse and foot, for the avowed purpose of aiding in the maintenance of order. But about that time, it would seem, that two sowars, the one named Raheem Khan, of Bishenpore, near Bithoor, the other Muddut Alee, of Banda, and in the service of the Nana, were employed by Bala Sahib, to corrupt the fidelity o the troops. The 2nd Cavalry already ripe for mutiny, needed but little persuasion. Soobadar Teeka Singh, Havildar Major Gopal Singh, and Sowars Shumsh-ood-deen Khan, Shaik Boolakie, Sirdar Beg, and Rai Singh, are said to have taken the lead amongst them; and at dusk on the evening of the 1st of June, met the Nana and Bala Sahib at Manjee ghât, where they had a consultation in a boat that lasted two hours.

Upon this fact being brought to the notice of the Magistrate, the Nana plausibly accounted for it, by stating it to have been held for the adoption of measures, that should keep the troops firm and loyal; whereas on the succeeding day, sowar Shumsh-ood-deen Khan, with two or three others of the 2nd Cavalry, whilst drinking in the house of a prostitute named Azeezun, informed her that in a few days the Peshwa's rule would be proclaimed, and the Nana paramount at Cawnpore, when they would fill her house not with Rupees merely, but Gold Mohurs.

The depositions of those attached to the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry, give a clear account of the outbreak on the 4th June, and the events in the intrenchments.

After the mutiny of the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Native Infantry, on the morning of the 5th of June, a sowar of the former, and a native officer of the latter Corps, were sent to the Nana, to offer him the alternative of a kingdom, if he joined their (the rebel) party, or death if he cast in his lo with the British.

His decision was promptly accorded, the ready reply being, "What have I to do with the British. I am with you." He then laying his hand on the heads of the mutineers, swore to be their Chief, and to lead them to Dehli; after which they were dismissed with orders to carry the Government Treasure to Kullianpore. A consultation was then held by the Nana, Bala Sahib,

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and Azeemoollah. The latter pointed out the folly of proceeding to Dehli, where their individual power and influence would necessarily cease; and recommended the Nana's recalling the mutineers, taking possession of Cawnpore, and extending his authority, as far as he could to the eastward; adding, that he was thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the British, that the number of Europeans in India was scarce one-fourth that of the Native army, and that the latter having mutinied, the former were powerless.

This being agreed to, as the soundest policy, was accordingly carried out; the mutineers were ordered back, and the siege of the intrenchments commenced. The evidence of some of the beleagured parties, chiefly belonging to the 53rd and 56th Regiments, with that of the city people, gave a vivid picture of the state of affairs during that ever memorable period. The mutineers, it would appear, were more intent on plunder and murder, than on fair and open fight, whilst in the city and elsewhere, a reign of terror was established.

The Nana was assisted by neighbouring zemindars, and the insurgent populace; finding it, after repeated attempts, impossible to take the intrenchments by fair fighting, a full council was held, and recourse to treachery resolved upon, though some of the mutineers present are said to have deprecated the adoption of foul means; whether this be true or not, one fact is clear, none gave warning of the base impending treachery, involving, though it did, the murder of helpless women and innocent children, but all joined unflinchingly in its perpetration.

The evidence regarding the massacre at the Suttie Chowra ghât, on the morning of the 27th June 1857, is clear and conclusive. A plan will be annexed, showing the positions of the guns and rebel troops, held in ambush, but which were withdrawn from their places of concealment when the deputed officers went to examine the boats at the ghât. Nigh ten thousand spectators assembled from the city and neighbouring villages, to witness the departure of that gallant little garrison from the intrenchments, amongst whom were many respectable city people, such as bankers, &c., some doubtless came to view the truly novel sight of their late rulers led forth as captives, by those they had but a short time previously commanded. Some few may have been actuated by a better and kinder motive to pay their parting respects to those they had known in happier days; for the more respectable portion of the native community, though prepared for treachery, were not aware the British would be attacked at the ghât, ere yet they had embarked, but imagined it would be lower down the river.

Even before that doomed little band had reached the fatal spot, the rea intentions of the mutineers were revealed by some, unable to restrain their malignant ardour, until the stated time and spot were reached. The depositions give a painful account of the murder of Colonel Ewart, who commanded the late 1st N. I., by some four sepoys of his Corps, who cut him down with bitter taunts, regarding the spectacle before him being a fine parade. His poor wife also meeting with a similar fate, almost immediately after. Of the fearful scenes that ensued at the ghât, the evidence of the Manjees who supplied the boats, with that of many who were spectators, gives a clear account.

The most active in carrying out the arrangements, and urging on the slaughter was Teekum, a sowar of the 2nd Cavalry, who having been made a Rissaldar by the Nana, was doubtless anxious thus to exhibit his zeal and devotion in the cause of his benefactor. On a carpet spread on the chubootra of the temple, near the ghât, were seated Bala Sahib, Azeemoollah, Brigadier Jowala Pershad, and Tantia Topee, a captain of the Nana's guard. The first shots were fired from the Oude bank of the river, where the mutinous 17th N. I. were posted with some guns; three more being stationed with a large force on the right bank; on the boats being set on fire by the former

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party, many of their occupants leaped into the water on the offside, and notwithstanding the murderous fire poured upon them, some 84 or 85 women and children effected their escape from present death, only alas! to meet a worse fate hereafter. The wives of drummers, and children, from three to ten years old, passed unscathed not only through the siege, but even this terrible massacre also.

A man of great influence in the city, and a Government official, has related a circumstance that is strange, if true; viz., that whilst the massacre was being carried on at the ghât, a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry, reported to the Nana, then at Savada house, that his enemies, their wives, and children, were exterminated. Some one present remarked, "Yes, it was true, for an infant of a month old was seen floating down the stream." On hearing which, the Nana replied, that "for the destruction of women and children, there was no necessity," and directed the sowar to return with an order to stay their slaughter.

Reliable evidence, as far as it was procurable, regarding the massacre of the helpless captives in the slaughter-house, has been recorded, from which the following facts have been gleaned: That the mutinous troops refused to carry out the order of their destruction, though one random volley by some was, it would seem, fired; that the real perpetrators of the diabolical deed were chiefly men of the Nana's own guard; and that the cause of their destruction was fear of betrayal should any survive, and be recovered by their countrymen; that on the steady and continued advance of the British, and after the second action, in which Bala Sahib was severely wounded in the right shoulder, a hurried Council was held; that fear and consternation filled the rebel camp; and dismay, the hearts of all; that this meeting was attended by many, who by loans of money, and aid in various other ways accorded to the Nana, had implicated themselves in the revolt; that many and various were the projects suggested for checking the advance of the British, and securing their own safety; some of the most timid proposing the abandonment of Cawnpore, the falling back on Futtehgurh, and the conjunction of their force with that of the rebel Nawab there; some suggested making a stand at Bithoor, while others either more courageous or desperate, advised the casting all "on a die" and fighting it out at Cawnpore. Yet, notwithstanding that all felt their hour had well nigh come, and that shortly a stern retribution would be exacted for the innocent blood, already so wantonly shed, such was the fear of detection, (by the many who had aided and abetted their Chief,) through their recognition by the prisoners, particularly such of them as Mrs. Greenway and other old residents of Cawnpore, that no fear of consequences could stay them from further imbruing their hands in blood, and that of women and children, deeming that thus they secured themselves from further detection; especially those who had even at that early stage resolved, should things continue to go against the rebel faction, they would change sides, and if the evidence recorded be true, many of those present at that council are now again in Government employ. Much valuable evidence yet remains untaken. A careful investigation of all procurable would, I think, beyond doubt, implicate many at present supposed to be free from the stain of mutiny.

Adla, by birth and profession a courtesan, born at Mugrasa, resided with the Nana from 1850, and from receiving Rs. 200 per month, becoming a favourite, was, it is said, endowed with the jewels belonging to the widows of the late Peshwa, valued at Rs. 50,000. On the Nana's flight from Bithoor, she was sent in a boat some distance up the river; but returning to Cawnpore in August 1857, was secreted in a house in the Butcher-khana, went from thence to Misreepore, Zillah Humeerpore, and is now said to be at Mugrasa, near Cawnpore, under the care of a man named Mundhoo; having promised, she states, to await one year at Cawnpore, the return of the Nana to that station.

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The sister of Mundhoo, named Kareena, resides with Oojagur Dobey, of Dahabey, Zillah Cawnpore, and the jewels are said to be secreted in his house.

A female spy has been sent to the Nana's Camp, to trace this girl.

The girl, called the Begum, who attended on the prisoners, is one of four slave girls bought by the Peshwa, and named Hossanee Khanum. She, it is said, carried the order for the massacre of the prisoners to the sepoy guard placed over them; and on their refusing to execute it, returned and fetched five men of the Nana's own guard; one of whom was her lover, Sirdar Khan.

There is evidence also of the wife of the Toll-keeper at Sheorajpore, who was spared at the intercession of the widows of Bajee Rao, and was delivered of a child at Bithoor, being alive on the 17th of July, two days subsequent to the murder of the prisoners. On the Nana's flight however from Bithoor, on the afternoon of the 17th, he ordered her and the child to be killed.

A man has been sent to Rampore, the residence of the sowar, who carried off Miss W.——, as he is said to have returned to his home.

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*Names of Witnesses who have given evidence regarding the Cawnpore Outbreak.*

Drummer John Fitchett, 6th N. I.
„ William Clarke, ditto.
„ William Thomas, ditto.
Isabella Spiers, 53rd N. I.
Elizabeth Spiers, ditto.
Eliza Bradshaw, 56th N. I.
Elizabeth Letts, ditto.
Thomas Farnon, Railway Department.
Edward Williams, Shopkeeper.
Thomas Maling, Native Christian, Jemadar Cantonment Police.
Sowar Awuz Alee Khan, 2nd Light Cavalry.
Naick Boolund Khan, 53rd N. I.
Sepoy Gous Mahomed, 56th N. I.
Musician Elahie Buksh, ditto.
Sepoy Rambuksh, 23rd N. I.
„ Gobind Singh, 56th N. I.
Budree Nath, Commissariat Gomashta, Cawnpore.
Adjoodia Pershad, Mahajun, Cawnpore.
Shunker Dass, Ditto, ditto.
Choonnee Lall, Ditto, ditto.
Nannuck Chund, Ditto, ditto.
Kunhaie Pershad, Ditto, ditto.
Shew Pershad Pandé, ditto.
Bajee Lall, Brahmin, ditto.
Shew Churn Dass Gosain, Cawnpore.
Kalka Pershad, Moonshee, in the employ of Greenway and Co., Cawnpore.
Permanund, Jemadar of Sir H. Wheeler, Cawnpore.
Lahorie, Abkary Darogah, Cantonment, Cawnpore.
Kulloo, Abkary Chuprassie, Cawnpore.
Goordial, Chowdry for Boats of Ghât Sutta Chowra, Cawnpore.
Booddoo, Contractor for Boats of Ghât Sutta Chowra, Cawnpore.
Futteh Singh, Lumberdar of mouzah Bingwan.
Buggie Singh, Thakoor of Mhow.
Golab Singh, Thakoor of Jumrie.
Dhurm Dass, Kaith of Badurka.
Appa Shastree, Mahratta of Bithoor.
Nana Upbhi Unkur, ditto of ditto.
Appa Jie Luchmun, ditto of Bithoor.
Mungna, of mouzah Mallen.
Maun, of ditto ditto.
Chirunjie, Brahmin, Resident of Oojoo, in Oude.
Punchum, peon.

G. W. WILLIAMS, Lieut.-Colonel,
*Military Secy. and Commr. of Police,*
*N. W. Provinces.*

Camp Cawnpore:
*The 29th March* 1859.

ALLAHABAD GOVERNMENT PRESS.

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# DEPOSITIONS TAKEN AT CAWNPORE,

## UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

## LIEUT.-COLONEL G. W. WILLIAMS,

*Commissioner of Military Police, N. W. P.*

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*No.* 1.—*Deposition of John Fitchett, Drummer, late 6th N. I.*—I was born at Arcot; my father was a farrier in the 1st cavalry; my cousin, Mr. McGuire, was the band master of the 6th regiment, and I enlisted in that corps in 1846 or 1847 as drummer, and was in the 3rd company of the 6th regiment when it mutinied at Allahabad. A few days previous to the mutiny, two Mahomedans from the city came into the lines of the regiment, to incite the men to mutiny; they spoke to a sepoy of the light company, and he told Gunga Pershad, 8th company, what he had heard. These sepoys seized the two men; they resisted, when drummer Peters and I aided in securing them, for which we each received a reward of 50 rupees, and the two sepoys were promoted. The Mahomedans in the corps were displeased at the men being seized, and some of them remarked to me, that the sin of arresting them, especially on an *Eed* day, would rest on my head. On the day of the mutiny, (6th June,) I was attending Henry Myrack, a drummer of the 1st company, sick in hospital. Myrack's father was in confinement for theft. Two companies of the 6th regiment were on duty at the ghât with two guns, to prevent the mutineers from Benares crossing over. I afterwards heard that a sepoy, named Jankie, of the grenadier company, came in from the ghât to the lines a little before 9 P. M., and told the sepoys that the Europeans were coming to disarm them, and they must be prepared.

The first shots were fired as the drummers were beating off. I was in the hospital, when the pay havildar of the 3rd company, Munna Lall, came with orders from Lieutenant Hawes that I was to join my company, which I did. On being dressed, and taking my sword and bugle, I found about 30 men assembled. I saw havildar Munna Lall, and the drill naick, Mipal Singh, but none of the native officers. Quarter-master Sergeant Watkins was also present; he asked Lieutenant Hawes for a musket, who told the sergeant and myself to take arms. The sepoys in reply to Lieutenant Hawes's question, "why the men were firing," said, the Europeans were in the bungalows, and had come to disarm them. Lieutenant Hawes assured them that there were no Europeans coming to disarm them, and that if there were any enemies, he would lead them, and ordered the men to follow him. He had got about 100 paces from the grenadier lines, when we heard the noise of men and guns approaching; he halted his men, and challenged, whether friends or foe. One of the native officers replied, that they were the two companies returning from the ghât on the European officers, leaving them to go to the fort. Just then, quarter-master sergeant Watkins came up to make some report to Lieutenant Hawes, who had his revolver in his hand, one barrel went off and shot the quarter-master sergeant in the breast; on this a sepoy of 3rd company fired and shot Lieutenant Hawes.

*Q.*—How far were you from Lieutenant Hawes, when the quarter-master sergeant was shot?

*A.*—Close to him.

*Q.*—How do you know that a sepoy of the 3rd company shot Lieutenant Hawes, and do you know his name?

*A.*—I do not know his name, but the shot came from the 3rd company, not from the companies advancing from the ghât. I afterwards heard that Lieutenant Hawes was killed on the spot; but the quarter-master sergeant being alive, was killed by a ball through the head.

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*Q.*—Who did you hear this from?

*A.*—Whilst in confinement near the bells of arms, I heard the sepoys talking about it.

I fled on seeing Lieutenant Hawes killed. Whilst passing between the 1st and 2nd company lines, I heard some sepoys call out "there is the one who received Rs. 50 reward, now flying, kill him." I therefore passed the 3rd company lines to the 8th, and got into the house of drummer Peters. I told him to fly, and we tried to get to the parade; but Lieutenant Currie, officer of the day, who was galloping through the lines, ordered us back to our houses; we remained a few minutes, and then got to the parade ground. I saw Colonel Simpson, Captain Plunkett, Adjutant Stewart, Lieutenant Pringle, and I think four or five young officers, who were doing duty with the corps. The men were between the lines and bells of arms. The two guns and companies from the ghât were a few paces in advance of the bells of arms of the grenadier company. The Adjutant ordered Nubbee Buksh, who was the orderly bugler, to sound the "assembly"; this was not done. As I was coming forward, a havildar pushed me back, just then a volley was fired from the 4th and 5th companies. I do not know how many officers fell. Adjutant Stewart was wounded, ran towards the quarter guard, and was there killed, and Captain Plunkett before he entered the gate of his compound. I heard that a havildar was wounded. Three young officers, who were doing duty, got into the quarter guard; the sentry threatened to shoot them, if they did not put down their pistols; they shut the door. In the guard, there were two prisoners, one a Mahomedan, (I do not know his name,) the other Ram Lall, of the 5th company; they were got out, and the sepoys then commenced firing inside; one of the young officers attempted to get away, but was immediately killed, and I believe the other two were shot inside the quarter guard. I had followed the Adjutant, Lieutenant Stewart. A sepoy of the 3rd company, named Pirthee, came up to kill me, saying that I must be killed, as I was one of them. Naick Mipal Singh, and a sepoy of the 3rd company, (I think he was a recruit, as I do not know his name,) saved me, and made me sit under the tree in front of the bells of arms of the 3rd company; the sentry there would not let me move, but on leaving his post, I went to drummer Peters's house. Whilst under the tree, the havildar major of the corps, Teliar Khan, came up to the sepoys assembled near the 4th and 5th companies' lines, and said, "What have you all done; but whatever was ordained, has happened, it now cannot be helped: take my advice, secure the treasure, and march for Dehli, for the Europeans from the fort will attack us at daybreak." A number shouted "We will go to Dehli and serve the King." The sepoys of the 3rd company, hearing a report that Captain Gordon was concealed in the hut of two sepoys of the grenadier company, (I forget their names,) went to search for him, saying that their officers had been killed, and therefore they would not spare the officers of the grenadier company, but they could not find him.

*7th June.*—Whilst at Peters's house, I heard the roll call, and again, just after daybreak, when the men all assembled, ammunition was served out from the magazine, and they marched to the treasury at sun-rise. About 8 o'clock, three hackeries sent from the town by the moulvie, took away all that remained in the magazine. Some few of the sepoys who had their families, returned to the lines and remained.

*Q.*—Who were the ringleaders?

*A.*—Jemadar Nujjoo Khan, 3rd company, and Teliar Khan, havildar major, persuaded the men to go to Dehli.

*Q.*—Was there any plotting going on before the mutiny?

*A.*—No, I never heard of it.

*Q.*—What was the state of the corps after the mutiny?

*A.*—I saw one or two native officers crying, and heard them say, that three or four budmashes had ruined the regiment. I heard that many of the sepoys were sorry, and some of them went direct to their houses. The havildar major was at first sorry, but said it could not be helped, and therefore persuaded the men to go to Dehli.

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It was a little before daybreak when I got to Peters's house, and from thence went to the pensioners' lines; two sepoys of the 8th company accompanied us to the house of Poorun, a drummer of the 1st company, who had his family in the lines; he secreted drummer Peters, his wife, and myself, in the inner-room. In the afternoon, we heard that there were other drummers hiding in the pensioners' lines. We slept at Poorun's that night.

*Q.*—Why did the drummers hide themselves, they were not touched?

*A.*—The sepoys of each company saved their own drummers, but they would have killed the drummers of any other company; and after the sepoys left we were afraid of the Mewatees.

*8th June.*—In the morning, (about 8 or 9 o'clock,) Peters, his wife, myself, Alexander Bross, Yates, and his family, all of the 6th regiment, with Jordon, a pensioner, left; and passing through the village near Mr. Lowther's house, we were joined by William Nesbitt, drum major; Bradshaw, and his mother; Mrs. Fowley, wife of the sergeant major; and Mrs. Watkins, the quarter-master sergeant's wife; Lyons, Arajo, and Sahoo Arajo. We all went towards the fort, but when we got to the drivers' lines, drum major Nesbitt and myself went on to the fort. Lieut. Williams of my corps asked me what I wanted; I told him that I had come with the drummers, the sergeant major and quarter-master sergeant, with their families: he told me that not a dog of the 6th should enter the fort. The fife major returned, but I waited about a quarter of an hour, till the gate was opened. I saw the Adjutant of the Sikh corps, and told him that I had come with the drummers, &c.; he told me to bring the sergeant major's and quarter-master sergeant's wives. I returned to the drivers' lines, and brought Mrs. Fowley and Mrs. Watkins. Nesbitt, the drum major, sent Jordon the pensioner to plead for the drummers. We got in with Mrs. Fowley and Mrs. Watkins; I went to Colonel Simpson, told him I had brought the sergeant major's and quarter-master sergeant's families, and asked for a pass to bring in the drummers from the drivers' lines. He told me to wait, and at 3 o'clock he sent me to Captain Gordon for a pass: on receiving it, I immediately went to the drivers' lines, but could not find the drummers. I heard from Nunhoo, a havildar of the corps, that Mann, who had formerly been drum major, had joined the drummers in the lines on escaping from the Mewatees, when they attacked the drummers in the village near Mr. Lowther's house, and fled with them across the river.

*Q.*—Did the Mewatees kill any one in the attack on this village?

*A.*—Yes, the mother of the former fife major, and a man called John DeCruz, who was a farrier, also the family of William Diddier of the 3rd company, but he and his son Edward escaped. These were hiding in the village, and did not accompany us, not knowing we had passed through to the fort. I went with Nunkoo some little distance in search of the drummers, but some men threatening to kill me, because I was a Christian, Nunkoo told me I had better return to the fort, which I did about 5 or 6 o'clock, and slept there that night and the next night. The day after that, (the 10th) at about 5 P. M., I saw Colonel Simpson on the ramparts; he sent me to the officer of the main guard who would give me orders, and he took me to the Adjutant of the Sikhs, who said, I was the man he wanted, and made me over to a havildar and two sepoys of the Sikhs. I was taken to the water gate, and turned out of the fort and threatened, that if I again approached the fort, I should be blown away from a gun. I then fled to the pensioners' lines and went to Poorun, who said the Mewatees had already searched his house for Christians, and why had I returned to risk my own life and his. I fell at his feet and prayed of him to save me. I was disguised in native clothes and secreted with his family; it was then dark, and I slept there that night. I remained there I think three days, and once a day the house was searched by the Mewatees, but I removed with the females from one room to another. Poorun, to save my life, proposed on the day after I came that I should become a Mahomedan.

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11*th June.*—The moulvie of the corps read the *kulma,* which I repeated after him. I had sherbet given me, which the Mahomedans present also drank. William Clarke, Thomas Clarke and his family, William DeCruz and his family, and John Reid Clarke, and Aviet Paul, who were also secreted in the pensioners' lines, were made Mahomedans at the same time. We remained with Poorun another day, and then he took all the drummers to the city. Gunga Deen, a musician, was also with us. Poorun had hired a house, and we remained there with him two or three days. We were not allowed to go out, but Poorun and Gunga Deen told us that the Europeans would destroy the city.

15*th June.*—One morning, (I am not sure of the date, it was very early,) we heard that the British were coming up in two steamers. Poorun was prepared to leave, and immediately firing was heard we started; Poorun and Gunga Deen, musicians, the sepoy Jankie, who was also living in the city, the drummers Thomas Clarke, his wife, son and daughter, 19 and 11 years of age, William DeCruz, his wife and two children, William Diddier, 3rd company, bugler Myrack, his wife, his son Henry Myrack, and three young children. John Reid Clarke and Aviet Paul joined us beyond Kuchpoora. At sunrise, the moulvie from Allahabad passed us; he had about 200 sowars and some sepoys of the 6th regiment. I only recognised a sepoy of the grenadiers, named Nubbee Bux, amongst the sowars. The moulvie asked us, "where we were going to," Poorun replied, "to Cawnpore." Two days from Allahabad, whilst on the march early in the morning, some eighteen or twenty sepoys of the 6th regiment passed us; one of them named Jumal, pulled off the chudder given me by Poorun. Poorun told them, that we were all Mahomedans, that the moulvie of the regiment had made us of one faith. The sepoys replied, that we must be taken to Cawnpore, so that the moulvie might verify us if we had really been made Mahomedans. Our hands were tied behind our backs, not with a rope, but with a cloth. The women and children were not tied. At Futtehpore, we put up at the seraie; we slept there two nights. The sepoys were undecided as to their plans, some sowars and sepoys of other regiments (I do not know of what corps,) who were in the seraie, wished to go to Banda. The men of the 6th were willing to join them; but hearing that the Nawab was favorable to the British, and had European gentlemen with him, it was decided to go to Cawnpore and join the Nana. The moulvie of Allahabad, with his party, were also in the seraie; he left the day before we did. Thomas Clarke, his wife, son and daughter, John Reid Clarke and Aviet Paul, went with the moulvie's party at sepoy Nubbee Bux's request. We went by the regular stages. Parties of sepoys of other regiments were passing along the road; we met villagers going to Futtehpore. None travelled alone, all in bands, and even the villagers all armed. The bodies of those killed were seen here and there. I cannot tell the exact date of our arrival at Cawnpore; there was no firing from the entrenchments;* it was about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon when we were taken to the Savada house. We found there the drummers who had gone on ahead with the moulvie's party, who were encamped near the Savada house. The drummers with their families, were all confined in a small room on the south-east side of the parade; some four or five natives, who we heard were hurkaras or letter carriers, were also in confinement. There were a number of sowars and sepoys encamped about the Savada house, I do not know of what regiments, but I heard the 2nd cavalry named, and another was styled Gunjeera Resallah. Of the 6th regiment, there were about 200 sepoys under the command of jemadar Yusuf Khan; and Tabad Khan, a sepoy of the 4th company, I think, was acting havildar major. We had a sepoy of our own corps placed as sentry over us. I do not remember the names, except of those who spoke to us. The men of the different corps were all mixed up. There were men of the 3rd company amongst them, I should say six or seven, but I am not sure. On the evening of our arrival, we heard from the sepoys, that if the Europeans did not leave the entrenchments in three days, firing would commence. The day after our arrival, we heard from the sepoys that five persons from the entrenchments had made a treaty with the

* It must have been the 24th June.

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Nana to leave Cawnpore and go to Allahabad, if they got the means of transport; but the sepoys said that the Nana would not perform his promise. There was no firing that day; we were not allowed to go out. The next day we heard that hackeries were being collected, and that the guns from the entrenchments would be given up. On this night, or the previous one, there was an alarm, and the sepoys in our room ran to man the guns; they told us that a report had been brought that the Europeans intended to leave their entrenchments at night. We heard from the sepoys, that the Europeans would all be killed immediately they left the entrenchments. The night before the Europeans left the entrenchments, orders were issued to the sowars and sepoys at the Savada house to be ready early the next morning. It was about four o'clock or half-past, when they assembled and left the Savada house. We had only six or seven sepoys of the 6th regiment left with us; they took us to the steps to the east side of the house, and there we could see the barracks and entrenchments. I saw the Europeans passing out, I could see that they were armed. I saw elephants and gharries; the sepoys said they were taken out grandly, they went gladly, and knew not what was before them; and then added, " now repent of all your misdeeds, and ask pardon of God." Hoossanie the musician was one of the party, who said this. We were taken back to our room, and in about half an hour, we heard heavy firing in the direction of the river; the sepoys remarked " now they are being killed." About 11 o'clock, some sowars and sepoys came back, bringing muskets and some double barrelled guns, which they said they had taken from the Europeans at the ghât, and killed all the men. They did not mention the women and children. Shortly afterwards we heard that the women were being brought back. The sepoys all ran out, and we stood by the steps of the door of our room. When I first saw them, they were about 200 paces from the compound, all together, the sowars were on both sides, right and left of them, and some sepoys brought up the rear. The sepoys' things were taken out of the two large rooms next to ours, and the ladies and children placed there. I saw that many were wounded, their clothes had blood on them, two were badly wounded, and had their heads bound up with handkerchiefs.

*Q.*—Were they dressed in their own clothes?

*A.*—Yes, but some were wet, covered with mud and blood, and some had their dresses torn, but all had clothes; I saw one or two children without clothes.

*Q.*—How many women and children were there?

*A.*—I cannot tell, but I heard there were about 180.

*Q.*—Were there any men amongst them?

*A.*—No, there were boys, about 12 and 13.

*Q.*—Were there any natives brought back prisoners?

*A.*—The day after the ladies were brought back, I saw in one of the rooms four or five natives confined. I heard they wished to accompany the Europeans to Allahabad; one was a Native Doctor, one a musician, and I think two or three sepoys.

*Q.*—Did you hear the names of any of the ladies?

*A.*—No, and we were not allowed to speak to them.

*Q.*—Of those severely wounded, did any die?

*A.*—Yes, two or three women and children died daily; the wounds were sword cuts and by bullets, but mostly the former.

*Q.*—Were they ill-treated or disgraced in any way?

*A.*—No, they were not; they were made to sit in the veranda morning or evening for fresh air; they did not like this, as people came to look at them. I heard them say " that Europeans never thus treated their prisoners."

*Q.*—Had they food regularly given to them?

*A.*—Yes, after the first day they received dall and chuppatees.

*Q.*—Were any of them taken away from the Savada house?

*A.*—No, I heard that the youngest daughter of General Wheeler was taken out of the river by a sowar of the 2nd cavalry, who took her to the city, but she was not

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in the Savada house. I heard sepoy Kurm Ali say, that she had been made a Mahomedan, and that he had seen her in the seraie.

*Q.*—When was this?

*A.*—I am not quite sure, but it was either the first or second day after the ladies were brought back.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear that a lady had killed a sowar, and jumped down a well?

*A.*—Yes, I heard Miss Wheeler had killed the sowar, his wife and three children, and then jumped down a well.

*Q.*—Do you know whether this was true?

*A.*—It was not, for I saw the lady afterwards, when with the mutineers between Cawnpore and Futtehgurh. I heard from the sepoys, that the Nana had demanded Miss Wheeler to be given up; the sowar refused to comply, and the rumour was given out that she had destroyed herself.

*Q.*—Were there any other ladies taken away?

*A.*—I only heard of this one, and that from the sepoys, so that I cannot be sure.

*Q.*—Who attended on the ladies?

*A.*—A woman came from the city with the food, she was called the Begum.

*Q.*—Why called the Begum?

*A.*—I do not know, but the ladies and natives called her Begum. She was a Mahomedan, and I heard she came from the Nana's house.

*Q.*—Did any one attend to the wounds of the women and children?

*A.*—Not whilst at the Savada house; cold water was merely applied; but after the removal, a Native Doctor attended for a few days.

*Q.*—Who commanded at the Savada house?

*A.*—Some relation of the Nana's; he had one of his eyes generally covered with the turban or cloth.*

*Q.*—Did the Nana ever come to the Savada house?

*A.*—Not to the house, but once to the front of it, on the plain to the west, where the Europeans, brought back in carts, were shot.

*Q.*—What were the particulars?

*A.*—On the fourth day after the ladies were brought to the Savada house, a number of Europeans were brought back prisoners. I heard there were altogether about 80, with six or seven ladies and children; I am not sure of the number. They had escaped from the ghât down the river, and were brought back in hackeries. The Nana came about 5 o'clock. A salute was fired. The sepoys told me it was the Nana; he was on horseback. The Europeans were drawn up in line, the ladies and children were sent to the Savada house; one lady and child refused to go. The child was about five years old. I saw this, as I was standing on the steps, facing the west. Some 60 or 70 sepoys were ordered out, I do not know who gave the order. A drummer of the 6th regiment, named William Diddier, 3rd company, joined the sepoys in killing the Europeans. The sepoys fired repeatedly, and then killed all the wounded with their tulwars. Yes, the lady and child were killed. The Nana left as the firing commenced.

*Q.*—Do you know the names of any of this party?

*A.*—No, I do not.

*Q.*—Did you hear how General Wheeler was killed?

*A.*—The sowars who came back to the Savada house before the ladies and children were brought back, said, that General Wheeler was killed at the ghât by the sowars; that he took off his cap and sword belt and said, they might then kill him; but when the ladies were brought back, the sowars with them, said, "General Wheeler's boat had got away."

* Narain Rao, *alias* Dewanjee.

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*Q.*—Was he with this party that were brought back four days after the massacre at the ghât?

*A.*—I cannot tell.

*Q.*—Describe William Diddier, drummer of the 3rd company?

*A.*—He was not very tall, dark complexion, and about 40 years of age. I do not know of any particular marks by which I could describe him.

*Q.*—Where was his home?

*A.*—He lived with his family in the regiment, his son is at Allahabad, and his daughter is married to Lyons Arago at that station. His wife and two children were killed by the Mewatees in the village near Mr. Lowther's house. Thomas Clarke told him, he ought not to have fired at the Europeans; his reply was, that his own family had been killed and he did not care. After this Diddier was not kept in confinement; he went to the city and did duty as a sepoy.

*Q.*—You say that no Europeans were brought back from the ghât; were there none in the Savada house?

*A.*—The day after the massacre of the ghât, I saw a party placed in the small room next to me; I heard they were the family of an indigo planter, who had given a lac of rupees with lands to the Nana, to spare their lives.

*Q.*—How long did you remain in the Savada house?

*A.*—I cannot state the exact time, but as the sowars and most of the sepoys had left, and there were only about 100 of the 6th regiment, and from 150 to 200 of other regiments, guarding the Savada house, the rest having gone off to Lucknow and Dehli, the Nana sent orders for us to move, and one afternoon, about 5 o'clock, the ladies were sent under a guard of sepoys. We followed in about half an hour; we were not tied, but 8 or 10 sepoys of the 6th regiment guarded us. We were taken to a pucka building, the roof was tiled; there were some five or six large trees in the rear, and behind the trees, a large well. From the entrance we could see the Church. The Nana was in the next bungalow. All went there to make their reports, and the villagers came there to be enlisted. I also heard from the sepoys, that he lived in the next house. It was a yellow house. He had not regular sepoys, but his own men, as guards. We were placed in a room with some ladies and children; there was a second room, in which the rest of the ladies were confined. I did not see the five native prisoners in either room. The indigo planter and his family were in my room. We all slept on the floor, the ladies and children had only the bare floor. The woman called the Begum, served out fresh clothes. Sepoys were sent to the dhobies, who had the clothes of the ladies, and they were ordered to give them up. We heard that we should have meat every Sunday, but did not get it. One day, I think, milk was given to the children. After the second or third day, the woman called the Begum, took two ladies every day to grind gram; they were away three or four hours.

*Q.*—How do you know they went to grind gram?

*A.*—I heard them say so, and they often brought back handfuls of ground gram, which they gave to the children.

*Q.*—Were you allowed then to speak to the ladies?

*A.*—Yes; after we left Savada house, we were all mixed up together, but they would never mention their names.

*Q.*—Were old and young women taken?

*A.*—Yes, both; the Begum told them that it was their turn that day; they were taken to the Nana's stable in the next compound. Some five or six days before the ladies and children were killed, one evening, it was about sunset, three gentlemen and some ladies and children were brought in prisoners; the sepoys said they were from Futtehgurh, that the gentlemen were the chiefs, and that their lives had been spared by the Nana's orders, as they had promised to write and have the fort at Allahabad given up. One was the Burra Sahib, I think he was also called the Judge, and the other was a Colonel. I do not know who was the third, but the sepoys said, he was a

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leading man. The sepoys told us, that about 20 Europeans had come from Futtehgurh, who were killed at the ghât, with the exception of those brought in prisoners. The men of the 6th said, that Doctor Maltby, who had been in their corps, was killed with those at the river side, but that Mrs. Maltby was with the ladies brought in as prisoners. We were not allowed to speak to the Futtehgurh party, though they were in the same room. The two sentries at the doors prevented us from speaking to them, they were sepoys of the 6th. The men of the 1st regiment also were on guard.

*Q.*—Who attended on the ladies after leaving Savada?

*A.*—The Begum used to attend morning and evening, but the wife of a bugler, a native Christian, did every thing for the ladies. The three gentlemen from Futtehgurh were taken the next evening to the Nana, but I do not know what passed. We heard that the Nana had sent three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, to oppose the British troops advancing from Allahabad. The sepoys said, that a sowar had returned from the fight, and told the Nana that there were but a handful of Europeans, that they had been beaten, but that his troops were starving, as no supplies had been sent for three days. We heard that more troops had been sent by the Nana. About 4 o'clock, or between that and 5, the three gentlemen from Futtehgurh, the indigo planter, his son or son-in-law, and a boy of 13 or 14 years of age, were taken out. They asked where they were going to; they were told, to the Nana's, and as they got out of the gate they were all shot by some sepoys. Yes, I saw this, as I was standing in the compound. One or two ladies, who wished to see in what direction the gentlemen were going, were pushed back by the sepoys. In passing out of the room, just before they were shot, I saw their lips moving as if praying. About half an hour after this, the woman called Begum, told the ladies they were to be killed by the Nana's orders. A lady went to Jemadar Usuf Khan, of the 6th regiment, who was in command of the guard over the prisoners, and said to him, that she heard they were all to be killed. I was only a few paces from him at the time; he replied, that he had not received any orders, that she was not to be afraid. Sepoy Kurm Alee said to the woman Begum, that her orders would not be obeyed, who was she to give orders. The Begum went to the Nana's house. The sepoys on guard, they were men of my corps, and I think some of the 1st regiment, took counsel and decided that they would not lift their hands against women, though they would kill every man. The sepoys were told, that if they did not carry out the Nana's order, the artillery would be sent against them; they afterwards told me, that they intended to save the ladies, in order that their own lives might be saved. The Begum returned with five men. Usuf Khan ordered the sepoys to get the drummers of the 6th with their families out of the house, and we were all placed in a shed,* or stable, about fifteen paces from the house. The guard with Usuf Khan were with us, with the exception of some six sepoys, who went inside to plunder the women. Nubbee Buksh the bugler was one. I cannot recollect the names of any other. These men were ordered to fire at the ladies. I heard from Nubbee Buksh, that they fired at the ceiling. I heard the reports, they only fired once; the five men then entered, they had swords, it was about sunset. The lady who spoke to the jemadar was at the door, she was first cut down. I saw her fall, but could not see further than the door; I heard fearful shrieks. This lasted half an hour or more. I did not see any of the women or children try to escape. The sowars were posted at the trees near the house. A Velaitee, a stout, short man, and fair, soon came out with his sword broken. I saw him go to the Nana's house and bring back another sword. This he also broke in a few minutes, and got a third from the Nana. I saw him go out to the next compound, which was the Nana's, but could not see whether he went into the house. The groans lasted all night. I was only fifteen or sixteen paces from the house.

*Q.*—Who were these five people?

*A.*—There were two butchers, one Velaitee, and two villagers.

*Q.*—How do you know who they were?

*A.*—The sepoys told me.

* Fitchett pointed out where the shed stood.

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*Q.*—Did you hear any names?

*A.*—No, I did not.

*Q.*—Where did the butchers come from?

*A.*—I do not know, I only heard the sepoys say they were butchers.

*Q.*—Describe them?

*A.*—One was pock-marked, had a small beard, of a dark complexion, a tall, stout man; the other was also a tall man, but I do not know how to describe him. The Velaitee had hair on his hands. The two villagers were, I think, Hindoos; I cannot tell what village they came from. About an hour after, William DeCruz went towards the building, but came back, as he was unable to bear the sight. We were kept at the shed all night, with the sepoys of the 6th.

At about 8 o'clock the next morning, the sweepers living in the compound, I think there were three or four, were ordered to throw the bodies into a dry well, near the house. The bodies were dragged out, most of them by the hair of the head, those whose clothes were worth taking, were stripped. Some of the women were alive, I cannot say how many, but three could speak; they prayed for the sake of God that an end might be put to their sufferings. I remarked one very stout woman, a half caste, who was severely wounded in both arms, who entreated to be killed. She and two or three others were placed against the bank of the cut by which bullocks go down in drawing water from the well. The dead bodies were first thrown down. Application was made to the Nana about those who were alive. Three children were also alive. I do not know what orders came, but I saw one of the children thrown in alive. I believe the other children and women, who were alive, were then thrown in.

*Q.*—How far were you from the well?

*A.*—About 100 paces. Yes, I saw this, and I know I am on my oath.

*Q.*—Were there many people present?

*A.*—Yes, there was a great crowd looking on; they were standing along the walls of the compound. They were principally city people and villagers. Yes, there were also sepoys.

*Q.*—How old were the boys that you saw the next morning alive, and were they Europeans?

*A.*—Yes, they were fair children, the eldest I think must have been six or seven, and the youngest five years; it was the youngest who was thrown in by one of the sweepers. The children were running round the well, where else could they go to? and there was none to save them. No, none said a word, or tried to save them.

About 9 or 10 A. M. we were taken to the city, and remained there. That day, between 4 and 5 P. M., we heard firing, and at dusk, some sepoys of the 6th native infantry returned from the fight, and ordered us to be taken to Bithoor; but we did not leave till 2 A. M. the next morning. I cannot tell whether the city people were glad that the mutineers had been beaten; the shop-keepers were frightened, and shut up their shops. A number of them, with their families, left with us. As we passed the Subadar's Tank, some 20 sepoys of my corps joined us. There were two companies of the 1st regiment, with two guns posted at the Subadar's Tank. When within a mile of Bithoor, hurkaras met us and said, that as we had been beaten (our faces made black) we had better go where we pleased. We turned to the left, and went about six miles by a kutcha road, and then encamped; there were about 200 sepoys of the 6th and 17th regiments, and some native sowars, not the 2nd cavalry. The next day we took the high road to Futtehgurh, and put up at a seraie. Here, Bhoondoo Singh subadar, 17th N. I., took charge of the whole of the infantry, and promised to pay them. He was the general. The Hindoos called him Rajah; he had elephants, a carriage and two buggies, and some three or four horses, one was an Arab, said to have belonged to the colonel of his corps; the syce had been in the colonel's employ. The sepoys said he had two hackeries laden with treasure. The 2nd cavalry joined us in the seraie. I do not think supplies were given willingly. The usual guard for russud was always sent. The next day, we all marched in company, the 2nd cavalry in advance, and then their wives

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and children; we followed. I saw a European lady with the sowars' women. She was in a native dress, silk pyjamahs and a chuddur over her head, but was riding on a side saddle. I heard it was General Wheeler's youngest daughter, the sepoys were talking about her. I saw her every day during the march to Futtehgurh. I cannot be sure it was General Wheeler's daughter, as I had never seen her before, and was not allowed to speak to her; but heard from every one, that the European lady, with the sowars of the 2nd cavalry, was General Wheeler's daughter. She was the only European lady in the camp I heard of. No, I did not see her at Futtehgurh. The day we marched in, the 2nd cavalry encamped on the parade ground, but the infantry went into the city. I however saw her again when the mutineers marched for Bithoor. After remaining at Futtehgurh about six days, we heard that the Nana wished us to return, and that the men who had served him at Cawnpore, would first receive all arrears of pay, and would then have to fight. The European lady went with the sowars of the 2nd cavalry; the wives and families of the mutineers were left in a village about five coss from Bithoor, under a guard of some 150 or 200 sepoys; I do not know of what regiments. They were all mixed. I think we remained in that village some ten or twelve days. We heard that the mutineers were making entrenchments at Bithoor. The sepoys that came every now and then from that place, said that the Europeans had come in steamers, a few of them, but that they had painted figures to make others believe there were many Europeans. They said, the British wanted to rob the Nana of his jewels. One evening, at sunset, some sepoys returned, and told us to get ready, and shortly afterwards we saw the mutineers flying; yes, many threw away their arms; we then fled to Futtehgurh. The first day we did three marches in one, and then by regular marches, but heard that the 41st native infantry had determined to attack us, as we had lost two battles and fled. The sepoys were puzzled what to do; they said, that if they had had guns, they would have fought the 41st native infantry. It was then decided, that we should go to Dehli. I do not know whether subadar Bhoondoo Singh gave the orders. A tent was pitched, where all the native officers assembled. I do not know what went on there. No, sentries were not posted in the day time, at night there were sentries, but the men often went to sleep. The sepoys did just as they liked. We went to the village, where one road goes to Allygurh, and the other to Mynpoory. Bhowgong, I think, was the name. There a message came from Mahomed Yar Khan, that he would pay us, if we would come to Futtehgurh; the second day we arrived, and encamped in front of the sudder bazar. I saw the European lady with the women of the 2nd cavalry up to this date. This was in August, I think it must have been the end of the month. I heard the day after our arrival, that Ahmed Yar Khan had demanded the European lady; the sowars refused to give her up, they said she had been saved at the risk of her protector's life, and had become a Mahomedan. We then heard that the 41st native infantry, and the new levy raised at Futtehgurh, under Ahmed Yar Khan's orders, would fight the sowars, who were quite determined to defend the lady with their lives; they said they would be cut to pieces before they gave her up. The next day I saw two sowars pass our camp on the road to Cawnpore. The European lady was with them, and from that time I missed her. I do not know where she was taken to. I heard that the sowar took her to his village. I do not know the name of the village. About nine or ten days after this, the party from Cawnpore was ordered by Ahmed Yar Khan to collect revenue at Kaemgunge; whilst there, Ram Lall, sepoy of the 5th company of my regiment, spoke to jemadar Yusuf Khan, offering to become security, if he was allowed to have me as his servant. Yusuf Khan spoke to Bhoondoo Singh, who consented, and I was then released. I had to cut grass for his pony, and to look after the bullocks of the gharee, and to grease the wheels. No, I did not drive the gharee. Ishree Singh, drill naick, brother of Ram Lall, drove it. Their families were in the gharee. I got food from them, what was left after they had finished their meals. We were at Kaemgunge some fifteen or twenty days. A deal of revenue was collected. Ahmed Yar Khan had four guns with a party of sowars, (I heard they came from Saugor) and some matchlockmen. Subadar Bhoondoo Singh had ammunition and elephants, which Ahmed Yar Khan demanded from him, stating that as they belonged to the sirkar, the subadar had no right to keep them, but he refused to give them up. On this, there was a disagreement. Bhoondoo Singh had about 500 men under his command; Ahmed Yar Khan 200

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sowars and 200 matchlockmen. The next day was the Nishan Pooja. The 17th native infantry had their colors. Bhoondoo Singh arranged with his men, that when vollies were fired in honor of the colors, they should load with ball, and fire at Ahmed Yar Khan and his party, and a rush made at the four guns to capture them. The next morning before the sepoys had assembled, Ahmed Yar Khan with his sowars, seized all the ammunition, elephants and horses belonging to Bhoondoo Singh; the sepoys then forsook him and joined in plundering the treasure. The subadar and his eldest son were made prisoners, and the sowars took away his two daughters. They were girls about 14 or 15 years of age. No, they were not disgraced; the Nawab Ahmed Yar Khan interfered, and they were given up, and with the subadar and his son, turned out of camp. Some five or six sepoys of his own corps remained faithful to him. I heard that they all returned to Futtehgurh, and lived in the Lal seraie in the city. After this, two nawabs came from Shumshabad Mhow and took command. I do not know what became of Ahmed Yar Khan. We heard of the British troops being at Mynpoory. I think it was in October. The sepoys were in a great fright, for they thought the Europeans would come to Futtehgurh. Some of them and the matchlockmen ran away. We then heard that the British were going to Cawnpore; it was mentioned in camp, that the 41st N. I., the new levy, and sepoys of other regiments who had collected at Futtehgurh, were to attack the British at Kanouj. I do not know whether this was done. I heard that the moulvie at Kanouj, who had about 400 men, also intended to attack the British; these were the reports in camp. No, we never heard that Dehli had been taken. When I heard that the British troops were at Mynpoory, and Ahmed Yar Khan's police fled from their posts, I thought it was a good opportunity of escaping. One day I got drummer Aviet Paul's pony, saying that I would give it a wash in a tank near at hand. I mounted it, and walked the pony to the other side of the village, and then rode as hard as I could to the Kalee Nuddee, some five or six miles; a mile on the other side I was taken prisoner by the police. In the mutineers' camp we heard that the British had employed Sikhs at their thannahs with either country borns or Europeans as thannahdars. Seeing these to be Mahomedans I thought they belonged to the rebel party, and therefore said I was a Mahomedan; the thannahdar said I did not speak like a Mussulman, and asked me my name. I gave it as Shere Khan, and that I was going to Bhowgong to see my brother. On being asked his name, I replied Shaikh Noor Bux, upon which the thannahdar remarked, that I was Khan, and my brother a Shaikh; I was therefore sent a prisoner to Bhowgong, from that I was sent into Mynpoory and taken before the Rao, the thannahdar had stated in his report that having a horse without a saddle and no property, (I had nothing but a lungotee on) he thought I was a thief. Among the Rao's guards, I recognised a sepoy of my regiment, he was called Thakoor, but I do not know whether that was his name; at first he pretended not to know me, but when I called him Thakoor, he begged me not to betray that he was a sepoy. I do not know whether he had done any thing wrong. I am not sure whether he was with the corps when it mutinied, but he was not at Cawnpore or with the rebel camp at Futtehgurh; many Hindoo sepoys went to their homes; those who had far to go, remained with all the Mahomedan sepoys. Thakoor told me that the Rao was true to the British. I then confessed I was a Christian, and a drummer; I was kept there some twelve or fifteen days waiting for an escort, and was at last sent into Agra. I was appointed by Captain Glover, to Battery No. 1 in the fort. I was afterwards confined as a deserter. Captain Hallett, the officiating Brigade Major, investigated the case, and I was acquitted. I left in the rebel camp at Kaemgunge, Thomas Clarke, his wife, his son Charles, and a daughter 10 or 11 years old; William DeCruz, his wife, and two young children; bugler Myrack, his wife, the eldest son Henry Myrack, and four young children; Aviet Paul, J. Reid Clarke, William Diddier, they were Christian drummers of the 6th regiment native infantry. Of the Mahomedan drummers, there were bugler Nubbee Bux, Hoosainee, Perioa, Mousaddeen, Poorun and Gunga Deen, dhanooks. Of the 17th native infantry, there were four drummers; I heard they were Christians, but am only sure of one, who spoke to us; I do not remember his name; he had his wife with him; the other three drummers were of one family, and one of the daughters was married to a sowar in camp, I do not know of what corps.

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The sowars had natches every night, not dancing women but buffoons. No, the British were not ridiculed at these natches; one man would show how stiff the European soldiers were; every one was afraid to mention the British. At Shumshabad Mhow, it was said that a man's mouth became impure forty days by naming the Kafirs. The sepoys sometimes abused us, but did not otherwise ill-treat us; bugler Myrack was twice taken out to be shot, but his wife fell at Usuf Khan's feet, and through the entreaties of Gunga Deen and Poorun he was spared; he got very drunk, he used to go into the villages and plunder, and thus get liquor. The sepoys allowed liquor in the villages, for they intended when attacked by Europeans to place the liquor in their way. I heard them once settling this plan amongst themselves; this was at Kaemgunge. All that I have stated is perfectly true, and any of the Christian drummers that were with me will corroborate all I have said.

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*No. 2.—Deposition of William Clarke, Musician, late 6th N. I.*—On the 6th June 1857, the regiment I was in (6th N. I.) mutinied at Allahabad during the night. I took refuge amongst the pensioners, and remained with them all that night, also the next day. I heard that many Christians were massacred, amongst whom were sergeant major William Diddier's wife, William Nesbitt's grandmother, and DeCruze, a farrier. John Fitchett came and told me that he had gone to the fort, but was turned away by the people in it, and that the Mewatees had surrounded the pensioners lines. On that day, Futteh Jung, a musician, asked us to turn Mussulman, to save ourselves from being massacred. Through fear I and my family, together with William Thomas DeCruze, Edmond Paul, and Mrs. DeCruze, (the farrier's wife) turned Mussulmen, and went to the city. Edmond Paul had Hindoostanee clothes, in which all of us dressed and put up in a Mussulman's house in the city, whose name I do not know. On the next day about 150 sepoys came to the city, and took me away with them; my parents and William Thomas DeCruze and his family accompanied me. When we had proceeded about twelve or thirteen miles on the Cawnpore road, I met John Fitchett and several other Christians, whose names I do not remember; I also saw William Dwire and Myrack and his family; all of us went on by stages to Futtehpore, where some more sepoys joined us, and we proceeded to Cawnpore; reaching which place, the mutineers encamped on a plain about a mile to the east of the Savada house, and there found a number of sepoys collected. The Europeans were in the entrenchments, and the fight was going on: the Nana's rule was predominant. Two or three days after this, my father fell out with me, and I left the tent; he proceeded in search of me to the seraie in the city, where the bhutteearas took hold of him, saying that he was a Christian, and carried him away to the thannah, from whence he was taken to the Nana, who ordered him to be put to death; but some how or other the sepoys of my regiment heard of this, and went and had my father released. This account was related to me by my father, when he returned to the tent.

*Q.*—State how long the fight lasted, and what occurrences you observed, when the Europeans left the entrenchment?

*A.*—The fight lasted for about ten or twelve days, after which I heard it stated by the sepoys, that the Nana had taken an oath to see all the Europeans sent off safely by boats to Allahabad, and therefore the fight had ceased. Two or three days after this I was told that the Europeans had left the entrenchments for the boats; shortly after firing of cannon was heard, the sepoys of my regiment came to their tents, and they stated that all the Europeans were massacred at the ghât, and that a great many ladies were being brought to the Savada house; hearing this the sepoys and a great crowd of people proceeded to the Savada house; I accompanied them, and placing myself in the veranda of the house, I saw that several of the ladies and children were wounded, some were unhurt, but had very dirty and torn clothing; there were about 80 or 90 of them altogether. I did not recognise any of them, and left the place immediately after seeing them.

*Q.*—Did William Thomas DeCruze and John Fitchett accompany you to the Savada house?

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*A.*—They did not go along with me, but I saw them there.

*Q.*—Was any order received the night previous to the massacre, by the sepoys of your regiment, at their encamping ground, to be present at the place of execution?

*A.*—I did not hear of any order being received during the night, but in the morning some sepoys of my regiment went with their arms to the ghât, and on their return stated, that guns were placed at the ghât by the Nana's orders, and troops were also assembled, and that the Europeans were massacred.

*Q.*—When these sepoys returned from the ghât, did they bring any arms or property belonging to the Europeans massacred there?

*A.*—I did not see any such things brought by them.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear of any sowars carrying off any ladies on that day?

*A.*—I saw two sowars carrying away a lady on horseback. I did not hear of or see any other.

*Q.*—Did you hear who this lady was, and how was she dressed?

*A.*—She wore a chintz gown, which appeared to be wet; she seemed to be eighteen or nineteen years of age. It was rumoured that a sowar had carried away a lady, the wife of some indigo planter.

*Q.*—After this occurrence, did you ever visit the Savada house? and if so, in what state did you see its inmates?

*A.*—I did go to the Savada house once or twice, and saw the ladies dressed in very dirty clothes; they slept on the bare ground, and were fed on dâl and atta cakes. A woman named Begum, used to distribute this food to the ladies. I did not see them molested by any one. A guard, consisting of sepoys of my regiment, was over them, and Eusuf Khan jemadar was in charge of the guard. After a few days, the ladies were removed from the Savada house to another small bungalow, which I visited once or twice, and saw them in the same state as before.

*Q.*—Did you hear of which place, the woman called Begum was resident? and can you give a description of her?

*A.*—She was stated to be in the Nana's employ, and was of a fair complexion, tall stature, had a few grey hairs, and was about thirty years of age.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear that the woman called Begum, ever took any of the ladies to the Nana's stables to grind gram?

*A.*—I did not hear any thing concerning this.

*Q.*—After the Europeans had left the entrenchments or prior to it, during the time you were at Cawnpore, how many times were Europeans arriving from other places, massacred at that station?

*A.*—I only once saw five or six gentlemen shot by the sepoys, in a bungalow opposite the one in which the ladies were; of these gentlemen, two or three were indigo planters, and three were stated to be of some note, who had come from Furruckabad. I heard the sepoys say, that the latter promised them to have the fort of Allahabad vacated if their lives be spared.

*Q.*—Can you state to which regiment the sepoys belonged, who murdered the three gentlemen from Furruckabad?

*A.*—They belonged to the volunteer regiment; I do not know their names; there were about ten or twelve sepoys concerned in the murder.

*Q.*—Did you hear of any sowar having carried away Major General Wheeler's daughter?

*A.*—I only heard a rumour to this effect, but did not witness the occurrence.

*Q.*—When you accompanied the mutineers from Cawnpore to Futtehgurh, did you ever see in company with the sowars' women, any lady dressed in native clothes?

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*A.*—No, I did not see or hear of any lady being with the sowars' women.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear how and where Major General Wheeler was massacred?

*A.*—I did not hear any thing regarding this.

*Q.*—State how the ladies were massacred, who were confined in the Savada house, and subsequently removed to another bungalow?

*A.*—A day previous to leaving Cawnpore, one evening I heard it stated in camp, that the ladies were to be put to death; and on going to the bungalow in which they were confined, I heard that the Nana had given orders to the sepoys of my regiment to shoot the ladies, and on their refusing to do so, the Nana gave orders to blow them away from guns, adding, that in his opinion, they were in league with the Europeans; and then the woman named Begum, accompanied by four or five men, came and massacred all the ladies and children.

*Q.*—Did the sepoys also fire at this time or not, and how many men were there actually engaged in the massacre, and who were they, and what weapons did they use?

*A.*—I did not see the sepoys fire. The men engaged in the massacre were armed with swords, I did not stay there long, and do not know who these men were. When they had arrived there, I had come out of the compound of the bungalow in which the ladies were confined, and perceiving their intentions, returned to my tent. I did not personally witness the massacre, but was told on the following day, that these very men had perpetrated the deed.

*Q.*—When you reached the bungalow in which the ladies were confined, and saw the men coming who massacred them, were William Thomas DeCruze and John Fitchett with you, or did you see them there?

*A.*—They were not with me, and neither did I take notice whether they were there or not, as there was a great crowd.

*Q.*—Did you see what became of the corpses of the ladies that were massacred?

*A.*—I did not go to the spot the next day, as I was attacked with fever during the night, but heard that their bodies were thrown into a well.

*Q.*—John Fitchett has stated in his deposition, that on the day of his arrival at Cawnpore, at about 4 o'clock, he was taken to the Savada house, and there confined in a small room, which was to the south-east of the house, and that you and William Thomas DeCruze were also confined along with him; why do you not therefore state every thing clearly?

*A.*—The statement made by John Fitchett is entirely false, neither of us were ever confined in the Savada house.

*Q.*—When you left Cawnpore in company with the mutineers, where did you go, and what did you see?

*A.*—The day after the massacre, the mutineers hearing of the advance of European troops, left Cawnpore, and proceeded towards Futtehgurh, but there was no news of where the Nana had gone to. There was a body of about 12 or 13,000 men, but without a leader, and each one followed his own course. I reached Futtehgurh after four or five days, in their company, where I found another body of mutineers, and that the Nuwab's rule was predominant. After remaining here seven or eight days, the Nuwab gave orders to the sepoys of my regiment to proceed to Kaemgunge, whither I accompanied them, and remained there for about two months. William Thomas DeCruze and John Fitchett were also with me, but the latter left us, and went away somewhere. After this, the British troops came on us, and we retreated to Futtehgurh, where we found subadar Bhondoo Singh's force encamped on the parade ground. When I came to Futtehgurh, William Diddier was also with us, whom we left there, when I and William Thomas DeCruze started for Shajehanpore, reaching which, we remained there for a day and night, and then left for Lucknow. At Shajehanpore, we only found a force of villagers, armed with matchlocks, but saw not

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mutineers. After twelve or thirteen days we reached Lucknow, and put up in a house in cantonments, at Mureeaon, where a force of 3 or 4,000 mutineers was assembled under command of Bukht Khan. We remained here seven or eight days, and found John Edward Clarke, William Diddier, Sahoo Myrack and Alopee Dial, who were with the mutineer force; leaving this place, I proceeded through villages begging my way, and reached Allahabad.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear at Cawnpore, or any other place, that William Diddier fought in company with the mutineers?

*A.*—I heard at Cawnpore that he took part with the mutineers against Europeans.

*Q.*—Have you heard where William Diddier is now?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—When you reached Allahabad, was any investigation made regarding you, and if so, by whom? And how did you obtain employment?

*A.*—When I reached Allahabad, I went to Adjutant Haslewood, who placed me in confinement, where I remained three months and five days, after which I was released, and obtained employment.

*Q.*—Have you stated all to the Adjutant as you have done in this deposition?

*A.*—Through fear, in my statement to the Adjutant, I did not make any mention of having been at Cawnpore; but only stated, that when the regiment mutinied, the Mewatees carried me away a prisoner, and that many Christians were massacred; after which I went to the city, from which place the sepoys took me away a prisoner to Sultanpore, from whence I escaped to Allahabad. This is what I have stated in my deposition before the Adjutant, but now I have stated clearly all that I have seen and undergone.

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*No.* 3.—*Deposition of William Thomas DeCruze, Musician, 6th Regiment N. I.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny broke out, where were you; and how, and when did you reach Cawnpore? And how long did you remain there? which places did you frequent? and who were with you?

*A.*—On the 6th June 1857, the 6th regiment native infantry mutinied at Allahabad during the night; we made off for the pensioners' lines and hid ourselves, we remained there all that night and during the next day, when John Fitchett came from the fort and told me that the officers would not allow him to enter the fort. He remained with me in the pensioners' lines, when Sahoo Myrack, musician, who was a prisoner in the fort a month previous to the outbreak, came and told us that he was also turned out of the fort, and on the same day, about 2 o'clock, Sergeant Major William Dwire's wife and his children, and William Nesbitt's grand-mother were murdered, also DeCruze, a farrier, and several other pensioners. The Mewatees came to us in the pensioners' lines, and asked us to turn Mussulmans, threatening to murder us if we refused. At this time Futteh Jung, a Mussulman musician, also came to us, and advised the Mewatees not to kill us, but make Mussulmans of us. They accordingly made a Mussulman of me, and William Clarke, together with his father and children. Still being alarmed, I and William Clarke made our escape from them during the evening, and went and put up in a Mussulman's house in the city, whose name I do not recollect. On the next day about 150 sepoys of my regiment came to the city, and seeing us desired us to accompany them; so we joined them, accompanied by our families. When we had proceeded with them about twelve or thirteen miles on the Cawnpore road, we met John Fitchett and a number of other Christians, who had all turned Mussulman; they also joined us, and we went on by regular stages to Futtehpore, and there a number of other sepoys joined us. Proceeding by stages, we reached Cawnpore about 1 in the afternoon, and encamped in a plain about a mile away from the Savada house. There was a great collection of mutineers and the Nana's men, the Europeans were in the entrenchments, and the fight was going on; I do not recollect the exact number of mutineers assembled, nor the regiments they belonged to. A day or

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two after this William Clarke and his father fell out, when the former went away somewhere or other, and his father proceeded to a serai in search of him, the bhutteearas of which took him a prisoner, saying he was a Christian, and sent him to the Nana through the thanah, who ordered him to be put to death; but the sepoys of my regiment hearing of this, went and had him released. I then lived along with him.

*Q.*—State clearly how long the fight continued, and when did the Europeans leave the entrenchments, and what occurred?

*A.*—Ten or twelve days after our arrival there, the fight ceased; we were told by the sepoys, that the Nana had taken an oath to see the Europeans safely sent away to Allahabad, and then on a day (the date of which I do not remember) in the morning, the Europeans left the entrenchments to go to the ghât, for the purpose of getting on the boats. Two or three hours after this firing of cannon was heard, and we were told that the Europeans had been massacred, and that the ladies and children were brought to the Savada house, to which place I went in company with the sepoys, and saw that some of the ladies were wounded; there appeared to be eighty or ninety persons, inclusive of children. Having seen them, I returned to my house, but did not recognise any of them; all the ladies had clothing on them.

*Q.*—Did William Clarke and John Fitchett accompany you to the place where the ladies were confined?

*A.*—I do not exactly remember if they were with me, but a great number of persons had gone, and no doubt they were with them.

*Q.*—The day previous to the Europeans leaving the entrenchments, were any orders received by the sepoys, requiring their attendance anywhere?

*A.*—I did not hear of any such order; but on the day of the massacre, was told by the sepoys that the Nana had guns placed at the ghât, purposely to effect the destruction of the Europeans, and therefore the massacre occurred. I did not see the Europeans go to the ghât, neither did I go there.

*Q.*—After you had come away from the building in which the ladies were, what occurrences did you observe?

*A.*—I saw on the same day that many troopers had brought away ladies to their tents; but did not hear who they were, neither do I know the names of the troopers.

*Q.*—Did you see what treatment the ladies met with who were confined in the Savada house, and did any sepoys or troopers molest them?

*A.*—I never went again to the Savada house, but heard that they were fed on atta cakes and dâl; but when the ladies were moved from the Savada house to another small bungalow near the theatre, I went and saw them; they were dirtily clothed and slept on the bare ground, and a Mussulman woman, named Begum, who was in the Nana's employ, brought them food. I did not see any of the sepoys molest the ladies, a guard of my regiment (*i. e.* 6th native infantry) was placed over them under command of Eusuf Khan, a jemadar.

*Q.*—Who was this woman named Begum? Of which place did you hear she was a resident? Give a description of her?

*A.*—I do not know of which place she was a resident; she was in the Nana's employ, and was of fair complexion, tall stature, about 30 years of age, and had a few grey hairs.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear that this woman ever took any of the ladies to the Nana's stables for the purpose of grinding gram?

*A.*—I did not see or hear any thing regarding this.

*Q.*—After or previous to the massacre at the ghât, did you see or hear of any Europeans being murdered?

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*A.*—I only once witnessed 25 or 30 Europeans, who had come from Bithoor, murdered by some of the Nana's men, who were armed with swords. They were not sepoys, I do not know the names of any of the murderers. They were, I believe, residents of Cawnpore.

*Q.*—Did you hear of Major General Wheeler's daughter having been brought away from the ghât by one of the troopers ?

*A.*— I did not hear this.

*Q.*—Did you hear how and where Major General Wheeler was murdered ?

*A.*—I heard it stated by the sepoys that he was murdered at the ghât.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear of any gentlemen having come to Cawnpore, who promised to have the fort of Allahabad made over to the mutineers ?

*A.*—I never saw any Europeans massacred, except those mentioned above ; but heard that some gentlemen were brought in from somewhere, who promised to have the fort of Allahabad given up to the sepoys, on condition of their lives being spared. After this, I did not hear what became of them.

*Q.*—Did you witness the massacre of the ladies and children confined in the Savada house ?

*A.*—When the British troops reached Futtehpore, the mutineer force stationed there fell back to Cawnpore. About 4 o'clock I heard in my tent, that the Nana had issued orders to murder all the ladies and children, when I went to the bungalow in which they were confined, and there I heard Eusuf Khan and the sepoys saying that they would not kill the ladies and children ; and the Nana hearing of this sent word, that the sepoys should be blown away from guns, as they appeared to be in league with the Europeans. After this the woman named Begum came and gave orders to the sepoys to kill the ladies, but they fired their muskets at the roof of the house, and then three or four men, dirtily clothed, came with the woman Begum, armed with swords, and entered the bungalow where the ladies were. When they did this I left the place, but heard that these men had put an end to all the inmates of the house.

*Q.*—State the correct number of men who massacred the ladies and children, and give a description of them?

*A.*—I do not remember the exact number of the murderers, neither do I recollect their features, nor their tribe.

*Q.*—When these men came to massacre the ladies, &c., were William Clarke and John Fitchett with you ?

*A.*—I do not remember whether they were there or not.

*Q.*—After the massacre, what became of the corpses ?

*A.*—On the next day having gone to the bungalow, where the ladies were massacred, I saw their corpses being removed and thrown into a well in the compound ; the persons that perpetrated the massacre were engaged in the removal of the corpses. One or two ladies who were still alive were massacred by them, and thrown into the well. I also saw them throw down into the well one or two children, who were alive. All the bodies had not been thrown into the well when I left the place, and on the same day the mutineers fled, and I accompanied them.

*Q.*—John Fitchett has stated in his deposition, that on the very day of his arrival at Cawnpore, he was taken about 4 o'clock to the Savada house, and there confined in a small room to the south-east of the house, and that Thomas Clarke, Charles Clarke, William Dwire and others, together with yourself, were also confined there ; you are therefore requested to state whether this statement is correct or otherwise ?

*A.*—This statement, made by John Fitchett, is entirely false ; none of us were in confinement, but were in camp on the open plain with the sepoys, and John Fitchett was also with us.

*Q.*—When all of you were with the sepoys, had you any duties to perform ?

*A.*—No, we had nothing to do.

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*Q.*—Who was the lady reported to have been brought away by the sepoys to Futtehgurh, and was she dressed in Hindustani clothes ? Were there any other ladies besides her with the sepoys ?

*A.*—I only saw one lady with the troopers, and was told that she was the daughter of some indigo planter, and besides her I did not see any other lady brought away by any trooper or sepoy. The lady brought away by the trooper did not reach Futtehgurh, but only some twelve miles this side of it, at a place called Khodagunge Serai, where it commenced to be talked about, that some trooper was bringing away a Christian woman ; the trooper therefore deserted with her, and no trace of him could be found.

*Q.*—State how far you accompanied the sepoys when they left Cawnpore ?

*A.*—When news came of the European troops approaching Cawnpore, the mutineers left it in the night and proceeded towards Futtehgurh, and I accompanied them, but the Nana did not accompany the mutineers, and there was no news of where he had gone to. The mutineer force amounted to about 12 or 13,000 men, there was no leader, and each one was his own master. After four or five days we reached Futtehgurh, where we met another mutineer force, but they appeared to be dispersing ; we remained here for about eight days, and the Nuwab gave orders to the mutineers to go to Kaemgunge, when about 250 sepoys of my regiment proceeded thither, and reaching Kaemgunge I put up in a bunneeah's house. Eusuf Khan was in command of this party. We remained at Kaemgunge for about two months ; John Fitchett was also with us, but leaving us at Kaemgunge went away in some other direction. When the European troops reached that place, all the inhabitants of Kaemgunge fled towards Futtehgurh ; I also accompanied them, but reaching Futtehgurh, we found that the mutineer force had left that place. I also left the place, and begging my way through, reached Allahabad.

*Q.*—When you accompanied the mutineers from Cawnpore to Futtehgurh, did they create Bhondoo Singh, subadar 17th regiment, a rajah over them ? and did they obey his orders ?

*A.*—When I was in Futtehgurh, I did not hear of Bhondoo Singh being made a rajah ; but when I returned from Kaemgunge to Futtehgurh, I heard that Bhondoo Singh's force was in Futtehgurh.

*Q.*—When you reached Allahabad, were any enquiries instituted regarding you ? and how did you obtain employment ?

*A.*—I went to Adjutant Haslewood, who was in command at the fort ; he took my deposition, and kept me in confinement for three months and five days, after which I was released, and obtained employment.

*Q.*—Did you give the same statement to the Adjutant as now ?

*A.*—Through fear I did not relate any thing regarding having gone to Cawnpore, but only stated that after the regiment had mutinied, I was carried away by Mewatees to Sultanpore, and escaping from thence came to Allahabad.

*Q.*—Did you hear whether William Dwire took part with the mutineers against Europeans ?

*A.*—I heard that William Dwire joined the sepoys and used arms against Europeans, but did not see this personally. When I returned from Kaemgunge to Futtehgurh, William Dwire was with me ; he remained there, but I and William Clarke together with his father proceeded to Shajehanpore, and remained there only one night in a garden. In the morning we started for Lucknow, when we saw that there was no mutineer force there, only some villagers armed with matchlocks. We reached Lucknow after twelve or thirteen days, and put up in a house at Murreaon in cantonments, where we found Bukht Khan's force encamped ; there were about 3 or 4,000 persons ; we remained here for seven or eight days, where we saw John Clarke, William Dwire, Baboo Myrack and Alopee Dial, in company with this force ; leaving his place, begging all the way through villages, we reached Allahabad.

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*No. 4.—Deposition of Elizabeth Spiers.*—I am the daughter of Joseph Spiers, drummer; we went into the entrenchment with General Wheeler, and when the treaty was made with the Nana, we went with all the others to the ghât; when the firing commenced we jumped into the water. My father, my brother, named David, 27 years old, band sergeant, and a little sister, about 9 years old, were all killed there. One sister, named Charlotte, about 14 years old, was taken away by the sowars, and I have never heard any thing more of her. I saw several ladies taken away, amongst them Mrs. J. of the 67th, Mrs. B. of the 2nd cavalry, and Miss G., the sister of Mrs. B. of the 53rd. I know these ladies, as they had been living in the same barracks in the entrenchment. I don't know what became of them afterwards, I don't know any thing about Miss Wheeler, but I saw her going to the ghât; two sowars, named Munoowur Shah and Alee Shah, of the 2nd cavalry, took us with our mother, with a little brother (now a bugler in the Cawnpore police) and a little sister from the ghât, and kept us for a whole day at the Mogul Serai. In the evening they took us to Mrs. Whittaker's, we stayed there that night; next day the sowars got us another house in the city. When the rebels went to Futtehpore to fight, we escaped from there and went to the house of Hussein Buksh, native doctor of the 53rd, who is now employed in the General Hospital. I believe the ladies I have mentioned as having been taken away from the ghât were afterwards taken to the Savada kotee, as Khoda Buksh of the 56th, now in the Oude police, told me on my questioning him afterwards (he having been confined with the ladies in the Savada kotee) that Mrs. B. had been there, and also Mrs. J.; he described the latter as wearing a green silk gown, which I saw her wear when she went down to the ghât from the entrenchments. I did not see any ladies deprived of their clothes, nor any children cut to pieces. I know nothing about the slaughter of ladies in the Beebeegurh, but heard it was perpetrated by the Nana's soldiers.

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*No. 5.—Deposition of Isabella Spiers.*—After corroborating the main facts of her sister's statement, she says:—I was kept for a day in the camp of the sowars, and was afterwards taken to the house in the city, where my sister and mother were; a little girl, European, about 12 years old, named Mary, her other name I don't know, was in the camp with me, and on crying to be taken to her mother, who was in the Savada house, she was taken there. Very few of the soldiers were allowed to take their wives with them from the entrenchments, with the exception of those with General Wheeler. I did see General Wheeler killed.

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*No. 6.—Depositions of Eliza Bradshaw, widow of Manuel Bradshaw, Musician; and Elizabeth Sett, widow of William Sett.*—We were with the 56th regiment native infantry when it mutinied at Cawnpore, and were living in the drummers' lines with our children. We went into the entrenchments on Friday, the 5th of June; the next day the mutineers commenced their attack at about 10 o'clock; the first shot broke the leg of a kidmutgar, he died that evening, and many others were killed. The firing was continued day and night. On the 13th, the barrack in which we were living was set on fire by a shell; we fled to one of the unfinished barracks, but the sowars and sepoys making their appearance close to us, we returned to the entrenchments, and found shelter where we could. The Colonel, his wife, and three daughters were in this barrack. The Colonel died on Monday the 8th, during the night, and was buried the next night in the trench. Miss Mary was killed on the 15th, by a fall of part of the roof, caused by a shot striking it; her sister Georgiana, with another lady, (I do not know her name) lifted her up, but she was insensible, and died that night. She was buried in the well. Mrs. Cook, native Christian, attended on them; the servants fled some four or five days after the attack commenced; some few remained faithful, a servant of Mr. Duncan's and a lame servant of Mr. Christie's, but all the servants of the 56th deserted. When able, we cooked dall and chuppaties for the ladies and children. Yes, there were sepoys of our corps in the

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entrenchments; the General sent one of them, named Gous Mohomed, to gain information, and then Mr. Shepherd was also sent on the same errand, but I believe he was immediately seized by the rebels. One day, after heavy firing all the morning, it suddenly ceased, and a native Christian woman came with a note to Captain Moore's picket; the General was standing near us when it was brought to him; he returned it, as it was not signed; however a meeting took place with the rebels, there were six of them. John Bradshaw, of the 56th native infantry, was the orderly bugler, and attended the General; he told us that arrangements had been made to send us down to Allahabad. Officers went on elephants to see the boats. On the 26th, the two guns that were uninjured and the treasure were given up. A party of sowars and native artillery men were sent by the Nana. The officers said, the treasure was one lac and thirty-three thousand rupees; we were told to be prepared to leave the entrenchments next morning. At sunrise, on the 27th, some hackeries, three or four elephants, and three palkees were brought into the entrenchments by the sowars. The General and some officers were on elephants, Mrs. Wheeler was in a palkee, the Colonel's wife was also in a palkee, and Mrs. Kempland in the third. The ladies were on the hackeries. An artillery man wounded in the foot was placed in one of them, but the sick were left till the hackeries could return. We were about the centre with the drummers and their families. The sowars and sepoys were on our right and left. No, they said nothing to us; they did not abuse us. When we reached the bridge with the white railings near Colonel Williams's house, we saw a large crowd assembled, men from the city and villagers; the sowars who were ahead, shouted out that they were to stand aside, and none to come down to the ghât; we then descended into the dry nullah leading to the river. When we got to our boat, we found that it had no bamboo flooring, (chali.) In our boats there were Mr. McMullen and twenty-two children of the Free School, a pensioned drum major of the 56th, named Murray, with his wife; there were also European soldiers and their wives. Suddenly we heard firing, and the pattering of bullets, and then the roar of cannon on both sides of the river. We jumped out, the boat was between us and shore. In the water, a few paces off, by the next boat we saw the Colonel's youngest daughter. A sepoy was going to kill her with his bayonet. She said, "My father was always kind to sepoys." He turned away, and just then a villager struck her in the head with a club, and she fell into the water. No, we did not see the Colonel's lady. Mr. Moncrieff, the clergyman of the station, was close to us, and with two other clergymen, one must have been the Roman Catholic Padre. We saw the clergyman take out a book, we did not see him read it, for a sowar rode into the water and cut him down with a blow on the neck; he then killed the Padre, and the other, who was a missionary. Bugler John Bradshaw was shot by a sepoy, and his brother a drummer in the 2nd company, cut down by a sowar. Yes, they were close to us, but we were not hurt; no one attempted to kill us. A sepoy killed a child with his bayonet, it was about 4 years old; another sepoy took a young child by the leg and threw it into the water. No, we never said, nor did we mean to say, that we had seen children torn to pieces; they were taken up by one leg, swung round and thrown into the river. Yes, all these four children now with us escaped, they were not hurt in the least; our eldest children, drummers in the 56th, were killed at the ghât, and a young baby, hit by a ball whilst in the entrenchments, died. Mrs. Bradshaw's sister-in-law also died in great pain from a bayonet wound. Suddenly shouts were heard, that the Nana had ordered the firing to cease; the sepoys and sowars were not to kill any more women and children; there were no European men left alive at the ghât. We hid behind some logs of wood. The sowars and sepoys collected the ladies and children; they were all seated on the ground. Bheestees were sent for to give them water; they remained there about half an hour, and then were taken away by the sowars and sepoys, we believe to the Savada house. No, there were no indignities offered to the ladies. Their clothes were not taken away; some of the ladies had their earrings torn out of their ears, but that was whilst in the water. After they were brought to the bank, no one but the guards were allowed to go near them. We heard that it was the Nana's orders

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that they were not to be touched, and that all women and children were to be given up; when all had gone, we went by the bank of the river, and so till we got to the Ram Narain bazar, and secreted ourselves in a Mahomedan burying ground, but the Nana's chowkedars drove us away; we then went to the elephant sheds, and at first were refused admittance, but on stating that we were Mahomedans, were allowed to remain during the night. The next morning the wife of an oil-seller in the bazar told us to sit down in the shop, seeing a sepoy of the 56th native infantry coming from his guard in the Ram Narain's bazar, we tried to conceal ourselves. The sepoy's name was Mohomed Bux, of the grenadiers; he told us not to be afraid, that he would not hurt us, as he was of the same corps, but advised us not to remain there, as the sowars would kill us; he told us to go to the Church compound, where there were empty houses. Dariow, a sweeper of the Free School, took care of us. The sowars lived in the Church, two companies of Seikhs from Benares were encamped in the compound. A subadar and musician, who had been transferred from the 1st regiment to the Seikh corps, were with these companies. We had to leave our house, but they did not harm us. The Seikhs fled on the morning of the 16th, the sowars about 5 in the evening; they said that now there was no safety for them in earth. Yes, we heard that the ladies and children had all been killed. The sowars, when they returned from Futtehpore, asked the Nana what he intended doing with them, and he ordered them to be killed. We heard this from our neighbours.

*Q.*—What do you know of Benjamin Murray, the son of pensioned drum-major Murray?

*A.*—He was a drummer in the 6th company 56th regiment, on command to Ooraie, with the 2nd and 4th companies; when they mutinied, he turned Mahomedan and came back with the companies to Cawnpore.

*Q.*—How do you know this?

*A.*—When we were in the Free School compound, he came to us and said, he was a fife major in the Nana's employ. The cornet player, named Thomas Massey, deserted from the entrenchments when the barracks took fire; these two are now at Allahabad.

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*No. 7.—Statement of Mrs. Bradshaw and Mrs. Setts, of the 56th Regiment N. I.*

*Mrs. Bradshaw.*—When General Wheeler and the sahib-logs went into the entrenchment, I, Eliza Bradshaw, and my two sons, John and Robert, musicians of the 56th, with their wives and a child each, also Elizabeth Setts, her son John, musician, with his wife and two children, went with them into the entrenchment. This was on the 5th of June; on the 6th, the enemy began to fire upon us. Numbers of people were killed or died otherwise. Several went out and were killed. Mr. Shepherd also went out to obtain news. The General sent him; but he, Mr. Shepherd, never returned.

On the 27th of June early, we were all marched to the boat. Soldiers went before, and behind, and on the sides. We were getting into the boats. In the boat in which I was to have gone, was the schoolmistress, and 22 missies (school girls). General Wheeler came last in a palkee; they carried him into the water near the boat. I stood close by. He said, "Carry me a little further towards the boat;" but the sowar said, "No, get out here." As the General got out of the palkee, head foremost, a sowar gave him a cut with his sword into the neck, and he fell into the water. They then set all the boats on fire except two, on which were Mr. Thompson, &c. My son was killed close to General Wheeler. Some were stabbed with bayonets, others cut down with swords, little infants were torn to pieces.

*Q.*—How were they torn?

*A.*—The men seized them at the ghât, stood with one foot on the children's legs, and tore the children asunder.

*Q.*—Did you see this?

*A.*—I did.

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*Mrs. Setts.*—We did, we saw it, and tell you only what we saw. Other children were stabbed and thrown into the river. The school girls were burnt to death, I saw their clothes and hair catch fire.

*Mrs. Bradshaw.*—Mr. Moncrieff stood in the water near his boat, and said, "If we English take prisoners, we do not put them to death, but imprison them. Spare our lives, and put us into prison." He received a cut into his neck, and fell upon his face. My second son received a cut on his face, and fell on his side, near Mr. Moncrieff. Mrs. Moncrieff and children, and the Roman Catholic Padre, were all killed. Miss Wheeler was carried off by a sowar, but what happened to her we cannot tell, we only state what we saw.

When they had killed all the men who did not get off, and many of the women and children, an order came from the Nana that the rest should be spared. As they took us out of the water, and tore off our clothes, we two and our daughters-in-law, escaped into the house of a mehter, who concealed us. Mrs. Setts's daughter-in-law, who was pregnant, was stabbed in the body, and died three days afterwards in great pain.

Some were killed on the banks, others in the water. No male was taken back. General Wheeler was killed near the boat; he had not yet entered into the boat, my son was killed near him. I saw it, alas! alas! As he got out of the palkee, a sowar gave him a cut into his neck, and he fell into the water. What happened to those who were taken back we cannot say, for we lay concealed. We only know that they were murdered on the 16th, cut to pieces and cast into a well.

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*No. 8.—Deposition of Thomas Ambrose Farnon, Resident of Cawnpore.*

When the mutiny broke out in this station, I was in the employ of the Railway. I had gone out to Marowlie, a place about 23 miles from here, to pay the workmen; at night the baboo woke me up, and said that he thought the cavalry would mutiny that night. I lay awake until about 4½ A. M., when I heard the trampling of horses and carts, &c. going along the road; upon which I jumped out of bed, and went about two miles on the Etawah road, and then turning to my right I came to Chowbeypore on the Trunk road; from there I came to Cawnpore, and went to Ahmed Alee Khan, having been so wandering about in the district for about seventeen days. During that time I had scarcely any money to live on. I avoided the villages and passed myself off as a Mussulman, whenever I met any one. I knew Ahmed Alee Khan from my infancy, and that was the reason I sought his protection. He received me and concealed me the whole time, in fact he was obliged to conceal himself from having married a Christian woman, who has now however turned Mussulman. His house is in Kursaraon, in rear of the Police Chokee, (No. 4;) I plainly heard the shrieks of the women and children, who were murdered in the Beebeegurh; there were also shrieks heard next morning, a little before sunrise. When General Havelock's force arrived, about I think 9 A. M. on the 17th of July, I immediately went out to meet the men. Ahmed Alee Khan and all in the house I lived in, but an old decrepid woman, named Beebee Luke, had fled through fear, in fact the whole city was deserted. Some little children that had evidently been thrown down the well alive, were still quivering. In the veranda of the Beebeegurh was the body of a tall old gentleman, whom the natives said was the Judge of Futtehgurh, (? Colonel Smith). I arrived in the city a day or two before the massacre at the ghât. I heard men of all descriptions, as they were passing by, saying that they had killed all the Europeans (men) and carried off the women. I don't think many of the respectable people in the city joined the mutineers, all the budmashes were collected in a Rissallah called "Shaick Panchoo," who was a relation of Sheikh Hunneef, who kept the hotel. I only heard of Miss Wheeler being carried off by the sowars.

I did not know a man in the 2nd cavalry, named Awaz Ali; I knew a man named Mawazish Ali, a celebrated wrestler.

I went with General Havelock's force to Lucknow, but not in any capacity. I went to search for a cousin who, I afterwards found, had been killed at Mohumdee. I served in the entrenchment there, (Lucknow).

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I do not know any of the men mentioned by Awaz Ali, nor can I make out why he has mentioned me. I have not heard of any person with a name like mine being saved, and calling himself a Mussulman. I recollect a dhobee, named Panchoo, who used to wash for us in the Railway; I may possibly be able to find him.'

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*No. 9.—Deposition of Mr. Edward Williams, Merchant at Cawnpore.*—In May 1857, it was rumoured at Cawnpore, that an outbreak of the native troops had occurred at Meerut, and many Europeans massacred. After this, the entrenchments at this station, near the hospital, were commenced on, and completed. Doubts were entertained of the fidelity of the native troops stationed here; seeing this state of things, I made up my mind to send away my family to Calcutta, and spoke regarding it to Mr. Jacobi, the coach builder; he made mention of it to Major General Wheeler, and was told by him that there was no fear, and advised not to remove his family. But finding my suspicions regarding the sepoys daily strengthened, I sent away my family, some six or seven days prior to the outbreak, to Raepoor, close to Umourgunj, to a fuqeer's residence, named Miskin Shah. At last, on the night of the 4th June 1857, the 1st regiment native infantry and 2nd cavalry mutinied, and commenced setting fire to the station. On the next morning, the other two regiments, *i. e.* 53rd and 56th, also mutinied, and joining their mutinous brethren, plundered the treasury, broke open the jail, and losing the prisoners, proceeded to Kullianpoor. The place, *i. e.* Raepoor, to which I had sent my family away, is on the road to Kullianpoor, and seeing a great number of mutineers approach that place, I was much alarmed, and dressing myself and family in native clothes, left that place on the same day, *i. e.* 5th June, and came to Colonel Mohomed Zuman Khan's compound, and put up at mussumat Umeerun's house, who kindly gave us shelter. On the 6th June, at about 8 or 9 A. M., it was rumoured that the mutineers were returning from Kullianpoor, and all the city people went out to see them. A search for Christians commenced, and fearing that some of them may suspect me, seeing me hid, I left my place of concealment, and joining the crowd, came to the grand parade ground, where I heard of the massacre of many Christians; at which I became alarmed, and purposed returning home. Passing through a bazar, I came opposite the Church, which I saw being battered with shot; I also saw the Nunney Nuwab being brought a prisoner by the troopers, mounted on an elephant, and heard of his house being plundered. The troopers took the Nuwab away towards the mall, and I returned to mussumat Umeerun's house. About 8 P. M., some troopers gaining information of my being at mussumat Umeerun's house, came and enquired for her, but it so happened that they could not see her, and consequently went away. After this, Chotoo Khan, mussumat Umeerun's brother, advised me to leave the house, as he said that the troopers would certainly come and make a search for me, and therefore it would be better for me to conceal myself in a jemadar's house, which was close by. Compelled by necessity, I left the house, accompanied by my wife, my two sons, two daughters, and an ayah, and went to the place I was advised to take refuge in. Shortly after this, four or five troopers came to mussumat Umeerun's house, and enquired whether she had any Christians concealed in her house, to which she replied in the negative; but they disbelieving her, insisted on all the male inmates of the house being shewn them, saying they had nothing to do with the female portion. Hearing this, mussumat Umeerun sent me a message by the jemadar, in whose house I had taken refuge, desiring me to quit the place, leaving the females where they were, otherwise I would lose my life: hearing this, I left the house, leaving my family there, and went and hid myself in the garden attached to my kotee, and remained there all night. In the morning quitting my hiding place, I made up my mind to go away to Lucknow, for the purpose of bringing away my son, who was at school there; but when I reached the bridge, I found that there was a prohibition to any one crossing it: the sepoys had made this arrangement. From the 6th June, fighting at the entrenchment had commenced, and it was rumoured that the Nana had brought back the mutinous troops, and had resolved to

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put to death all the Christians of the station, and to gain a victory over the troops in the entrenchments, after which to proceed to Delhi. Returning from the bridge, I went to Chidda's house, who was an old servant of mine, residing at Generalgunj, where after a short time, the ayah whom I had left with my family, made her appearance, from whom I enquired regarding my family. She told me, that shortly after my departure from the jemadar's house, mussumat Umeerun had turned my family out of the place, and that she leaving them at Umourgunj, had come to look for a conveyance to remove them to some place of safety; but as she could get none, I and Chidda accompanied her on foot to Umourgunj, where to our surprise, we did not find my family, but were told, that the people of that mohullah had turned them away. I consequently commenced a search for them. About 11 o'clock in the day, I happened to be on the wall, and there saw Nunney Nuwab, coming to the batteries, accompanied by a number of troopers and sepoys, and his own attendants also, and I was told by the people that the Nuwab had received a post of great dignity, and was in command of a battery. He was at that time proceeding to the battery erected against the barracks. Perceiving this I proceeded in search of my family towards the city, and saw many corpses of Christians, both male and female, strewn about the road. About 1 o'clock I came close to Major General Wheeler's bungalow, and finding a piece of mat in the compound, laid down on it, and saw several troopers going about, forcing people to carry water to the batteries. Hearing an uproar, I rose from the place I was in, when a trooper seeing me, told me that it was a great shame for a young Mussulman like me, to be thus idling away my time, and that I should assist at the batteries; he also told me, that a young man, the son of a pensioned subadar, was sent for by the Nuwab, who laid a gun so precisely, that the shot carried away a portion of one of the barracks within the entrenchments, for which he received a reward of Rs. 90, and a shawl. I replied to this, that I possessed no arms, and had never been a soldier. A short while after, I came out of the compound, to see if the report of the destruction of the barracks was correct, and saw that a portion of the barrack in which the apothecaries lived, was thrown down. In the evening, I went and laid myself down in the compound of a merchant, and finding no trace of my family, I kept wandering about in search of them for two or three days. Having given up all hopes of meeting my family, I made up my mind to go to Baleenuggur, which was about ten miles away, and as the people of that place were friendly to me, I made arrangements to go to Lucknow.

*Q.*—From your statement, it appears that you remained at Cawnpore three or four days, after the 7th June, and saw many places, whilst in search of your family; can you describe the places where batteries were erected, and did you recognise any of the rebels concerned in the murder of Europeans?

*A.*—I was greatly confused at the time, and besides a considerable time has now elapsed, since I saw the occurrences; but still I remember, that on the first day, a battery was erected near the Mogul Serai, and another near the cavalry barracks, which was moved up close to the racket court, and the other battery was brought up to the bridge, near the horse artillery bazar, where the greater part of the mutineers stationed themselves, and at the other battery, Nuwab Nunney's men placed themselves. When the mutineers returned from Kullianpoor, the native gunners were not with them, but I was told that when Nuwab Nunney received charge of a battery, he sent for all the pensioned gunners, and set them to work the guns. I saw the Nuwab using a telescope, as well as another person, who was reckoned a good gunner, I do not remember his name.

*Q.*—Did you personally see the Nuwab at the battery; and if so, how was he engaged?

*A.*—I saw the Nuwab for two or three successive days at the batteries, superintending their operations.

*Q.*—Did you see the Nuwab a prisoner on the batteries or otherwise?

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*A.*—I do not think the Nuwab was under any restraint, as he was engaged in giving orders, which were obeyed by all the troops; only on the first day I saw the Nuwab brought as a prisoner. I cannot say whether the Nuwab remained on the battery as a prisoner or otherwise, but it is a well known fact, that he received charge of a battery, and was engaged in conducting its operations.

*Q.*—Can you mention any person's name, who is cognizant of the fact of the Nuwab having sent for the pensioned gunners and set them to work the guns?

*A.*—This circumstance was well known to all; I do not remember the name of any particular individual.

*Q.*—Where is the fuqeer, named Miskin Shah?

*A.*—He is dead; but his widow is, I think, at Cawnpore.

*Q.*—Where is the jemadar, in whose house you took refuge; and what is his name?

*A.*—His name is Wulleedad Khan, and he is still here at his house.

*Q.*—Where is Chidda your servant, and the woman servant that was with your family?

*A.*—Both of them are here in the station.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing of the subadar's son, who was called to one of the batteries?

*A.*—I do not know his name, but have often seen him; he is known as a broker in horse dealing, and I have heard that he was formerly employed by Government as a gunner. I think he lives in the horse market at Cawnpore.

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*No.* 10.—*Deposition of William Maling.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny occurred at Cawnpore, where were you?

*A.*—I was in Cawnpore, and was living in mohullah Furrash-kharak, at a woman's house, named Hoosainee Oomrao: prior to this, I was living in my own house, near the soldiers' confinement room. When the mutiny broke out at this station, on the 4th or 5th June 1857, I left the house together with my parents, two brothers, a sister and niece, and took refuge in the house belonging to the woman, named Hoosainee Oomrao, and on her suggestion removed all our property to the house also during the night; on the next morning, this woman turned us out of her house, and took charge of all our property. At first we went towards mouza Mohomdeea, but not finding any place to take refuge in, we came to the parade ground about 8 o'clock in the night, and saw the bungalows all in flames. My father and eldest brother were proceeding a little in advance of our party, and the two of them went towards our bungalow to seek some kind of shelter for the night, and my brother-in-law brought us all again to the woman Hoosainee Oomrao's house, thinking that by entreating her, she might allow us to put up at her house during the night; but on reaching it, found that she would not permit us to remain there: we were therefore obliged to return towards our bungalow, hoping to find refuge along with my brother and father, but to our great disappointment we could not find either of them there. Leaving this place, we proceeded towards the city, and reaching the toddy godowns we met a woman, named Kurbullae, who had been in our employ; we spoke to her to procure us lodgings; she took us to Hossein Buksh tailor's house, and placed us there; this man, for the sake of the woman, kept us in his house for three or four days. But after this a proclamation was issued by the mutineers to the effect, that if any one was found harbouring Christians, he and his family would be put to death; on which, Hoossein Buksh desired us to accompany him to another house, as he said that we were not safe in his house; he brought us to a house in Colonelgunj and left us there, when after a short time the people of that mohullah surrounded the house, armed with clubs, and demanded of us to quit the house; being forced to leave the place, we went to a musjid near the Subadar's Tank, and there found a moulvie, of whom we begged and prayed to shelter us. He asked us whether we would turn Mussulmans; we replied in the affirmative, when he told us to seat

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ourselves, and assured us that we would be safe; a short time after, a Mussulman sepoy came there, and rebuked the moulvie for having Christians seated near him, and drew his sword on me, when I threw myself at his feet and told him that I was not a Christian, but a Mussulman Mogul, and begged of him not to kill me, but to carry me to the Nana; after which he took us all to the Nana. We had proceeded but a short way, when a gang of budmash villagers met us, who made a clamouring, saying that we were Christians; we all denied this fact, and stated that we were Moguls; they surrounded us, and carried us away to the Nana, and reported to him that they had brought some Christian prisoners. The Nana hearing this, gave an order for us to be killed; but when I begged to be allowed to plead for myself, the sepoys and villagers would not allow me to do so, when a person mounted on horseback, whose name I do not know, questioned us as to who we were. I told him, that we were Mussulman Moguls; he appeased the sepoys, and took us to the Nana, and told him that we were Mussulman Moguls, hearing which he ordered us to be confined at the kotwalee awaiting enquiry; we were brought to the kotwalee, and made over to Holass Singh, kotwal; when after many days, I begged hard of the kotwal, and told him that I was in great misery, and enquired of him regarding our fate. He pitied us, and asked us if we would turn Mussulman. I told him that we were Moguls; but if he desired it, we would become Mussulmans a second time; hearing this, he wrote a note and delivered it to a peon, and charged him to carry us to Moulvie Sulamut-oollah, who asked us, who we were. I replied that we were Moguls, and that we have wrongfully been taken up on suspicion; when he told me, that we were Christians, and consulting with a number of other men seated round him, said that it was not right to kill women, but it would be best to have them married; and with regard to myself and my brother, stated that we should be put to death. After this he had some shurbut prepared, and told us that we were not true Mussulmans, but had become so from fear, and we were sent back again to the kotwalee. When the European troops arrived and the mutineers commenced dispersing, a mistree named Cheetree, formerly in my employ, came and released me, and took me away to his house; thus I was saved. I do not recollect any thing further, a long time having passed since the occurrence.

*Q.*—Did you ever give your deposition elsewhere?

*A.*—Yes, before the Judge; and my mother and sister also gave their depositions there.

*Q.*—Have you there given an account of Moulvie Sulamut-oollah's proceedings?

*A.*—I do not remember whether I have done so or not. Should I have been questioned, I must have related it; for at the time of giving my deposition, I was questioned very frequently, and if at that time I was questioned regarding Sulamut-oollah, I must have given an account.

*Q.*—Where is the woman named Hoosainee Oomrao, now?

*A.*—She is deceased, but her sister is here.

*Q.*—Did you observe well Moulvie Sulamut-oollah, and those that were with him?

*A.*—I observed the moulvie well, but did not recognise any of those with him, as there were a great many. I was also much confused at the time; but knew the moulvie, from the frequent mention made of him by the people around him. My youngest brother, my mother and sister were with me.

*Q.*—When you were taken to the Nana, how did you recognise him as being that person?

*A.*—He was seated on a scaffold, erected on the plain near the Savada house, under a tree, and had a golden chain round his neck; he had numerous attendants, and all the people there called him the Nana sahib.

*Q.*—Where is your father now?

*A.*—He and my eldest brother, together with my brother-in-law, have been massacred.

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*Q.*—What else did you observe during these disturbances?

*A.*—I do not recollect all that I saw; and those concerned in the massacre of my father have been punished.

*Q.*—Where is Hossein Buksh, the tailor, now?

*A.*—I do not know where he is.

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*No.* 11.—*Deposition of Ewuz Khan, trooper 2nd Cavalry, son of Bahadoor Ali Khan, age 33 years.*

*Q.*—In your petition, dated 2nd December 1858, sent to Major Williams, Commissioner, Military Police, you have given the following account: that on the 10th May 1857, the troops mutinied at Meerut, and that news of the same reached Cawnpore by telegraph, from which period the sepoys and troopers of Cawnpore talked of breaking out, intimation of which you gave to Adjutant Manderson, on 5th June 1857, and also of their having held a consultation on the 4th June 1857, purposing to break out that night, and murder the Europeans and plunder the treasury; on which intimation, all the Europeans repaired to the entrenchments, and slept there during the night. You are now requested to state, who were the ringleaders in this movement?

*A.*—The foremost in this consultation were Shumsh-ood-deen Khan, Sheikh Boolaqee, Sirdar Beg, Rae Singh, and others whose names I do not remember. The meetings were held at Shumsh-ood-deen's house, and sometimes at the house of Teeka Ram Singh, a subadar of the cavalry. Seven or eight days prior to the outbreak, Joalla Pershad, an agent of the Nana, visited Gopal Singh, havildar major. I saw this person, and also heard that Kootub-ood-deen, a trooper of the 5th troop, 2nd cavalry, was in the habit of visiting the Nana. On the 4th June, all the troopers sent away their families and property to the city. I gave intimation of all these proceedings to the Adjutant.

*Q.*—Can you state to whom, and to which places in the city, the troopers sent away their families and property?

*A.*—I do not remember the names of any persons. On the evening of the 4th June, the 1st cavalry and 1st regiment N. I. broke out; I went and gave notice of this to the Adjutant at the entrenchments. At gun-fire in the morning the officers of the cavalry came to their lines, and took away to the entrenchments the horses, arms and furniture which had escaped plunder. A little later on the morning of the same day, the 53rd and 56th regiments broke out. I and Sheikh Azim-oollah, sepoy, together with Bhowanee Singh, subadar major, Mahboob-oolla Khan, Bukhtawur Singh, havildars, Kadirdad Khan, Abdool Rehman Khan, sowars, and Mirza Bakur Hossein, native doctor, went to the officers in the entrenchments.

*Q.*—At the time you came from the entrenchments to the cavalry lines with the officers, who took away the remnant of their property, how was Bhowanee Singh, subadar major, situated?

*A.*—He was wounded, as he refused to give up the colours of the regiment to the sepoys who had mutinied, and I heard that Dabee Singh, a trooper, had wounded him; the subadar major also told me so.

*Q.*—What occurred in the entrenchments after this?

*A.*—The fight was going on, and I remained on the battery opposite the church, under Major White. After about 23 days, a consultation was held between Major General Wheeler and the Nana, and it was decided that all the Europeans should be allowed to proceed to Allahabad, an agreement on oath to this effect was drawn up. One of the Nana's agents, named Azim-oollah, who spoke English, accompanied by another old lady, came once or twice to the entrenchments, on the subject of this agreement. I saw them personally from a distance. The day after this agreement was drawn up, a number of conveyances were brought to the entrenchments. Many of the gentlemen on leaving the entrenchments were mounted, others were on foot. I had no sooner come out of the entrenchments with the gentlemen, than I was taken

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prisoner by the cavalry troopers, who ill-treated me, and confined me in the city kotwalee. Mahboob-oolla and Bukhtawur Singh, havildars, were also taken up with me and put in the kotwalee. I remained there for ten or twelve days, after which I was released. When I had left the entrenchments, I heard that the Europeans who had come out of it, were about leaving the station on boats, when the mutineers setting fire to the boats, fired musketry and cannon at them. On the other side of the river, the 17th N. I. had placed themselves with guns, which they fired on the boats, and thus the Europeans both male and female were massacred, except some ladies and children, who had escaped the slaughter, and were brought prisoners and confined in the Savada house. One of the boats managed to push off, intimation of which was given to the rebels by the people of Nujufgurh, when 3 troops of cavalry, 5 companies of infantry, and 2 guns were sent after them, who having succeeded in capturing the boat massacred all that were in it. After this, when I was released from the kotwalee, I took away my mother who was here, and proceeded to Bareilly.

*Q.*—When you left the entrenchments in company with the Europeans, and were taken prisoner, did you hear any account of Colonel Ewart of the 1st regiment native infantry?

*A.*—Yes, I heard that the mutineers of the 1st regiment made a prisoner of him, and after making him go through a mock parade murdered him.

*Q.*—Did you see or hear of any lady being brought away by a sowar from the river side?

*A.*—Yes, I heard that a sowar, named Nizam Ali Khan, had carried away on horse-back Major General Wheeler's youngest daughter.

*Q.*—Did you hear what became of this lady?

*A.*—I heard nothing about her.

*Q.*—Of what place was Nizam Ali Khan a resident?

*A.*—Of Rampore.

*Q.*—Give a correct description of the sowar?

*A.*—Name, Nizam Ali Khan, Puthan, resident of Rampore, age 22 or 23 years, a fair complexion, height about 5 feet 7 inches, long nose, dark eyes, wears a beard and small moustache.

*Q.*—Do you know what occurred while you were in confinement?

*A.*—When I was in confinement, I heard that all Europeans coming from other stations were massacred, and on two or three occasions several persons of fair complexion were taken up on suspicion; but when it was proved that they were no Christians, they were released.

*Q.*—After your release from confinement, how long did you remain at Cawnpore?

*A.*—Only one day, and during the whole of that day I remained concealed at my mother's.

*Q.*—Where did your mother live, and in whose house?

*A.*—I do not recollect the mohullah she resided in; she lived in a tobacconist's house, whose name I do not recollect, but I can enquire about this and let you know.

*Q.*—When you were in the entrenchments, did you see Gobind Singh, drill naick, Sheikh Elahee, musician, and Ghouse Mohomed, sepoy of the 56th regiment N. I.?

*A.*—I do not know these persons, neither recollect having seen them.

*Q.*—Do you know Mr. Foss of the Railway, who was known amongst the natives as Furlain sahib?

*A.*—Yes, I know him, as I used to see him come to Kurreem Buksh, and Kurreem-oollah, troopers of the cavalry I belonged to.

*Q.*—Did you ever see this gentleman in the entrenchments?

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*A.*—Yes, I saw him once or twice.

*Q.*—As you are an old resident of Cawnpore, and must have known a great number of people there, state how you saw any of them engaged?

*A.*—I was imprisoned, and could not see any thing, but heard that Azimoollah was the Nana's agent; and another moonshee, a Mussulman, who resided near Ram Narain's bazar, was one of Azimoollah's attendants; I do not remember his name, he was tehseeldar of Jajmow, and often visited the kotwalee; I was also told that that Nunney Nuwab was fighting at the battery erected near the Racket Court, whilst I was in the entrenchments; I heard it said that the Nuwab was fighting against the Europeans, and once Adjutant Manderson, who was well acquainted with the Nuwab, was also heard to remark this.

*Q.*—Did you hear of, or see any one else engaged in the fight?

*A.*—I do not recollect the names of any other person.

*Q.*—You have stated in your deposition that a Mussulman moonshee, residing in Ram Narain's bazar at Cawnpore, was Azimoollah's agent; can you tell me what his name was?

*A.*—His name was Qazie Ismail; he resided in Amadah bazar, near Ram Narain's bazar, and was well known.

*Q.*—Do you know where this person is now?

*A.*—At Cawnpore. Moonshee Vilayet Ali, employed by Captain Fane, Commandant of Cawnpore Police, told me that he had heard that Qazie Ismail had given himself up to some of the authorities, but did not mention at which station.

*Q.*—Do you know where Qazie Ismail's family is?

*A.*—I do not know, but he was an old resident of Cawnpore.

*Q.*—How came you to know that Qazie Ismail was Azeemoollah's agent?

*A.*—When I was confined in the kotwalee at Cawnpore, I saw the Qazie frequently in Azimoollah's company, and they both visited the kotwalee together.

*Q.*—What appointment did Azimoollah hold under the Nana?

*A.*—Azimoollah was the Nana's agent, and superintended all the operations of the troops and treasury.

*Q.*—Do you think the Qazie had any part in the superintendence exercised by Azimoollah?

*A.*—As Azimoollah had the entire control of all the Nana's affairs, and the Qazie was this person's agent, he must certainly have known of all the doings.

*Q.*—When you were in confinement, did you see any other persons associated with the Nana in the same manner as the Qazie?

*A.*—I was in confinement, and therefore could not personally see any one; but was told that Ahmed Ali Khan, a vakeel of the Judge's Court at Cawnpore, had also a hand in the superintendence exercised by Azimoollah; I also heard that Sheik Manjo, a ressaldar in the Nana's cavalry, also participated in this superintendence.

*Q.*—What is the name of the tobacconist, in whose house you resided at Cawnpore?

*A.*—His name was Lalloo; he is since dead, but the deceased's son, Kulloo, is here.

*Q.*—Do you know Munnowur Shah, and Allie Shah, troopers of the 2nd cavalry?

*A.*—Yes.

*Q.*—When you were in confinement at Cawnpore, did you ever see these persons?

*A.*—I do not remember having seen them.

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*Q.*—Of which places, are these two persons residents ?

*A.*—Munnowur Shah was a resident of Allahabad, and a recruit in the 2nd cavalry. I do not remember the name of his village, and Ali Shah was a resident of Rampoor; I do not recollect the name of the mohullah he lived in, and Nizam Ali Khan belonged to the 5th troop, 2nd cavalry.

*No. 12.—Deposition of Bhola Khan, sepoy 53rd Regiment N. I.*—At 2 o'clock in the morning of the 5th June, the 2nd light cavalry and 1st N. I. mutinied. The cavalry was led by Teeka Singh, subadar, who, with about 50 sowars, was on picquet duty near the entrenchments. He led his party towards Monalgunj, setting fire to every thing he came across. A gun was now fired from the entrenchment, on which the Europeans and Christians made for that place, the sound of a single gun having been the preconcerted signal of danger. All the officers of my regiment were present with the regiment, with their respective companies, till about 6 A. M. of the 5th June. The 53rd N. I. and 56th N. I. remained in readiness on their parade grounds from 2 to 6 o'clock A. M., when they were dismissed by their officers to go and refresh themselves. About 8 A. M., all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the 53rd N. I. were called by their Major into the entrenchment, when both regiments were dismissed; the sepoys of the light company of the 53rd, and of the grenadier company of the 56th (their lines adjoined each other,) concocted a plot for the seizure of the regimental colors and treasure. This intention of theirs was not generally known till carried out.

A subadar, by name Bhowun, of the 53rd, was on duty at the quarter guard. He resisted the attempts of the men of the light company to carry off the treasure, saying they should not have it while he lived to protect it; a sepoy on this fired at him, the bullet did not take effect. During this altercation three round shots were fired from the entrenchment, and fell in the lines of the 53rd. On this the regiment fled, with the exception of a few men, who concealed themselves in the lines and in adjacent nullah. After a short time, Jugger Nauth Ajha, havildar major of the 53rd, went to the Adjutant's bungalow to report the flight of the sepoys. Not finding him there, he went to the entrenchment. The Adjutant then asked if there were any men in the lines? On being answered in the affirmative, he ordered the havildar major to collect and bring them to the entrenchment. The havildar major accordingly went to the lines, and collecting all that had remained, numbering some 35 men, perhaps took them to the entrenchment without arms, &c. Arrived at the gate, the Major and Adjutant came out and enquired if there were no more that had not joined the rebels? I replied, that I believed there were some in hiding in the nullah. Hearing this, Lieutenant Delafosse and Lieutenant Masters mounted and rode towards the nullah, taking a bugler with them. Seventeen more men were got together on this way. The Major now ordered us to bring in all the arms and accoutrements left in his lines, and gave us five or six carts for the purpose. We accordingly did so. On reaching the entrenchment, the Major enquired where our own arms were? We told him they were also on the carts, that he feared to wear them lest the Europeans should fall upon us. He then told us to retain our arms. The Major having gone to enquire of General Wheeler regarding what we were to do, the latter came out and ordered us to occupy the hospital barracks; he said in such a building we shall not manage to save our lives, as the round shot will reach us from all sides. The General telling us there was no fear, and recommending us to look after the rear of the building, returned with the Major to the entrenchment. He came, I omitted to say, and inspected the barrack. A short time after this, we were sent for, and ordered to bring our men down from the magazine, a distance of about half a mile from the barrack. We went there, and breaking the lock, loaded seven carts with ammunition, and brought them to the entrenchment; after this we returned to the barrack.

About this time, Kullunder Singh, 6th company 53rd N. I., who was on pay master's treasure guard, came to the General, and reported that the Nana had plundered the treasury.

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On the morning of the 6th, the Major finding we had no money, sent us Co.'s Rs. 400, by the hand of Ram Buksh Doobey, and ordered us to lay in four or five days' provisions. When we were buying food in the bazar we heard the report of guns, which we were told were firing on the Nunney Nuwab's house. We hastened to the barracks, and on arriving there, were met by three officers of our regiment, with a sergeant of artillery, and 12 native gunners, who desired us to endeavour to bring four guns lying on the ground inside the entrenchment. We did our utmost, but finding the task too much for us, we spiked two guns, and drawing the platforms inside the entrenchment, returned to our barracks. The enemy opened fire on the entrenchment about 12 o'clock A. M. of the 6th June. On the evening of the 9th or 10th, a hot round shot fell on our barrack, and set it on fire. On this we left it, and concealed ourselves for the night in a nullah, not distant. Next morning we went to a village named Poorwa, about a mile east of the barracks. The zemindar of the village not allowing us to enter, we went into a mango grove, close by. After this, our party broke up in different directions. I went in the direction of Jajmow alone; some distance further on, my musket was taken from me by villagers.

After this, I begged my way to Benares, where I stayed only a short time. Hearing that an English force was going up towards Cawnpore, I went to Allahabad. On the day that the fight at Futtehpore took place, I reached Khaja, where making the acquaintance of a cart driver attached to the English camp, I accompanied him to Cawnpore. Some time afterwards I was recognised by Lieutenant Thomson. At this time I was working as a coolie.

The Commanding Officer, after the Meerut outbreak, had a parade almost every day. The sepoys often said, "Should the whole army mutiny, we never shall." I knew of no intention of mutiny existing whatever up to the time of the outbreak.

About quarter of an hour before the regiment mutinied, four or five sepoys of the 56th regiment (the grenadier company of which was next to our light one) came into the lines of the last mentioned company, and entered into conversation with Binda Pandey, kote havildar; and Madho Misser (Pulwan) sepoy, both of the light company. They kept well out of hearing of every one else. Soon after this, the two men just named, shouted "Bum Mahadeo! Tyar ho bahadoor." The havildar immediately seized the treasure chest, the sepoy the colors. This occurred at about 10½ o'clock A. M., and all the officers were in the entrenchment. A subadar, named Bhowun, attempted to save the colors, but was at once overpowered. Three shots having been fired into the sepoy's lines from the fort, the regiment dispersed.

I have since heard Dulgunjun Singh jemadar's name mentioned as commandant of the mutinied regiment.

We held the barracks (hospital) from the 5th to the 9th, or 10th; we left because the house caught fire from the enemy's shot. I believe the shot was wrapped in some inflammable material, which catching the thatched roof, soon became a blaze.

One man only, by name Seeta Ram Pandey, was wounded. He was not hit inside the hospital. I can only recollect the names of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and with the exception of Ram Buksh Doobey, I have met no one since who was with me in the hospital, nor do I know whether any of that party reside near Cawnpore or not. I heard little about the massacre at Cawnpore. Simply the fact of its having occurred; I had the house pointed out to me where it occurred. I did not hear by whose hands, whether sepoys or others, the women were killed. I heard that Miss Wheeler had killed nine men before throwing herself into a well, but did not hear a single word more about her, nor where this occurred.

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*No.* 13.—*Deposition of Ram Buksh, pay havildar* 53*rd Regt. N. I.*—The 2nd light cavalry mutinied on the 5th June. On the morning at 6 o'clock I was called by the Adjutant to read the present state. When nearly half the paper was finished, Seeta Ram

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Pandey kote havildar, 4th company 53rd regiment, came up weeping. The Adjutant asked him what was the cause; when he said that a party of the 5th and light companies had fled with colors and treasure, that then the remainder of the regiment came on the parade ground of the grenadier company with the intention of joining the Europeans in the entrenchment. At this time three round shots were sent among them from the entrenchment. They stood too, but fled on the third discharge, with the exception of nine havildars, five naicks, and 22 sepoys. The native officers, with one exception, were in the entrenchment.

When I and Seeta Ram Pandey reached the entrenchment, Major Hilerson ordered us to convey all the arms and accoutrements of the sick, and of men on furlough, loaded on the artillery carts, to the entrenchment. When we reached the lines of our regiment, we, with those who had not run away, put the arms, &c. on the carts, and drove them to the entrenchment. The whole party accompanied the carts without arms. Arrived there, the Major ordered us to unload the carts, but occupy the hospital barracks, (there being no room in the entrenchment,) with a promise that arrangements would be made for our subsistence. Soon after 400 rupees were distributed amongst us, by the Major's orders. On the 2nd day, at 10 o'clock A. M., Lieutenant Masters, Lieutenant Burgess, Lieutenant Thomson, and Lieutenant Delafosse came to the hospital barrack and told us that each of us would receive 100 rupees if we would place some guns lying on the ground on the platforms. We immediately came out, and endeavoured to do so; but finding we could not manage it, we spiked the guns, and drawing the platforms to the entrenchment, returned to the barracks. The barracks caught fire about 4 o'clock P. M., on the 9th or 10th. The Major then told us he could do nothing for us, there being an order of General Wheeler prohibiting any native from entering the entrenchment. He therefore recommended us to provide for our own safety, and made over a certificate to me, in which the names of all the men of the 53rd who were in the barracks, are mentioned. The whole party then left the hospital barracks. I loaded all the regimental records on a cart given me by the Major, and drove it in the direction of my village; the cart was however seized near a village called Phoofwar, near which the rail passes.

I then went to my home in village Tikrya, pergunnah Sadhsalampore, in the Cawnpore district. I knew of no plotting before the mutiny on the 10th May. The Major often said, "Should there be any intention on the part of Government to Christianize you, I shall be the first to tell you." That morning, the 5th June, I went to the Adjutant's house on duty; he was absent when the mutiny commenced; however I afterwards heard that Dulgunjun Singh, jemadar 4th company, who was on the treasury guard, took a leading part. In my opinion, from what I afterwards learned, a few men of the 56th regiment, who came to our lines and reproached these men for remaining inactive, were the immediate cause of the mutiny. With the exception of Dulgunjun Singh, I heard no man's name mentioned as leader after, or instigator of, the mutiny.

We went to the hospital on the 5th, and held it until the 9th or 10th. We left because the building was fired by the enemy's round shot, fired from several directions. I do not know what sort of shot it was that fired the hospital, the roof was a thatched one; we left about 6 P. M. Only Seeta Ram was wounded, but I believe his wound was received after leaving. There were six subadars, four jemadars, nine havildars, six naicks, and twenty-two sepoys of my regiment; their names I gave to Captain Thomson, but do not recollect them all now. There were a good many of the 56th and 1st regiments N. I., but the numbers of both did not equal that of the 53rd.

On leaving the hospital, they all broke up in different directions. I went to my home, 16 miles from Cawnpore; I believe that most of our party went to their homes. I have been told, that two subadars were killed across the Ganges by villagers; I also

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heard, that on the defeat of the rebels at Futtehpore, the women and children in confinement at Cawnpore were killed; but I neither heard by whose order, nor by whose hands. I also heard, that a daughter of General Wheeler's had killed nine men, and then thrown herself into a well. I did not hear where this occurred, nor do I know any thing of the circumstances under which she did so.

I know next to nothing of what occurred at this time, notwithstanding my vicinity to Cawnpore; I was in strict concealment, and never ventured outside my door.

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*No.* 14.—*Depositions of Gobind Singh, Sheikh Elahee Buksh, and Ghouse Mohomed.*—We were with the 56th N. I. when it mutinied at Cawnpore in June 1857. Jaun Mohomed, a sepoy of the 8th company 56th N. I., was accused of inciting the sowars of the 2nd cavalry, by stating that they would all be blown away from guns; this was in May, between the 15th and 20th; there was then a disturbance in the 2nd cavalry. (Jaun Mohomed was confined, but escaped from the entrenchments.) We felt sure that the 2nd cavalry would mutiny.

The 56th were well disposed; they told the Colonel, that though all other regiments might mutiny, yet they would be true. The Colonel and officers slept amongst the men. A tent was pitched by the sepoys' pauls; (the new lines were not finished.) At 2 A. M. of the 5th June, the 2nd cavalry and 1st regiment N. I. left their lines, the sowars set fire to the litter of their horses, so that there was a great light. The Colonel ordered the 56th to get under arms, and we remained till daybreak. We then went to the cavalry lines, and collected about 100 horses. Subadar major Bhowany Singh, of the 2nd cavalry, was wounded in the head and arms by the mutineers; he refused to allow them to take the colors and treasure belonging to his regiment; he was a brave and true man; we heard that he said to the mutineers, he would only obey and serve Government: he was afterwards killed in the entrenchments. About 10 A. M. of the 5th June, a sowar came to the 53rd regiment and said, that the company of their corps on guard over the Collector's treasury, had refused to allow the treasure to be taken away till their own regiment joined. The 53rd then assembled, upon which two shots were fired into their lines from the entrenchments, and one in the direction of the tents of the grenadier company of the 56th N. I. A sepoy of this company, named Gunga Raie, a Bhât, said they would all be killed; on this the men fled, with the exception of some twenty. We then went to the entrenchments, and were employed all day in bringing the spare arms and ammunition from the Savada house. Yes, there were other sepoys who wished to join their officers in the entrenchments. I do not know their names, but they belonged to the regiments at Cawnpore; I think about 80 or 100; they were told to hold the artillery hospital. We were allowed to remain in the entrenchments; Colonel W—— got the General's permission; there was Jemadar Khoda Buxsh of the grenadiers, now adjutant of Military Police; sepoys Gobind Singh and Ghouse Mohomed, and Elahee Buksh, musician. These have all been promoted in the Military Police. The native doctor Sahibdad Khan, also sepoy Mitter Jeet, but we have not seen him since we escaped from jail. Yes, there were some men of the 2nd cavalry in the entrenchments; the subadar major Bhowany Singh—I do not

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know the names of the rest; but there was, I think, a havildar, a drill naick, and two or three sowars. These men fled when the barracks were set on fire; the subadar major was killed; whilst in the Savada house, we heard from the sowars of the 2nd cavalry, that they had some men of their corps as prisoners. They might have been these men. The first shot was fired about 10 A. M. of the 6th June, and an attack was made on the entrenchments by the mutineers, aided by a large body of budmashes from the city, but they were repulsed. From this date the firing continued daily, and often during the whole night till the 24th of June. On that day a native Christian woman brought a note for General Wheeler; this was returned, and shortly after a hurkara brought a second note. The General then met a party sent by the Nana, and entered into negociations to give up the guns and treasure, and the Nana was to provide carriage for us to go to Allahabad. I am not sure whether the meeting took place the same day, or the day after the notes were received. One of our party, Ghouse Mohomed, was ordered by General Wheeler to go to the city and gain information of the proceedings of the rebels; he left the night before the notes came from the Nana. In the evening, after the meeting, two officers went to the ghât to see the boats. We were ready to move on the 26th, but no carriage came. At sunset, the guns and treasure were given over to a party sent by the Nana. Early on the morning of the 27th, hackeries, bylees, two or three palkies, and some elephants were sent to the entrenchments. We were allowed to take our arms, and had 60 rounds in pouch. The ladies and children were on hackeries and bylees, the General was on an elephant, the officers and Europeans followed, the sowars and sepoys escorted us,—there was an enormons crowd, men from the city and villages; many of these rushed into the entrenchments as we left, and began to carry away the property. No, Colonel W——— was not with us, he was one of the first who died from exposure to the sun; I think it was on the 9th, and one of the daughters also died in the entrenchments. I heard she was killed by a shot, or fall of part of the roof. Mrs. W———and her two daughters I saw when we left the entrenchments. We were next to Captain Kempland and Lieut. Goad. Whilst passing the 56th mess-house, some sepoys seized Khoda Buksh and Elahee Buksh, and shortly afterwards Gobind Singh, Mitter Jeet Singh, and the native doctor Sahibdad Khan, were seized by the mutineers; Lieut. Goad said, the agreement was that we were to accompany them, but they took us away. Jemadar Khoda Buksh and Elahee Buksh were taken to the mess-house of the 56th, where subadar Meer Ali Buksh, of the light company, was on guard. There was a battery of five guns there, with some golundazes; Meer Ali Buksh, was called major; he told the sepoys that we ought to have been killed, and not taken prisoners; we had become Christians. The pay havildar of the 6th company, (I forget his name, he was lately promoted,) with four sepoys were ordered to take us to the Nana. He was in a tent pitched in the garden of the Savada house, the kanauts were open, and we saw the Nana sitting; he was of a light complexion, and had on a large white turban. The havildars said, that we had been taken prisoners, that jemadar Khoda Buksh was a ring-leader, that he had gone to Umballa, bit the cartridges, and caused all this disturbance. The Nana ordered us to be confined in the quarter-guard of our regiment. Gobind Singh and Mitter Jeet were also brought to the quarter-guard as prisoners; we were severely beaten by the mutineers. Subadar Gunga Deen, of the grenadiers, took the

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command of the regiment, and was styled Colonel. I only saw him once, when he abused us; said we were Christians. About a quarter of an hour after we were made prisoners, we heard heavy firing in the direction of the river; we heard the sepoys say they were killing the Europeans. The next morning (28th) we were taken to the Savada house; we were confined in the room on the right hand as you enter from the east. I only saw one of the Colonel's daughters, the one that rode on horseback; she spoke one day to jemadar Khoda Buksh; she said that God would help us all. I also saw Mrs. Prout and the European servant. The Sergeant Major and Quarter Master Sergeant's wives, Mrs. Cook, the wife of a drummer; I do not know the names of any other ladies; those of my own corps I recognised. The ladies had their own clothes, but they were dirty and torn. No, they were not ill treated, except by being confined; they were allowed to come out into the veranda. The sepoys were not allowed to speak to them. I heard this was by Azeemoollah's orders; the wives of Christian drummers attended on them; they got food twice a day, dâl and chuppatees. Our guards were sepoys from different corps, chiefly men of the 6th N. I. I only know the names of Yusuf Khan, a jemadar; and Gunga Singh, a naick; these used to change our guards; with the exception of taking sentry, the men did as they liked. No, they did not dress in uniform. The day after we were taken to the Savada house or the following day, we heard that a number of Europeans, who had escaped down the river, had been brought back and shot; we heard it was by the Nana's orders, the women and children were sent into the Savada house. We never saw the Nana or Tantia at the Savada house; a salute was once fired, but it was when he left for Bithoor Yes, there was an indigo planter and his family in the Savada house. We heard that he had given the Nana a lakh of rupees to save his life. We never heard of any ladies being taken away from the Savada house, whilst confined in the quarter guard of the 56th regiment. Elahee Buksh saw a sowar carrying a lady on his horse; she had on a green dress, her legs were hanging over one side of the horse, and the sowar held her with one arm; we heard that it was General Wheeler's youngest daughter, and afterwards that she had killed the sowar, and thrown herself into a well. This was the report amongst the sepoys. One day after the 1st of July we were taken from the Savada house in a cart, to a house in cantonment, called the Beebee Gurh. We were confined in an out-house, the ladies were in the large house. On the 6th or 7th, a prisoner was brought into our shed; he was an old man, he told us he was a Christian, and a drummer from one of the Oude regiments. The next morning we were all taken to the Nana. He lived in the hotel in the next compound; our hands were tied behind our backs by mehters; we generally had only one tied to a long rope. The Nana and Azeemoollah were seated on chairs in the veranda; a chuprassee asked our names, caste, &c. The Nana ordered us to be taken away and shot. Azeemoollah whispered in the Nana's ear, and then we were ordered to be put in irons, and the Christian drummer was taken to the next compound by a couple of sepoys, who shot him. The men about the Nana were his own guards; we were kept under a tree the whole day, and then taken back to the out-house, as the irons were not ready; the next morning we were put in irons, and sent to the old jail. Our guards were the former jail guard; they had black belts and flint muskets; there were some 300 prisoners, villagers, and others; we do not know who they were. At night we got about a chittack of gram,

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nothing more. After being in jail five or six days, one of our guards, who had a brother in the 56th, told us that the native officers of our corps had decided by brigade court-martial, that our noses and right hands were to be cut off, and we should then be released, as a warning to all others for being faithful to Europeans. The day that we were to have been punished, the mutineers marched to meet the British troops from Allahabad; we heard that the Europeans had come to Futtehpore; the day after that we saw the mutineers flying, the jail guards also fled, and at sunset there were only four or five of them left.

At daybreak next morning the prisoners told these few guards, that if left in jail the Europeans would kill every man; the guards broke the locks and set us all free; in the evening we joined General Havelock's force. Yes, we heard that the ladies had all been killed; the jail guards said that the men of the city, the sowars and sepoys had killed them.

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Ghouse Mohomed, who left the entrenchments, deposes, that at General Wheeler's request he left to gain information of the proceedings of the rebels. At 8 P. M. one night, he crept along the ground from Captain Moore's picket to the cavalry hospital; there he met two or three men with eight bullocks who had taken bhoosa to the Savada house; he told them that his brother, who was in Feeda Hoossein's regiment, (Feeda Hoossein had come over from Lucknow and commanded a battery close to the barracks) was dead, and he was going to the city to buy the grave clothes. He thus got to Colonelgunj, where his wife was in a bheestee's house, was secreted there some days, but was obliged to leave on the rebels searching for him, and then was concealed in an empty house belonging to a mahajun. Heard that all the Europeans had been massacred at the Suttee Choura ghât. An Aheer subadar of the 17th N. I. came to the Nana; he was posted on the opposite bank with the corps, they had guns and sowars with them. The 17th N. I. had plundered the Azimgurh treasury, and part of the treasure was taken from them at Lucknow, and therefore they came to Cawnpore; the Aheer subadar implicitly obeyed the Nana's orders, others did not; only heard this, also heard that a lady had been taken away by a sowar, whom she killed, and she then jumped into a well. The Nana had issued orders by beat of tom-tom, that all European women and children were to be given up. Heard of the massacre of the ladies and children. Overheard a jemadar, who was posted with eight chuprassies near his house to intercept letters, talking about it. The jemadar said that Azeem-oollah had applied to Moulvie Sulamut-oollah, whether it was lawful to kill the women and children, and he decided against the massacre; but the Nana would not listen to reason. This was in the morning, and they were killed in the evening. The jemadar was a Hindoo. Yes, my servant remained with me in the entrenchments, and was killed by a common ball. No, very few of the servants remained; they almost all fled when the barrack was burnt; some few remained.

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*No. 15.—Deposition of Khoda Bux Senior Native Officer, 4th Battalion Military Police, late Subadar, 56th Regiment N. I.*—On the 7th of May 1857, after the target practice at the Umballah Depôt, I came and joined my Regiment at Cawnpoor; I heard from people (outsiders) that the Cavalry horses were to be shod, that Europeans were coming from England, and that 300 horses and 300 swords were to be taken from the Cavalry Regiment at Cawnpoor, and given over to them. The men of the Regiment were frightened because the Europeans had come, and their arms were to be given over to them. Every one talked about it. I heard from Khan Mohomed, sepoy, that all the native force said that on the 5th of June 1857, all their arms were to be taken away from them, and they would all be called into the fort under the pretence of getting their pay; that a mine was made in the road to blow them all up; that the moment they were all assembled the mine would be fired. I immediately reported this to the adjutant, who said it was all a lie, and told me not to believe it. Then Khan Mohomed, sepoy, went to the Cavalry and told a sepoy the same tale, that they were all to be blown up. They were very frightened, and went to their Officers and told them what they had heard. Every one in the place, high and low, when they heard this story, became greatly alarmed. When the Brigade Major and Adjutant heard this, they came to Parade and searched for me. I went to them. They asked is Khan Mohomed, sepoy, 8th company, here? I took him to them. They ordered him to be confined in the Depôt barrack. Then a Naick and 4 sepoys took him to the Depôt barrack. Afterwards they ordered Bhawanysing, Jemadar, and myself to come to the Depôt Barrack; we went there. When we arrived, I found that a Court Martial was assembled to try Khan Mohomed, sepoy. The native officers composing this Court were two of the Cavalry, the Subadar Major 53rd N. I., one Native Officer 1st N. I., Bhawany Singh, Jemadar, 56th N. I. and myself; in all six officers. The Quarter Master of the Artillery was there and many other Officers. Khan Mohomed, sepoy, was found guilty of spreading false reports: irons were placed on his legs: he was handcuffed and placed under an European guard. From this time all the Officers slept on their respective regiments' parade grounds. On the night of the 4th June about 1 o'clock, there was a great noise in the Cavalry lines: all the men turned out armed: 3 reports of a pistol were heard. They (Cavalry) set fire to the Quarter Master Sergeant's house. I was sleeping in my house between 12 and 1 A. M. Hossain Bux, Havildar, Grenadier Company, came and awoke me, and said, what, are you not awake? there is a row in the Cavalry lines, 3 reports of a pistol, and the Quarter Master Sergeant's Bungalow is on fire. I was astonished and ordered the Regiment to turn out, and went to give information to the Adjutant. He came out of his tent and went with me to parade and asked if the Regiment was ready; I said yes, it is ready. He said, where is it? I said in front of the bells of arms. He ordered them to form up in front of the quarter guard. I formed them up, made them ready, I received orders that if any Cavalry man came, he was instantly to be shot, in this way we passed the night with our Officers; no one took off his uniform. The Cavalry having mutinied, went away to Delhie. In the morning, the Adjutant ordered us to take off our uniform and eat our dinners, then the guards were placed, and we took off our uniform; the Colonel came to us and asked what Naik was on duty at the Elephant sheds? as the Cavalry and 1st N. I. wanted 4 elephants which were under a guard of a naick and 4 sepoys of the Regiment, and that he was greatly pleased they had refused to give them up, and that he was so pleased with the Naick doing his duty so well, he would make him a Havildar. I said it was Gunga Deen, Naick, 1st company. The 1st Regiment mutinied like the Cavalry and went away. After this the Colonel said Bhawany Singh, Soobadar, has been wounded by these mutineers. I will go and see him. I, and Annundeedeen, Havildar Major, went with the Colonel to the Cavalry Hospital and saw Bhawany Singh, who was wounded. The Colonel was very much pleased with him and told him to go to the Depôt Barrack, he went with the Doctor and a Cavalry orderly. The Colonel went to his Bungalow, and I and Annundeedeen went to our lines, and having taken off our uniform began to smoke, when Chain Singh, Havildar, came and said Jemadar, the regiment is turning out; I asked by whose order and why? he said I dont know. I went outside, and saw that the Havildar was dreadfully frightened, and was buttoning his coat. I went with him to my company, and saw some of the men in the tent packing up their clothes and others throwing them away. I asked them what was the matter and why they were getting ready, they said the 53rd regiment is getting ready, and so are we. I said your Regiment is the 56th, what have you to do with the 53rd. It would be better for you first to shoot me and then do what you like afterwards; many of the men said you are our senior officer, we will not kill you, come

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with us. I said very well. I will get ready and come with you. I went out of the tent very slowly for about 100 yards and then ran as fast as I could to the entrenchments and told the Colonel and Adjutant, that the Regiment had mutinied; they said come with us and we will see. I said, oh! Gentlemen, all the Regiment has mutinied; and are your enemies, it is not right for you to go to them. The Colonel and Adjutant would not listen to me, but went towards the Regiment. When they arrived about 300 yards from the regiment, 3 muskets were fired from where the 8th company were. We then returned to the entrenchments; the Regiment went to Delhie. Afterwards Captain Holliday, Lieutenant Chalmers, myself, 1 Sergeant, and 8 European Soldiers went to the Savada House. In this house were 300 muskets belonging to men on leave, we took them on a cart to the entrenchments, and 1 Jemadar, 3 Havildars, 1 Naick, and many Sepoys and Drummers of my Regiment went into the entrenchment. On the 6th of June all the Regiments that had mutinied and gone towards Delhie were persuaded by the rebel Nana Rao, and returned to Cawnpoor and fired into the house of the Nawab of Nunnah. I was sitting with the Adjutant in a tent talking with him when we heard the sound of firing. We went to the South Battery near the 9th Barrack, and Sahibdad Khan, went to the east into the Hospital Barrack, every one in the entrenchments went to their respective posts; Sepoys Gobind Singh, Jeet Singh, Shaikh Ellahie Bux, and Ghose Mohomed remained faithful and fought with the British, but there was no native Officer with them, they remained in the entrenchments from the 10th to the 25th June.

*Q.*—How many days did you stay in the entrenchments, and what did you see during the time you were in? what were the General's arrangements? Who came as the Nana's Emissaries, and what were their names? When was the Treasury and Magazine made over to the Nana? And when and how did the Cavalry get into the entrenchments? and when did the British leave and take to their boats?

*A.*—I was in the entrenchments from the 5th of June to the 27th, and saw that 7 or 8 of the British died daily, but I do not know their names; but I know that Captain Holliday was killed by a round shot, and Colonel Williams, Major Prout, and the Sergeant Major* died from the great heat, I only know the names of the Officers. On the 25th of June, a Christian womene, a halfcaste, came with 5 sepoys to one of the Batteries. The Europeans on Picket fired 4 shots at them. The woman then moved a handkerchief over her head and said do not fire. When they came close to the batteries, Captain Moore, 32nd Foot, ordered the woman to be allowed to come into the entrenchments, but to stop the Natives who were with her. She came in and brought a letter; I saw it, and heard that this was written in it. "My father was always faithful to the British Government, I will take care that no native shall kill you, I will send 8 troopers with you, if you will go to Allahabad, and leave all the Arms, Ammunition, and Stores in the entrenchments. General Wheeler returned this letter as it had no signature. She went away and brought it back signed by the Nana. The General saw the letter and said we will do what the Nana wants, but we will take one musket and 60 rounds of Ammunition per man with us, and the Nana must supply carriage for the wounded men. He sent elephants and doolies for them. On the evening of the 26th, the Nana sent carts and Artillery men for the Treasure, the General gave them all the money there was in the treasury, 1,14,000 Rupees, he also took the Nana's Emissary, Jowallah Pershad, as an hostage that the Nana would not play false, and made him sleep in the entrenchments all that night. He only gave over the money and not the arms, ammunition or stores. On the 27th of June all the British left the entrenchment.

*Q.*—At the time the British left the Entrenchments, how many of the mutineers, Nana's force, or villagers were with them, or were they looking on at a distance? Were there any guns with them? How far did you go with the British? And what did you see? And where and how did you leave them, and who left with you?

*A.*—When the British left the Entrenchments to go to the boats, they were surrounded by 10,000 or 12,000 people, consisting of rebel troopers, sepoys, tillingas, villagers; they had no guns. Nana Rao had deceitfully placed guns on the side of the embarking place on the river. When the British had got about 300 paces from the entrenchments, the Adjutant

* Note. These officers belonged to the 56th N. I.

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of the 56th N. I. heard the rebels say, we will arrest Khoda Bux, who is with the British: he took hold of my hand and made me walk in the centre of the cavalcade. At this moment Poorun, sepoy, 3rd company of my Regiment, who was also with us, took hold of my hand and pulled me, then many of the rebels surrounded me, one took off my cartridge box, another my puggree, and another my uniform. They then confined my son Elahie Bux and myself in the Battery at the Mess house.

*Q.*—When you left the entrenchments, how did Colonel Ewart, 1st N. I. who was wounded, travel, and what occurred to him?

*A.*—I did not recognize the Colonel, but all the wounded were on Elephants or in dhoolies. I do not know their names.

*Q.*—After you left the British, where did you stay, how long were you in prison, and where, and what did you see during this time? and what did you hear about the Officers when they went to the boats, and how did you hear it? After the Ladies and children went to the boats did you see them again, and if so where and when, and under what circumstances?

*A.*—When I was taken away from the British, the first day and night I was under a Guard of the 56th N. I., Elahie Bux, my son; Sahibdad Khan, Native Doctor; Gobind Singh, sepoy; Moorjeet, and myself, were then confined in the Savada house, and in another room of this house were 180 Ladies and children, who escaped death at the river, and had been brought here and confined. Afterwards we five were removed to another house in which the Ladies were murdered, but I do not know the name of the house. After this, we five were ironed and sent to the jail at Tukahpore. We were given ½ lb. of parched gram to eat daily. We were in the greatest distress. The first day when I was in the Guard, Soobadar Allie Bux would not even give me water to drink, as he said I was a Christian, he sent me to the Nana, who ordered me to be shot immediately. The Tillingas took me away to shoot me, they brought me back again and said, the sepoys of this man's Regiment (56th N. I.,) are gone to the massacre, when they come back they shall punish him as they like; but bound me tightly, as they said I was strong and must not be allowed to escape. I heard that when all the British had got into the boats ready to start, all at once guns and muskets were fired, and that there were volumes of smoke. I then heard that all the Officers and Soldiers who had gone to the river had been massacred, and that 180 Ladies and children who were living, had been arrested. I saw them myself in the Savada house, they were in a most wretched state, on some was nothing but an under garment, on others but one gown, they had no bedding of any kind.

*Q.*—If you saw the Ladies in confinement by order of the Nana, in what house did you see them? Did you recognize any? Tell all you saw. Did they get food? Had they all clothes on or not? and did a mussulmanee take them food or not? and what was her name and appearance?

*A.*—The Ladies and children were first confined in the Savada house; after I was taken to the Prison they were removed to a house, the name of which I do not know. I recognized all the Ladies of my Regiment, their names were * * * * They only had dal and bread given to them every evening to eat, and some of them had on only one garment, no bedding. At first, Mrs. Pair, the wife of a drummer, cooked their food for them; afterward, a native women about 36 years of age, was sent by the Nana from Bithoor to give out their food. She was tall, rather fair complexion, large face, an inhabitant of Bithoor, I do not know her name.

*Q.*—During the time you were in prison, at how many times were Europeans killed and where? Did you hear that a Lady was taken away by Troopers, what was her name?

*A.*—When I was in the Savada house, 11 Officers, Soldiers and Clerks were shot there. I heard this but did not see it; they were killed by sepoys of 37th Regiment N. I., but I myself saw when the sepoys returned from the massacre at the Ghaut, a Trooper with a Lady before him on horseback: she had a veil on, I do not know her name.

*Q.*—Did you see Mrs. * * * and Mrs. * * * and did you recognize them? and what became of them?

*A.*—I did not see them nor recoguize them.

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*Q.*—Did you tell * * * * drummer 53rd N. I., all about Mrs. * * * and Mrs. * * and what occurred to them? and did you either see or hear that Ladies went to grind gram for the Nana in a stable?

*A.*—I saw the son of * * * drummer, in the Entrenchments, but did not see him in confinement. I know nothing about Mrs. * * neither did I hear anything about Ladies grinding gram?

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*No. 16.—Deposition of Kunhye Pershad Mahajun of Cawnpore.*—I was at Cawnpore when the mutiny broke out at that Station and state what I know of it.

When the news of the Meerut mutiny was received, there was much excitement amongst the troops at Cawnpore, and reports were rife that they would follow the example of the troops at Meerut. I was on bad terms with the Sowars of the 2d Cavalry, as a year previous to the mutiny, four of the troopers had been imprisoned on a complaint made by me. I therefore feared their vengeance. I knew that many of the troopers frequented the house of a prostitute named Aseesun, and bought over her servant Emambux. She informed me that the Sowars of the 2d Cavalry were plotting with the Nana, and that a mutiny had taken place between the parties.

The facts of the case are these.—The Nana had in his employ two Sowars, one named Raheem Khan, resident of Bishenpore near Bitthoor, and the other Muddud Ali, of Banda; the latter was discharged and commenced business as a horse dealer, but still used to visit the Nana in the way of business. When the Nana was called into Cawnpore from Bitthoor, these two Sowars were employed to tamper with the 2d Cavalry; they used frequently to visit Soobadar Sheeba Sing, and a trooper named Shumsoodeen Khan. On the 1st or 2nd June, both these men and the Havildar Major of the 2d Cavalry, Gopal Sing, with Raheem Khan and Muddud Ali met the Nana, his brother Bala Rao, and Azeemoollah, at Sookah Mullah's Ghat on the banks of the Ganges: it was dusk, and they had a long consultation of about two hours, seated in a boat. This meeting was well known and was brought to the notice of the Magistrate, but the Nana on being questioned said he had met the men of the 2d Cavalry to pacify them and prevent further disturbances. The day after this meeting, Shumshoodeen Khan was at the house of the prostitute Aseesun: being in liquor, he told the girl that the Peishwa's reign would soon commence, and the Nana in a day or two would be paramount, and that he (Shumshoodeen) would fill her house with gold mohurs. Two or three days after this the troops mutinied. I also heard that some of the native officers and troopers waited on the Nana with intimation that a kingdom was prepared for him, if he joined them with all his wealth; or death if he sided with the Europeans. The Nana replied that he was with them and had nothing to do with Europeans; he was then requested to lead the troops to Delhie, to which he assented, and told them to take the treasures, he would follow them. The native officers placed the Nana's hand on his head and required an oath that he would fulfil his promise; the oath was taken, when the native officers and troopers left. A consultation was then held by the Nana, Bala, and Azeemoollah, with some others about going to Delhie. Azeemoollah pointed out to the Nana that by going to Delhie, he would lose all power and influence; that he was well acquainted with the arrangements of the British. That they had not a fourth of Europeans compared to the Sepoys, and that the British could not help themselves; it would therefore be advisable first to bring into subjection and order the country around, and then extend his dominions as far as possible to the eastward—having secured the passages by which Europeans proceeded up country, they could be easily held in check.—This was at once agreed to, and the Nana, Bala, and Azeemoollah, went to Kullianpore and got the troops to return to Cawnpore.

*Q.*—State truly from whence did you get this information?

*A.*—I was acquainted with a resident of Bitthoor named Ramdeen, who was in the employ of the Nana, and was constantly in attendance on him. I persuaded him to give me all the news of the Nana's doings, for I feared for my life, and so I willingly paid him 20 Rupees; ten each time for the information given.

*Q.*—What had you to fear from the Nana?

*A.*—I feared a Resaldar in the Nana's Sowars, named Jwala Pershad, who after the mutiny

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was made a Brigadier. His relative Gujjadhur, and one Alee Gumstah, were part owners of Mouza Kullianpore. I bought the forfeited share of Gujjadhur, hence Jwala Pershad bore me a spite. When the mutiny broke out, my share of the village was made over to Gunsham Aheer.—A Moonshee named Jwala Pershad who resided near my house repeatedly advised me to petition Ramlal, Deputy Collector, who would send a party with me to put me in possession of the village; but this I refused to do.

*Q.*—What office had Munshi Jwala Pershad under the Nana?

*A.*—As I did not leave my house I cannot say, but I heard that he had great influence in the Nana's court; and Ram Lal, the Deputy Collector, did nothing without consulting Munshi Jwala Pershad; this is well known to all.

*Q.*—Where is Ramdeen who gave you the information?

*A.*—He is either with the Nana or at Bitthoor.

*Q.*—Where is the prostitute Asseesun and her servants?

*A.*—I do not know.

*Q.*—Where did she reside at Cawnpore?

*A.*—In the house of Oomrao Begum in the Setrinjee Mahal.

*Q.*—Who is Oomrao Begum?

*A.*—She is a prostitute, and is now at Furruckabad; the girl Asseesun rented her house.

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No. 17.—*Deposition of Sheo Churrun Das, Sadho of Cawnpoor.*— Q.—Where were you when the outbreak and insurrection among the troops at Cawnpoor occurred?

*A.*—I was in the Cawnpoor Cantonment.

*Q.*—Detail truly all you saw of the disturbances.

*A.*—First of all in April 1857, the sepoys who came down on leave from the Eastward said "we shall quarrel with Government presently; for new cartridges prepared with cows' and pigs' fat are going to be served out, and the sepoys refuse to receive them"—Then in May, intelligence of the mutiny of the force at Meerut reached us, and was every where talked about, and the sepoys plotted mutiny. The English officers had an entrenchment thrown up, and the Nana, a Mahratta, came with his retainers at the summons of the Collector. He had about 1500 men and some guns with him.

Three or four days before the troops broke out, Teeka Sing, Soubadar of the 2nd Cavalry, (whom the sepoys made their General after they mutinied,) began to have interviews with the Nana, and said to him on one occasion, "you have come to take charge of the magazine and Treasury of the English, we all, Hindoos and Mahommedans, have united for our religious, and the whole Bengal army have become one in purpose,—What do you say to it?"—The Nana replied "I also am at the disposal of the army." I heard this from the Sowars themselves, but cannot remember the names of any of my informants.

I then heard that the English told the sepoys to come unarmed into the entrenchment and receive their pay, and that the sepoys refused to enter it without their arms.

One night, I forget the date; the 2nd Cavalry and "Gillis" Regiment (1st. N. I.) mutinied, and after completing their preparations went towards the Treasury, *i. e.* in the direction of Nawabgunge. In the morning the two other regiments also declared themselves. As I went out of the town as usual, I saw the Soubadars and Jemmadars of the two corps leave their men and go into the entrenchment; presently the sepoys also went in the same direction but the Europeans fired on them, and they at once fled and joined the Gillis regiment, 1st N. I. and the Cavalry at Nawabgunge—The united force of mutineers then plundered the Treasury and broke open the Jail, afterwards marching off to Kulyanpoor. The Nana's brother, Bala, followed and asked them where they were going to,—they replied, to Delhi—He said, "what good can you do at Delhi? Stay here." The officers returned with him, and made the Nana their Raja. Plunder and loot commenced; bungalows were burned; and the entrenchment fired upon. Wherever they saw an Englishmen, Eurasian, lady or child, they murdered them.

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The budmashes of Cawnpoor and the neighbourhood joined the mutineers. I saw numbers of them myself, but cannot give any names.

The fighting continued incessantly for 22 days. Three days after its commencement, the report spread that 136 Gentlemen, Ladies &c. had been brought in captives from some place or another, and that they were to be killed. When I heard this I went to the Sevada house where the Nana lived, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and there saw the sepoys and sowars massacre all these Europeans close to the door of the Sevada house; to the west of it. When I saw this I made the best of my way off, without being perceived. I heard some of the Sahibs tell the sepoys who they were, and ask them to give their names and salaams to the Nana. Some sepoys went away and soon returned saying that the Nana's orders were to kill them. I know nothing more of this occurrence.

Meanwhile the fighting continued. One morning I went towards the entrenchment and saw a tall lady come out with a white wand in her hand and go towards the Sevada house. I heard that she had some conversation with the Nana. The fighting then ceased, and it was agreed upon between the Nana and the English that the latter should evacuate the entrenchment and proceed to Allahabad.

The next morning I heard that the English were going to embark at once in boats, and I went to the Ghat. I saw them begin to embark, when suddenly the boatmen leaped off their boats and a fusillade commenced, the boatmen setting the boats on fire. The cannon also opened and all the English, male and female, jumped into the water: when I had seen thus much I hastened off, but was informed that all the gentlemen had been killed, and the surviving Ladies, and children, taken prisoners.

Q.—Could you recognize any of the boatmen who set fire to the boats?

*A.*—I could not.

Q.—What happened then?

*A.*—For a few days similar disturbances continued until the day when I heard that a British force was advancing from Allahabad. The troops on hearing of their approach, went out to fight with them at Futtehpoor, were defeated, and returned broken. The day after, I heard that the ladies and children who had been confined near the assembly rooms had been massacred. The day following, the mutineers fled, and the British army arrived.

Q.—Do you know any particulars of the massacre of the Ladies and children?

*A.*—I heard that the Nana's people had cut them to pieces with tulwars, but nothing more.

Q.—Did you see any sowar with an European Lady as his prisoner, or hear of such a thing?

*A.*—I did not hear of it.

Q.—While the fighting at the entrenchment was going on, did you hear of any other Europeans being brought in and murdered besides the 136 you mentioned?

*A.*—I do not remember any others. Nor did I hear of any.

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*No.* 18.—*Deposition of Lalla Bhuddree Nath, Commissariat Gomashta, Cawnpoor.*

Q.—What do you know regarding the occurrences at Cawnpoor which followed the mutiny of the troops there?

*A.*—In May 1857, the report spread in the Cawnpoor Bazar that the Hindostanee force at Meerut had mutinied, and committed excesses on the Europeans. This became the universal topic of conversation among the sepoys. One day in May, the son of a sowar whose name I do not know, came to his lessons at a school held in the same premises in which I lived; the boys were overheard by Teeka Ram, Bookseller, to say among themselves that the force here would act as that at Meerut had done; he told me this, and I at once gave information of it to General Wheeler who had long been a patron of mine. The General enjoined me always to keep him informed of any thing of the kind which I might become acquainted with, among the Infantry or Cavalry, and to be cautious and on my guard in doing so. I accord-

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ingly introduced sundry emissaries of my own, disguised, into the lines, and reported what I ascertained, daily to the General. One day I heard that the Cavalry and the 1st N. I. "Gillis "Regiment, had made up their minds to mutiny, and make off at the moment when the new cartridges were served out to them. I immediately apprised the General of this, and he gave me four cartridges, telling me to show them to the principal native officers, and explain that their was no harm in them. I thereupon went and showed them to the native officers of the Gillis Regiment, who said that they were quite good, and that they had no objection to use them, but protested against having any given to them in the composition of which fat had been used, promising to obey the General and carry out his orders if he would give them with his own mouth a positive promise that none should be served out. I reported this to the General who replied "I promise that within my command no other kinds of cartridges shall be served out." One or two days after this the General received some intelligence, (the nature of which I was not aware of,) from the Collector, and caused the construction of an entrenchment to be commenced. This at once aroused the suspicions of the sepoys, who got up the rumour among themselves that the Europeans intended to take to the entrenchment and then attack them. I informed the General of this also. He then sent for some of the officers of the 1st regiment N. I. and told them to cease their suspicions as the entrenchment was only made as a precautionary measure. Two or three days afterwards several of the European gentlemen began to pass every night in the entrenchment. The sepoys then began to say to each other "the sahibs have lost all confidence in us, and we shall never get over it"—I told this to the General who sent his son (his A. D. C.) to quiet the fears of the native officers. His representations put an end to the talking and restored confidence. On the 1st or 2nd of June, a cashiered officer called Christie came out of his bungalow in a state of intoxication at night, and fired at the Cavalry patrol who had challenged him. Although he missed the sowar yet the latter lodged a complaint in the morning, and a court martial was assembled which acquitted Mr. Christie, on the ground of his having been intoxicated at the time. The sepoys became displeased at this and began to talk again of mutiny. I informed the General, and then he and the rest of the sahibs betook themselves with their property into the entrenchments. The day after I had given this intelligence to the General, the sowars sent their families out of the camp in various directions. That night, (June 4th) the Cavalry and the Gillis Regiment broke out into mutiny, wounded Bhowanee Deen, Soubadar Bahadoor of the Cavalry, and left Cantonments. They first took away the Elephants in the Commissariat Elephant stables, and then broke open the Jail and plundered the Treasury, finally marching off to Kuliyanpoor, and encamped there. In the morning several sowars came back and endeavoured to incite the two remaining regiments to mutiny, telling them that their share of the rupees had been reserved, but that they must go and fetch it, and abusing them for remaining inactive like women; the officers of the two Regiments, the 53d and 56th, then went to General Wheeler in the entrenchment. I do not know what passed at the interview. Meanwhile, at about 9 a. m., the Commissariat officer sent me with the Conductor to the liquor store to get out some liquor. I had put 6 barrels on carts and was just going to start with them, when a sepoy came up to the guard and told them to be ready, for the signal had been given, they then threw off their uniforms and began to load their muskets. I thereupon made the Conductor mount on a camel and leave the place, remaining myself to lock up the store. Presently the naik of the guard told me to be off or I should be killed. I went away and hid myself in a place between the stores. Meanwhile the sepoys began to fire with ball, and the two regiments marched out towards Kullyanpoor by the road now followed by the Railway. The sowars then came back and began to create a disturbance in the station, and burn and plunder the bungalows. Thousands of the lower classes from the city, cantonments, and villages went about with them sharing in their excesses, killing every European or Christian they met, and searching for Government employés. Several mussulmans of the Cavalry who had been aware of my supplying intelligence to the Sahibs, looked every where for me, intending to murder me, but I kept concealed I soon after heard that the officers of the Cavalry and Infantry Regiments had gone in a body to the Nana, a Mahratta, who had come and encamped near the treasury at the bidding of the Collector, with his 2 guns and 5000 retainers, and said to him that he must take charge of the magazine and the treasure, while they went off to Delhi. He replied—"Then when will the Europeans in the entrenchments leave me alone? First come and clear out the Entrenchment and then go off to Delhi." Teeka Ram, a Soobadar of the Cavalry who had been elected commandant of the force, approved of this proposal, and went to the magazine and

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got out the heavy guns. I informed the General of all this, and he told me not to be alarmed for that none of the guns were of any use. I heard however that the Nana had given a reward of 100 rupees to some craftsman who had brushed up the guns on a lathe.

On the 6th of June, in the morning, the whole force returned from Kulyanpoor and surrounded the entrenchment. Some sowars with a gun went to Nunne Nawab's house which they broke open and plundered; 8 or 9 sowars with one sepoy came presently to my house and began firing, as my door was shut. After one of my people had been hit with a bullet I opened the door and went up to the roof; the sepoys fired twice at me but missed. One of the sowars then called out that they were going to kill me because the General's Wife and Daughter were concealed in my house. I told them to search my house. Two of the sowars did so, and when they found nothing, went out, the sepoy then again was going to try to kill me, but a sowar called Bhuddree prevented him. The sound of a cannon shot was then heard: my assailants all dispersed and I escaped. I left my house and went to the abode of a man who lived near the Thakoor Dwara and there concealed myself. The fighting commenced and the firing continued night and day. I remained in hiding in the same house near the Thakoor Dwara for 8 days. One day while in concealment, I heard from a man called Juggernath, since deceased, that 106 European Ladies, Gentlemen and Children had come in boats from the westward down the Ganges, and when they saw the disturbances going on they concealed themselves on an island in the river which was covered with jungle, that some zemindars and men belonging to the Nana had gone and brought them off prisoners, and that they had been cut to pieces and shot at the Sevada House. I afterwards heard that 54 Gentlemen and Ladies on their way from Furruckabad had been taken prisoners in their boats at Bitthoor and brought in to Cawnpore. And that the gentlemen had been massacred by the sowars, the females and children of the party being confined together in the Sevada House. The man Juggernath also told me that one of the Ladies had refused to be separated from her husband, saying that they must slay her too if they killed him. The sowars then called out "kill her too". One of them made a blow at her with his tulwar, but she interposed her child, a baby of a year old,—the cruel wretches of sowars then butchered, first the baby, then the wife, and then the husband. I did not obtain a clue to the names of any of these Sahibs. Afterwards somehow or another the rebels found out that I was hiding near the Ganges, and a sowar came and carried me before Teeka Sing, late Soobadar of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and then Commandant of the mutineers, who ill treated me much, and at last told two sowars to take me away and bring back 3000 Rupees or else bring me again. A friend of mine a khutree, named Thakoor Pershad, when there seemed no other way of freeing me, gave the men 500 Rupees and got them to release me. All this happened before the 16th of June, when I returned to my own house. Meanwhile the fighting at the entrenchment continued. On the 25th June it ceased, and I heard that some Christian women had taken a letter from the Nana into the Entrenchment, and that two or three other men whom I know nothing about had been sent into the entrenchments by the Nana, who had sworn that he would convey the members of the garrison, male and female, in safety to Allahabad. Boats were then got ready, and the first day 4 gentlemen went to the ghat on an elephant and inspected them. On the morning of the 27th of June I think, all the gentlemen, ladies, and soldiers, left the entrenchment and went down to the ghat on elephants, in palkees and other conveyances, and began to embark in the boats; before any of them had put off, the sowars and sepoys opened a fusillade on them, and also set some of them on fire. All the gentlemen and ladies jumped from the boats into the water. All the gentlemen were killed, and so also were some of the ladies and children. All the survivors of the latter were taken prisoners, most of them being wounded, and confined in the Sevada house. Two boats had been shoved off, punted by the gentlemen in them, but they were fired on and sunk by guns on the opposite side, where the 17th Native Infantry, "Bakur" Regiment, was drawn up. A good many of the gentlemen escaped to that bank and concealed themselves in a temple. The Zemindars of Dhoondea Khera heaped up grass about it which they lighted; this forced the sahibs out, and they were all killed, after exchanging shots with their assailants, killing a man (the uncle of Ram Buksh, a zemindar of Dhoondea Khera,) who had set up as a Raja. Five or six days after this, in the morning about 10 o'clock, I was on my way down to the Ganges, when I saw on the road, near the church and the hotel, 50 or 60 zemindars, retainers of the Nana, with drawn tulwars, and lighted matches, bringing along a sahib bound; they halted in the shade of some trees while one of their number went to tell the Nana. The latter's brother, a Mahratta, named

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Baba Bhutt came out, and after saying a few words to the gentleman, told the Zemindars that the Nana's order was to murder him. They replied "we will not do so, our creed does not permit us to kill a bound prisoner, though we can slay our enemy in battle." He then sent for an executioner. When I saw this atrocity, I went on to the Ganges. About three quarters of an hour afterwards when I was performing my ablutions, two or three executioners came and threw the gentleman's corpse into the Ganges. Sword wounds were upon it.

Some days afterwards, when again going down to the Ganges, I saw them bringing the ladies from the Sevada house on carts, and take them to a little bungalow near the hotel. I looked at them very carefully as I stood by the wall, to see whether I could distinguish the General's Wife or Daughters among them. I did not perceive them, and I could not recognize any one else. All the ladies wore European clothes, but in one of the carts were 5 or 6 who had thrown a hindostanee sheet over themselves, which prevented me from seeing them.

After this, the Nana's army went off to fight at Futtehpore, but before they started, 7 or 8 messengers were brought prisoners to the Nana, on whom were found letters in English and Hindostanee, addressed to the Europeans at Allahabad; they were all put to death; and search was instituted for the writers of the letters. A sepoy told me that he had heard that my name had been found in one of the Hindostanee ones. Although none had been sent by me, yet fear induced me to hide myself, and I went to old Cawnpore, 4 miles from the cantonments.

Two days afterwards I heard of the approach of the British Forces, and both Mutineers and populace began to fly. That same day I heard that the captive ladies and children had been massacred in the evening. The Nana's people blew up the magazine that day, and then the British forces arrived.

On the 17th of July, when I had heard of their having come, I presented myself, and went in the morning and pointed out to Captain Macbean the place where the ladies had been butchered, and the well into which their corpses had been cast.

I have detailed now all that I saw.

*Q.*—State distinctly what you heard about the massacre of the ladies.

*A.*—I heard that the Nana first ordered some of the sepoys to kill them, but they refused. 5 or 6 executioners, servants of the Nana then went and killed them; and in the morning threw their bodies into the well.

*Q.*—Did you hear who those executioners were? of what caste? and of what appearance?

*A.*—I did not hear the names of any of them, but I heard that some were Hindoos and some Mussulmans, and that they were retainers of the Nana.

*Q.*—When you went on the 17th July to see the corpses in the well, with captain Macbean, what did you notice regarding them? and what kinds of wounds were upon them? what did you hear as to the numbers of the Ladies and Children?

*A.*—I went to the well in the hope that perhaps some of the Ladies might be still alive. When I arrived there however I saw the body of a sahib uppermost, and did not hear a sound indicatory of any one's being yet alive. I then left the well and went to the building where the slaughter had taken place. I saw blood on the ground in every direction, but did not perceive any marks of musket balls on the walls, and hence inferred that they had been killed with tulwars. I did not hear how many there were. Several gentlemen were among them, but I did not hear any particulars about them.

*Q.*—Did you hear what kind of food they got, and why they were massacred, after being kept prisoners at first?

*A.*—I heard that they got some food, and also that among the letters found on the messengers captured, was one from one of the Ladies to Allahabad, and that this was the cause of their being murdered.

*Q.*—Had the Nana placed the guns before the Europeans came to the river bank, or how was it? How many boats were there? Who set them on fire?

*A.*—I was told that the 17th N. I. had come to the opposite bank with 2 guns. On this side were sowars. When the sahibs began to embark, the sowars told the boatmen to get out

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quickly, and they immediately jumped off. Then the bullets began to fly about, and the boats were set on fire. I do not know how many boats there were.

*Q.*—Who were the boatmen? Whence did they come? And where are they now?

*A.*—The boats belonged to Cawnpore, so I suppose the boatmen did too, but no one will speak out on the subject as they are afraid to do so.

*Q.*—Who were the zemindars, and the Nana's people who brought the 106 sahibs?

*A.*—They were the zemindars of the neighbourhood who had resorted to the Nana. I cannot name, or give a clue to any of them.

*Q.*—In the commencement of the disturbances, when thousands of low class people joined in the insurrection and loot, did you recognize any of them?

*A.*—I saw distinctly that people belonging to the low classes were assisting the sowars in the plunder, incendiarism, and riot; but I could not at the time recognize any one. On the 6th June I saw them (when I was going to the Ganges) from my own house.

*Q.*—Do you know what native officers gave their adherence and advice to the Nana when the force returned from Kulyanpoor?

*A.*—I did not hear the names of any of them.

*Q.*—Do you know where the sowars sent their families to, when they dispatched them from the lines?

*A*—When they first mutinied they sent them into the Sudder Bazaar and neighbouring Villages, but when they fled, after being defeated by the British, each man took his own wife and children along with him.

*Q.*—Do you know who the workman was who received a reward for turning the guns?

*A.*—I never knew his name.

*Q.*—Specify the men who used to bring you intelligence from the rebel force.

*A.*—Hur Pershad, Durbara Sing Auristee, Bhowanee Deen, and Bechoo, and two other men who have gone, I don't know where.

*Q.*—Where is Teeka Ram, bookseller, now?

*A.*—He is somewhere on the educational establishment.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear that any one of the ladies who were confined in the Sevada house and the Bungalow near the Assembly Rooms, and then massacred, used to be taken to the Nana's stables to grind grain, or not?

*A.*—No I never heard anything of this kind from any one.

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*No. 19.—Deposition of Banker Ajoodeea Pershad of Cawnpore.*—*Q.*—Where were you at the time of the disturbances and revolt at Cawnpore?

*A.*—I was at Cawnpore.

*Q.*—Detail what you saw and heard.

*A.*—In May 1857, the rumour became prevalent and much discussed, that the force at Meerut had created some disturbances, and that insurrection had commenced every where. Then proclamations were issued by Government promising advantage to the loyal, and denouncing punishment to the disloyal, and any who created disturbances; and declaring that the report spread by lying persons, that Government wished to do away with any one's religion, was altogether false, and that Government did not wish to interfere with the creed and doctrines of individuals.

Soon after, I forget the date, one night, an officer shot a sowar; I know not for certain whether the latter died or survived, but I heard that he died, and that no justice had been done him. This circumstance led the sepoys to imagine that the English were displeased with them. I was also informed that the officers had ordered the sepoys to come into the entrenchment, unarmed, to receive their pay, and that this increased their suspicion.

So it went on until the night of the 4th June, when first of all the 2nd Cavalry mounted and accoutred, came out on the main road, and a bugle sounded,—I was at the time looking

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at what was going on from the Chubootra of my shop,—then two sowars left the ranks and passing my shop, went towards the lines of the "Gillis" Regiment (1st N. I.) and called out "The Soobadar Major of our regiment sends his compliments to the Soobadar Major of the "1st Regiment, and wishes to know the reason of this delay, as the Cavalry are drawn up on "the road."—The "Gillis" Regiment thereupon began to get ready. Colonel Ewart, then came up from the direction of the entrenchment vehemently prohibiting the movement, and calling out repeatedly "*Baba logue! Baba logue!* this is not as usual, do not act thus!" but no one attended to what he said, and the regiment marched out immediately to join the Cavalry; the Colonel returning to the entrenchment.

The Cavalry and 1st N. I. then proceeded to the treasury and Magazine, and made their arrangements regarding them, though they deferred the plunder until the "Lumboorun" and "Castor" Regiments should join. Thus the night passed, and in the morning at about 8 or 9 A. M. the two remaining regiments marched out and joined their comrades. They united in plundering the treasury and breaking open the jail, and then marched off all together for Delhi. The mutineers had then formed no plan of plundering and creating a riot in the station, purposing merely to go off to Delhi. The Nana however, (so I have heard,) called back the native officers, asked them where they were going to, and urged them to join in destroying the English, who were all collected in the entrenchment, promising to do every thing for them if they would remain and clear it out.

On the 6th June, in the morning the whole force returned, and the Nana became their chief, and received their formal salutations as such. Excesses in the shape of plunder and murder commenced, they burned the bungalows and killed every European and Christian, whether male or female, whom they found outside the entrenchment. I myself saw many corpses both of men and women lying about near the Canal. The Nana issued an order that if any European, Eurasian, or Christian should be found concealed in any native's house, the latter was to be put to death with his family, and his house plundered. Accordingly, under the pretence of searching for concealed Europeans, sowars and sepoys entered and plundered many houses, and committed all kinds of excesses.

The firing at the entrenchment commenced, night and day it continued, and frequently an assault was talked of, but never accomplished.

I from time to time, heard that on three or four occasions Europeans had been brought in prisoners from the districts, and the males shot at the Sevada house; the females and children being kept in confinement.

15 or 16 days afterwards I heard that a lady, mother-in-law of Mrs. Thos. Greenway, came out of the entrenchment, and that when the sepoys were going to kill her, she asked to be conducted before the Nana, as she wished to have some conversation with him, and begged the sepoys to refrain from killing her until they received his orders to do so. She made her way to the Nana, and had a long interview with him, urging that the English always maintained those whom they deprived of their territories, and perhaps imprisoned, but never put them to death, and asked him in what scripture of his he found anything which sactioned the commission of such acts of atrocity, adding "our country will not be depopulated by our slaughter!"

The lady was put in confinement. I then heard that the Nana had agreed not to molest the English if they would leave all their property and go to Allahabad. Twenty boats or thereabouts were prepared, and on the morning of, I think, the 26th or 27th June, elephants, doolies, carts, beds and other conveyances were taken to the entrenchment, and the whole of the garrison was brought by their means to the Ghat, by the old pay office, a few sepoys and sowars accompained them, and a great crowd of common people as lookers on.

I was standing near the artillery hospital, by the church, when I saw Colonel Ewart of the 1st N. I. being brought along on a bed, carried by four coolies; he was badly wounded by a gunshot, and his wife accompanied him on foot; the rest of the English were on ahead, the bed having been allowed to fall behind some distance. When they had arrived abreast of the church, 7 or 8 sepoys of the 1st N. I., came up and told the coolies to set down the bed and stand aside; I saw these sepoys distinctly, and recognized them well; one was Baijunath Sing, Thakoor, of the 5th company, and another Ram Bhurrut, Aheer, of the same

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company, although I recognized the others, I cannot now remember their names. The coolies put down the bed and remained apart in a suppliant posture in fear, lest they might be murdered too. The sepoys then began to taunt the Colonel, calling out "is the parade well dressed up now?", and then one or two of them killed him with their swords. His wife had a few articles of property with her, and they said to her "go along, we wont kill you, but throw down all that you have". She took a piece of stuff with something tied up in it out of her pocket and gave it to them. They took it, and then cut her down with their tulwars. I stood looking on from a distance; a Brahmin named Chowbey Heera being with me at the time, and saw the sepoys pass on, leaving the corpses on the ground. Heera then went away to the westward and I do not know where he is now.

I then went onwards to the Ganges and saw the English embarking in the boats. Just then, the sepoys and sowars began firing on them and set the boats in flames. Cannon opened at the same time from both sides of the river, and the sowars urging their horses into the water, cut down the sahibs who had leaped out of the boats. All the males were thus massacred; but so I heard, the females and children were taken away to the Sevada house, and there confined for some time, being afterwards taken to the Assembly Rooms.

A good many days afterwards I was told that a portion of the troops had gone out to Futtehpore to oppose the advance of a British force from Allahabad. They returned defeated and in confusion about 4 P. M., and the British army was reported to be advancing in admirable order. I heard that, the evening after, the ladies confined in the Assembly Rooms were massacred: any of them who survived being killed the succeeding morning with tulwars; that the men were of the executioner class, and they threw the bodies into a well near the spot. The Nana's whole army marched out towards Futtehpore after this massacre, but returned, beaten in the evening, and went on to the westward, the sepoys advising the populace to flee too, if they did not want to be killed or deprived of their religion—many accordingly fled. The next morning the British army arrived.

*Q.*—Did you hear how many ladies and children were put to death in the Assembly Rooms, the day before the arrival of the British Army?

*A.*—I heard that there were from 80 to 100.

*Q.*—Did you hear by whom, and with what weapons they were killed?

*A.*—I heard only that the sepoys had shot them down with volleys.

*Q.*—Did you hear or see whether the ladies had any food given to them when in captivity: and if any, by whose hands it was conveyed to them?

*A.*—I did not hear who brought it to them, but I heard that they got dall and bread to eat.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear that they had taken any Lady to the Nana's stable to grind grain?

*A.*—No, I did not.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear that any sepoy or sowars had carried off any lady?

*A.*—I heard that a sowar did take away a lady, who people said was the General's daughter, and that she had afterwards killed him and thrown herself into a well in the city. I did not hear of any other lady.

*Q.*—Did you yourself see any of the occurrences at the attack batteries.

*A.*—I never went to the trenches myself, but I used often to hear from sepoys in my own Bazar that an assault had been made.

*Q.*—Were you also told who had made the assault?

*A.*—I sometimes heard that the Nunne Nawab was to make the assault, and sometimes that the "Gillis" Regiment 1st N. I. was to do it.

*Q.*—Did you ever see the Nunne Nawab at the attack batteries?

*A.*—I never went and saw him at the works themselves, but I frequently saw him passing my shop, on his way to them, with from 5 to 7000 Mussulmans &c. in his train. Every one used to say at the time that he was going there.

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*No. 20.—Deposition of Kalka Pershad, Moonshee, Resident of Cawnpoor.*—I was in the employ of Mr. Thomas Greenway, at the time of the outbreak at Cawnpoor. In May 1857 we heard of the mutiny at Meerut; and about the end of the same month some Government elephants were sent to the treasury, to remove the Treasure kept there; but the sepoys on guard would not allow it to be taken away; this created suspicions regarding their intentions, after which the entrenchments were commenced, and the Nana came in from Bithoor.

On the 4th June 1857, about 4 P. M., my master took his family to the entrenchments. The troops mutinied during that night. I was in the city at the time. The next day, the jail was broken open, the Treasury plundered, and all the Bungalows set on fire; after which the mutineers went off towards Kulleanpoor. But on the 6th of June, they returned to Cawnpoor and laid seige to the entrenchments: the Nana placed himself at the head of the mutineers. A general search for all Christians ensued, who were massacred wherever found. On the 8th of June, a party of troopers and sepoys were sent to Nujjufghur: Captain Holland who was there fought with them; but having run short of ammunition, he desired the sepoys to put an end to his life. After this the troopers and sepoys brought as prisoners to, and confined in, the Savada house, Mr. Edward, and Mrs. Greenway, Miss Rose Greenway, and the other children. About two days after this, a sowar came to my house and took me to the Savada house, where the Nana was encamped. Jwalla Pershad, who was created a Brigadier, and Shah Ali, desired me (using threats) to tell them where my master kept all his money; I told them he had none placed anywhere, and begged them to ascertain this fact from my master's brother and his wife, who were prisoners; hearing which, Jwalla Pershad and Shah Ali, took me to Mrs. Greenway, and requested her to give them 4 lacs of Rupees, promising to release her; she replied she had no money in cash, but would give them an order on Calcutta, and requested to be removed to her own house, till they received the amount, to this they would not agree but left her. I was allowed to visit Mrs. Greenway, and managed now and then to give her food, cooked by my master's Khansamah and his son, by paying the sentry a rupee each time; but this was soon stopped by the sepoys, though I continued visiting her and obtained a few words with her. After this, the Ladies and Gentlemen from Furruckabad were brought in prisoners, and confined in the Savada house. Mrs. Jacobi the watchmaker's sister-in-law, was confined in the same room with Mrs. Greenway. The fight with the Europeans in the entrenchments still continued. On the the 23rd of June, Azimoollah and Brigadier Jwalla Pershad, went to the Savada house, and had an interview with Mrs. Jacobi; who told them she would get the entrenchments vacated, she told me the same day to bring her jewel box which was in Azimoollah's house. I replied it was impossisible to do so at such a time as this. The next day, 24th June, I saw Mrs. Jacobi proceed to the entrenchments in a doolee, about 9 or 10 A. M., and saw her return about 12 at noon and go to the Nana's tent, where a consultation was held, and it was determined that the Europeans should leave the entrenchments. On the 29th, Brigadier Jwalla Pershad and Azimoollah went to the entrenchments, and entered into an agreement on oath, as the Nana's agents. On the 26th I visited my master in the entrenchments; he desired me to procure him 300 Rs. from some Mahajun, as he intended accompanying the others down to Allahabad, by water. I informed him of my having heard that the Nana's intention was to massacre the Europeans, as soon as they left the entrenchments; and on his asking, told him how I had heard it. On the 27th the Europeans left the entrenchments, and were nearly all massacred at the Ghat, some ladies and children escaped, who with the wounded were conveyed to the Savada house. About two days after this, they were removed to a little house near the assembly rooms. I often visited it, and saw my master. About 14 days after, the British troops approached Cawnpoor; and on the 15th July all the inmates, together with my master were massacred. The Nana fled and the station was re-occupied by the British.

*Q.*—When you went to visit the house near the Assembly Rooms, how many Europeans inclusive of children did you see?

*A.*—I was not allowed to remain long in the bungalow, and therefore cannot give a correct estimate, but I think there were about 150 persons.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any one else, besides your master?

*A.*—None that I was sure of.

*Q.*—How and when did you hear of the Nana's intended treachery?

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A.—Ever after I was taken prisoner and released by Brigadier Jwalla Pershad, he ordered me to be in attendance daily; and used to question me about my master's money. On the 25th June about 4 P. M., Jwalla Pershad, and Azimoolah returned from the entrenchments. I was present at Shah Ali the Kotwal's, who resided in the Nana's tent verandah. I overheard Jwalla Pershad, Azimoollah, Shah Ali, Ahmed Ali, Vakeel, and another thanah jemadar whose name I do not recollect, talking amongst themselves, saying this was a good opportunity for getting rid of the Europeans.

Q.—You were often present at the Nana's, state what persons were foremost in the consultations?

A.—The consultations were held inside the tent, into which many persons entered, whose names I do not remember, but Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel, and Urzun Singh, ditto, since deceased; and Moonshee Jwalla Pershad, who is now a Deputy Collector, these were foremost in the consultations, and had great influence.

Q.—Did you ever see what sort of food was carried into the ladies, and by whom?

A.—I did not see the food, but heard they only received dall and chuppaties, which they were not able to eat.

Q.—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans?

A.—Never.

Q.—When the Europeans left the entrenchments, did you observe what occurred?

A.—I did not quit the city that day.

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*No. 21.—Deposition of Lalla Shunker Doss, Banker, Cawnpore.*—In May 1857, there was a rumour that the sepoys cherished an ill feeling towards Government, owing to the introduction of a novel kind of cartridge, after which, news of the Meerut outbreak was received, in which it was stated that many Europeans had been killed. On Thursday, 4th June about mid-night, a fire was seen towards Cantonments, and in the morning it was rumoured that the troops had mutinied, plundered the Treasury, and set fire to Cantonments. On the receipt of these news, all business was stopped and shops closed. The native residents of Cantonments joining the mutineers, commenced sacking the station, after which the sepoys went away to Kulleanpoor; the shops still remaining closed. We heard that the Nana had brought back the mutineers, cannon were placed on all sides, and the Cavalry were going about, searching for Europeans to put them to death. The sepoys plundered the Nunne Nawab's house, carried him away a prisoner mounted on an elephant. After this, fighting commenced at the entrenchments, and the people hearing that some boats containing Europeans were coming from the west, gave notice of it to the Nana. Four or five days after, about 10 o'clock in the morning, two troopers came to my house, and made a prisoner of me. I had a guard of four men with swords, which the troopers took away from them, and demanded 500 rupees of me; on my refusing compliance they took me away to the battery in charge of Nunne Nawab, who made arrangements for my release, on condition of a ransom of 30 rupees being paid, which amount I gave to a trooper, who accompained me to my house for that purpose, and obtained my release; thus was plunder and violence carried on.

Q.—When you were taken prisoner to the Nunne Nawab's battery, how was he engaged? and what did you see?

A.—The Nuwab was there, and personally ordered my release; this occured on the day when a shot fired from his battery set fire to a barrack within the entrenchments. I was a prisoner there, from 11 A. M. till evening. The Nuwab wore a sword, and with a telescope in his hand was reconnoitring; and a number of his own attendants, together with sepoys were with him.

Q.—Did the Nuwab appear to be a prisoner, or a free agent?

A.—He did not appear to be under any restraint, but was richly dressed, and in command of the battery. All the sepoys and his attendants were acting under his orders.

Q.—You have stated, that when the mutineers returned from Kuleanpoor, they plundered Nuwab Nunna's house, and took him prisoner; then how came he to have such authority?

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*A.*—The statement made by me is perfectly correct. At first, the Nuwab was taken as a prisoner, but it appears that he was released, having come to terms with the Nana. I have described faithfully what I saw.—Moreover this fact is also well known, that on the day the Nuwab set fire to a barrack in the entrenchments, by a shot from his battery, the Nana made him a present of 5000 rupees. Though some state that this amount was paid him as compensation for the loss sustained by him, owing to the plunder of his house. It is also well known that the Nana had promised to make over Cawnpore to the Nuwab, should the defeat of the Europeans be accomplished.

*Q.*—When you were a prisoner at the enemy's battery, and released by the Nuwab, were there any other persons of the city there?

*A.*—Many coolies &c. residents of Bujjun Para were there, who had been pressed to work by the sepoys, and many persons of the above place, and of the Artillery bazar, are cognizant of the fact of my being taken a prisoner. Moreover, a short time after, the Nuwab and Nana fell out, and it was rumoured that all the Mussulman troopers and sepoys were on the Nuwab's side, and purposed putting the Nana to death. On becoming acquainted with this, the Nana sent away the Cavalry towards Futtehpore, and the Nuwab through fright, fled away with a few sowars.

*Q.*—Did you hear of the cause of the Nuwab's flight?

*A.*—The people stated that the Nuwab's intention of killing the Nana, and taking Cawnpore for himself, had become known to the latter, therefore he fled; and again I heard that the Nuwab had been brought back a prisoner; but a day or two after this, the British troops arrived, and both the Nana and the Nuwab fled.

*Q.*—Had the Nuwab any money transactions with the proprietors of your firm?

*A.*—No, there were no money transactions between my Firm and the Nuwab, as ours is not a very large concern.

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*No. 22.—Deposition of Rama Nund, Merchant, resident of Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpore?

*A.*—I was at Cawnpore, and arrived there from Furruckabad three days before the mutiny broke out.

*Q.*—Do you know how the mutiny commenced?

*A.*—The troops after they had mutinied marched to Kulleanpore; the Nana went there and brought them back to Cawnpore, and commenced fighting with the Europeans.

*Q.*—Did you see the Nana go to Kulleanpore?

*A.*—No I did not. The day the troops mutinied, there were many boats of mine at the ghat, my men went to see them, and they told me that the mutineers had gone to Kulleanpore and that they saw the Nana start to bring them back again. When the troops returned, they commenced plundering, and about two or three days afterwards some troopers came to my house, enquired after my son Budreenath, who was Khazanchee of Durreeabad; he was concealed in my house, but I told them that he was not there; they then said I was the servant of Europeans and had dealings with them, and that I had concealed Mrs. Wheeler, and other ladies, and that they would plunder my house. I offered them money not to do so, but still they would not listen. A sowar then fired a pistol at me, but missed me; I then struck his horse, and the men of my mohullah drove the sowars away with bricks.

*Q.*—Did you ever attend the Nana's Court?

*A.*—No, I never went, but my son Gunga Sahai, Khazanchee of Oona's was taken there as a prisoner. The Nana wanted money from him; when he told him that all his money had been plundered, he ordered him to go and work at the Treasury; he refused to go, and was then sent back.

*Q.*—Do you know any of the Mahajuns of the city who used to attend the Nana's Court?

*A.*—I used to hear that many of them went, Sheo Pershad Khazanchee had the contract, for supplying great coats, and was often at the Nana's.

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Q.—Do you know whether Gunga Pershaud, tent maker, Gokool Kishoor, Jeweller, and Budree Tewarrie of Cawnpore ever attended the Nana's court?

A.—Gunga Pershaud was once taken prisoner; I know nothing of Gokool Kishoor jeweller or Budree Tewarrie.

Q.—Do you know any of the Government Officials who were in the habit of attending the Nana's court?

A.—Yes. Many of them were in the Nana's employ.

Q.—Did Moonshee Jowalla Pershaud get any employment under the Nana?

A.—One day, Urjun Sing, Vakeel, (since deceased) sent two sepoys to my house, they said that Urjun Sing and Moonshee Jowalla Pershaud had sent for me; my brother Ram-Sook Dass, accompanied me. Urjun Sing and Jowalla Pershad, with a Hindoo Ressaldar and many sowars were there; Ramdeen, Khazanchee was also brought in prisoner shortly afterwards. Urjun Sing took me and a gomashtah of Ramdeen's aside; he required Revenue from me and told Ramdeen's gomashtah to bring money for the expences of the troops; he told him that all had been plundered and that he had no money, and I answered that I had nothing to do with the revenue, upon which Urjun Sing got annoyed with me, and I was then taken to Moonshee Jowalla Pershaud, who also desired me to bring money for the troops, and that he would get me an appointment from the Nana. I answered that I had neither money nor any wish to serve, that all my money had been plundered with the treasure, and that not one of my sons were at home, I therefore could do nothing. He then told me to go away and that he would protect me, but added, mind you do not again fight with the sowars or else your house will be plundered. I then left.

Q.—Did you ever again see Jowalla Pershaud at the Nana's?

A.—I never went to the Nana's but frequently heard that Jowalla Pershaud and Urjun Sing had great influence with the Nana.

Q.—What was the name of Ramdeen's gomashtah who was at Urjun Sing's?

A.—I do not know.

Q.—Did Ramdeen Khazanchee take service under the Nana?

A.—Ramdeen ran away, but one of the gomashtahs was taken prisoner. I don't know what became of him.

Q.—Was there ever a Mahomedan flag raised?

A.—Yes, I heard that a Mahomedan flag was raised.

Q.—Did you hear who raised it?

A.—No.

Q.—Where were the rebel batteries, and who were their Sirdars?

A.—I know nothing of their batteries.

Q.—Do you know how many times Europeans were massacred by the Nana's forces?

A.—I heard that the Europeans were killed, but know nothing of the circumstances.

Q.—Did you see any thing at the Suttee Chowra ghat?

A.—I did not go to the ghat but heard that the Europeans had been killed there.

Q.—Do you know how the ladies were massacred?

A.—I only heard that they had been killed by orders of the Nana.

Q.—Do you know whether food was ever cooked for the sowars at Kazee Wazecoodeen's?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—How many days had the Nana open court? And when the mahajuns were sent for, did you go with them?

A.—Yes. I went that day with the other mahajuns, but did not see the Nana, I only saw Jowalla Pershaud, Ressaldar; all the people were sent away.

Q.—When the British troops arrived, were you still at Cawnpore?

A.—My servants were with the British, and when General Havelock arrived, my son Budreenauth and Lala Isree Pershaud supplied all the provisions.

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*No. 22. Deposition of Jankee Pershaud, Merchant, resident of Cawnpoor.*

Q.—Where were you, when the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor?

A.—I was in my house at Cawnpoor.

Q.—Relate what you know regarding this.

A.—Its a long time since the mutiny occurred, therefore a great many things escaped my recollection; whatever questions you ask I will answer.

Q.—When were the first symptoms of the mutiny exhibited, and in what way?

A.—In the month of June 1857 the troops mutinied and went off to Kulleanpore, whither the Nana followed and brought them back. I heard this. The siege of the entrenchments then commenced, and the sepoys and lower classes began plundering and creating disturbances.

Q.—Did you see or hear of any religious flag being raised?

A.—Yes. The Mahomedans raised a Mahumdee flag.

Q.—Did you hear of it. Or did you see it?

A.—I went with many other people and saw the flag raised two or three days after the siege commenced. When I came near the Mogul ke Serai, I saw a great many people collected, and a green flag raised.

Q.—Who raised the flag, and what Sirdars were with the flag, and whom amongst them did you recognize?

A.—I heard that the flag was raised by Moulvie Salamut Oollah, and that he stood by it with a rosary in his hand, and it was rumoured that they were on the point of going to fight. There were from 2 to 3000 armed men with him, and the Kazie of the City, Waseeoddeen, was riding about the plain with some 19 Sowars of the 2nd Cavalry; great crowds were collected there.

Q.—Did you recognize any one else?

A.—Yes, I saw Bukshee Zainolabdeen with about 25 or 30 Chowkedars and Burkundazes all armed, standing in a body at a short distance from the flag, and the rumour was, that the Moulvie intended to attack the entrenchments. I stood there a short time, but as nothing occurred, soon came away.

Q.—Did you recognize any one else?

A.—There were thousands of people from Nawab Gunge, Colonelgunge, Orderly Bazar, and Bunsah Mow, and from the other Bazaars, collected there. How can I remember all their names?

Q.—Do you know where the flag was first raised, and by what road was it brought to the Mogul ke Serai?

A.—I did not see it brought, but I heard that it was first raised near Moulvie Salamut Oollah's house, where all the Mussulmans collected and brought it on.

Q.—Did you ever again see the sowars with Kazie Wasioodeen?

A.—Often; he always had sowars with him.

Q.—Did you ever again see the flag?

A.—No.

Q.—Did you ever go into the Nana's Court?

A.—Why should I go into the Nana's Court? I had nothing to do with him.

Q.—Did you ever hear that Wasioodeen took money from Ram Deen, Treasurer, on account of the sowars?

A.—No I never heard it.

Q.—Who was Kotwal at the time the flag was raised?

A.—Hoolas Sing.

Q.—Do you know how many times, or in what way, the different parties of Europeans were killed during the mutiny?

A.—I used to hear that Europeans were killed, but never saw them destroyed. The day the Europeans were massacred at the Suttee Chowrah ghat I was on the spot.

Q.—What did you see?

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*A.*—About 8 or 9 A. M. the Europeans were getting on board the boats, when firing commenced from all directions, and there was a great uproar. I with many others ran away through fright and did not see anything clearly.

*Q.*—Do you know the names of the Mahajuns and Officials who used to attend theNana's Court?

*A.*—I never went to the Nana's Court, but I heard that the Government officials were present, and were employed in deputy Ram Lal's office. Moonshee Jwalla Pershaud often used to attend Deputy Ram Lal's Court, and Ujbon Sing Vakeel often attended also.

*Q.*—Did you see either Gunga Pershaud, or Beedee Tewarrie, Mahajuns; or Sheo Pershaud, Khazanchie or Jugul Kishoor Jeweller, going to the Nana's Court?

*A.*—No, I never saw them going, but I heard that Sheo Pershaud had taken the Contract for supplying great Coats and that Ramdeen Khazanchie had concealed himself.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear that a Moulvie came from Allahabad to Cawnpoor?

*A.*—Yes, I know that a Moulvie came from Allahabad to fight against the Europeans: he often visited the Nana.

*Q.*—Did you see him?

*A.*—Yes I often saw him. He put up with Bukshee Zainolabdeen in Moodee Tootee Mohullah; he used to ride about the City with some 20 or 25 Sowars.

*Q.*—What other person was aware of the Moulvie's putting up with Bukshee Zainoolabdeen?

*A.*—All the residents of the Mohulla knew of it.

*Q.*—Did you ever hear his name?

*A.*—They all called him Moulvie Sahib; I don't know his proper name.

*Q.*—Do you know anything of the Europeans that were murdered the day before the Nana fled?

*A.*—On the day before the Nana fled, at about 5 P. M. the sepoys shot 4 or 5 gentlemen before the assembly rooms, and under the commissariat officer's compound wall. A great crowd was assembled there at the time, and I was with them. After this, I heard that the ladies were also to have been killed, but that the sepoys refused to do so. I then returned home and shortly afterwards heard that 5 or 6 men with swords killed the ladies.

*Q.*—Did you hear in what way the ladies got food?

*A.*—No. I did not.

*Q.*—Do you know whether Azeezun, a prostitute, lived in the City?

*A.*—Yes. One Azeezun a prostitute, who was in the service of Kulloo Mull, lived in the Lurkee Mahil in Oomrao Begum's house. She was very intimate with the men of the 2nd Cavalry, and was in the habit of riding armed with the sowars. The day the flag was raised, she was on horseback in male attire decorated with medals, armed with a brace of pistols, and joined the crusade. I saw her as thousands of others did also.

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*No. 23.—Statement of Hulas Sing, son of Ram Sing; age about 70 years; Caste Kurmi; inhabitant of Mouzah Nowdega, Zillah Furruckabad; profession, he was at one time in service, at another a Zemindar.*

To benefit myself I tell the whole truth. When the Troops mutinied at Cawnpore I was there. A few days before the disturbance broke out, I was summoned by the Magistrate from the Torsur Thanah, and put up at a small house in the Palace of Agha Mir, father of the Nunney Nawab. Six or seven days before the disturbance, the 1st Regiment and the 2nd light Cavalry conspired for mischief. The Nana Dhoondoo Punt, Maharatta, was summoned into Cawnpore from Bitthoor, by the Magistrate; he came with two brass guns, and some followers; and took up his quarters in his own house, at Nawab Gunge, near the Cutcherry. The troopers of the 2nd Cavalry used to court the Nana. One day, the date I don't clearly remember, probably the 4th June, the 1st Regiment broke into mutiny at night, then the 56th and 53rd Regiments mutinied and went to the Treasury, which they plundered; broke open the Jail, and after plundering the place went off to Kulyanpore. The next day Nana Dhoondoo Punt, and Baba Bhut went to Kulyanpore and brought the Troops back. When

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their preparations were completed, they commenced an attack on the entrenchment. I did not myself see the Nana Dhoondoo Punt going to Kulyanpore, but I heard from a number of people that the Nana and Bala Bhut had gone there and brought back the Troops and commenced to injure the Government. Europeans and Christians were murdered whenever they were found. Seven or eight days after this, I was summoned to the Nana's residence and became Kutwal of the City. I was appointed because several Kutwals had been appointed in the course of the week, but they could not get on. First Kazi Waseeoodeen was appointed, and held the office for one day, then Haji Khanum's son whose name I forget, remained in office two or three days, then the Mahajuns of the city, and Bidi Gunga Pershad, Tent Maker; and Jugul Kishor, Jeweller; and Budri, Pan Seller; and Shew Pershad, Khazanchi; and others who had transactions with the Nana, recommended my appointment. On this I was sent for, and when I was at the Nana's house, Ahmed Ali, Tehseeldar, and officer of Police, gave me full instructions and a purwana of appointment. I was helpless: accepted the post and entered on its duties. I could not but carry out the *foujdaree* orders which were issued by the Nana and his officers. His Cutcherry was arranged as follows: the Nana's was the highest court; 2nd, that of Deputy Ram Lall. In the Nana's Court, Bala, and Baba Bhut, Azim Oollah and Jwala Pershad, Brigadier, and others used to pass orders. Ram Lall had no associate in his court, Moonshee Jwala Pershad was Ram Lall's confidential adviser. These two did all the work.

After some days it was determined that the Europeans should go to Allahabad. I received a purwana signed by Nana Dhoondoo Punt directing me to get ready a number of boats as quickly as possible. I sent burkundazes to call Lochan, Ghat Mangee, and Muddi, Mullah, Lochan's servant and Boodhoo alias Budri Das, and gave them the strictest injunctions to get the boats ready. When they were ready and orders came to send carriage for the Europeans, I sent as many Palkees, Doolies, Ekkas, and Bhilies as I could collect. The Europeans set off, in the carriage provided, for the Ghats, where they were killed. I did not go to the Ghat, for I had heard before the Europeans came out, that they would be set upon and killed. I heard this from Waseeoodeen, Kazi of the city of Cawnpore, he explained that this was a good plan for getting the Europeans out of the entrenchments and killing them all. The Kazi had authority over all the troopers of the cavalry. Food was being cooked at his house from morning to night, all the orders and legal decrees, and order for the murder of the Europeans were given by the Kazi. Thousands of the inhabitants of the city know that this was the case. Moreover one day he extorted by threats Rs. 500 from Ramdeen Collectory Khazanchie, to feed the Sowars, saying "that if the money was not forthcoming, his house would be plundered." Let the Government ask this of Ramdeen on his oath. Subsequent to this, the Kazi and Moulvie Sulamut Oollah one day having concerted together, got ready a green mahumdee flag and set it up on the open ground near Moulvie Sulamut Oollah's near the old Assembly rooms. The Mussulmans congregated round it from the early morning, and some measures were concerted. By the afternoon more than 4,000 men were collected and went by way of the Filkhanah Gate to attack the entrenchments, were defeated and fled back. All the Mahajuns and citizens know this, as well as the people living in the neighbourhood.

When the Europeans who left the entrenchment had been killed, all the ladies and women who survived were first placed in the Savada house and then taken to a small bungalow near the assembly rooms. After some days, the British Troops came from Allahabad and defeated the Rebels; Bala, the Nana's brother returned wounded. Preparations were made for flight. On that day, all the ladies and women who remained were murdered, and their bodies thrown into the well.

On that same date, in the night, when the Nana and rebel army fled, I also fled. All the cash and property I possessed were in the Begum's Palace in the small house. I had at that time by me, near 600 Rs. in 8 anna and 4 anna pieces. This was the property of Government: I had altogether nearly 4,000 Rs. in cash by me, viz. 600 Rs. of Government and something over 3,000 Rs. of my own. I was going at night, and the Nunney Nawab was with me. The Nawab asked me for some money, so I could not help myself and I gave him Rs. 500 and took Rs. 100 myself for my own expenses. The remainder I buried in two places. My brothers Bukhtawur Singh and Buldeo Singh buried Rs. 1,000 tied up in a net bag under a Neem tree in the courtyard of the house. I left all my property in a small room, and buried my money in a corner of the same and placed on the spot some rose water bottles.

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I gave the Nawab an Arab Horse which I had for my own riding, as he had none. When the contingent came to Cawnpore, I returned and remained 8 days and dug up and searched for the Rupees I had buried and did not find them. I then knew that the Nawab had carried it off. Janki Choukedar and Hur Pershad Mohurrir knew this. I have not yet gone to the spot under the Neem Tree where my brothers buried the money, for I did not bury the money with my own hands. I could not find the place. Who knows but that the money is there still or that it has been taken away. My brother Bukhtawur Singh could still point out the place. Bukhtawur Singh was present at Cawnpore. The horse I gave the Nawab was a grey, and on its jowl a round mark of feathered hairs. When the Nawab rode off on the horse, Juwahir Singh, Jemadar, in service of the Nawab's mother, accompanied him. That same Juwahir Singh is now Duffadar in the Police Cavalry.

After the Nawab went off at night, I also ran off, and went to my house at Nowdega, Zillah Furuckabad, and remained there about 16 or 20 days. At that time the 41st Regiment N. I. and Ghullah or new raised Regiment, and Aga Hossain's Cavalry were at Furruckabad, and the Nawab's authority was established. One day I went to the Rebel Camp and met Sheogulam Dichit, Soubadar Bahadur of the 41st N. I. and Gunga Singh, Commandant of the Ghullah or new Regiment. I went in order to gain their protection, as these Regiments were encamped near my village. They did not take me into their confidence. I returned to my house where I remained. About that time Sheogulam, Subadar Bahadur, and Gunga Singh both took possession of the Clothing Agency Godown at Futteygurh. They distributed Lakhs of Rupees worth of broadcloth among the Troops; some they sold and some they sent across the Ganges to their families. After this I got the news of the approach of the British Troops. Through fear, I ran away to Mouza Muta, in the neighbourhood of Bhugwantnuggur, where I found the Nana's army. There the Nujibabad Nawab, and Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, were encamped with their forces. The Nana Dhoonda Punt went to Buwar Hutora, Zillah Neem Sarun and I went and stayed with the Rao Sahib, the Nana's nephew, in Setulgunge. At this time there were 400 horse and foot with the Rao Sahib. This Rao went across the Ganges to Calpee, while Baba Bhut remained at Setulgunge and I with him. I then heard that Baba Bhut, Bala, and Jowalah Pershad, Brigadier, had gone towards Calpie to bring the Troops over and that having brought the Gwalior Contingent, they fought with the British Troops at Bhouti and then occupied Cawnpore. I left Setulgunge and went to the Nana at Birwa Hatourah from whence the Nana came to Futtehpore Chourasiee and told me to go to Cawnpore to the Bala Sahib. I went to Bala at Cawnpore and remained with him four or five days. After this Bala was again defeated and all fled, I among them, and went to my own village Naudya where I stayed 15 or 20 days. Subsequently to this, Matadeen Resaladar of the 8th Irregular Cavalry with 5 or 6 Troopers came to my house and told me to cross the river as the European Troops were coming. I again crossed the river and joined the Nana at Birwa. When the European Troops entered Birwa I went to Bareilly. When I heard that the European Troops had entered Bareilly, I fled thence and wandered about the jungles and the Terai at the foot of the Hills, at times in the Gokur Nath Jungles; then I went to the Khotur Jungles where lives Tej Singh a rebel Zemindar. After that I arrived at Churda the owner of which is Jodh Singh, and remained there a few days and wandered about with him. In the month of March, three months ago, there was an action with the European Troops at Bhootwal. The Nana with his women was the first to go up to the Hills; then the Begum of Lucknow followed. The Bala with nearly 3,000 troops having joined the Begum's forces, which numbered nearly 50,000 men, engaged the British: being often defeated, they fled. I got separated from them and reached Napara two stages from Bhootwal in the Dakhan Jungles. I came across a piquet of Europeans and Seikhs who fired on us. I had with me 8 or 9 men, my brother Buldeo Singh, Bukhtawur my bearer, Ramzan Syce, Nubbee Bux camel driver, and Pahilwan Sing with his two brothers, whose names I forget, and Bhikarie their servant, Dost Mohomed Mussulman, with his wife. Pahilwan and his brother were killed and all fled. I alone remained on horseback. I advanced a short way into the jungle; when I returned, I thought "I am now alone, have no one to cook my food or give me drink. I will give myself up to the Government, let it do with me as it pleases." I arrived at a river where there was a Government piquet and where a Sepoy was standing unarmed. He asked me who I was. I said I wished to see the Colonel. He said first give up your arms. I did so, and went with him to Colonel Brasyer.

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The following men are those I was acquainted with who were in the Nana's or Begum's Camp. Khan Bahadur Khan, of Bareilly; Ghulam Kidar Khan, of Shajehanpore; the Nawab of Najibabad, whose name I forget, and Nawab Mummos Khan, the Begum's Lieutenant; and Bukht Khan, who went from Bareilly to Delhi, and Kuchak Sulhen, Shazadah of Delhi; and another Shazadah whose name I do not remember; Bala, Baba Bhut, and Jowala Pershad, Brigadier, all of these were alive and present.

*Q.*—How and whence were supplies procured?

*A.*—The mountaineers brought us all supplies for sale. We got plenty of rice and *musur ki dal*; there were no shop keepers, but supplies came in. The climate is very bad.

*Q.*—How do you know that the Nana and Baba Bhut went to Kuleanpore to bring back the Troops?

*A.*—There can be no doubt but that the Troops when they had mutinied and gone off to Kuleanpore, were brought back from thence by the Nana and Baba Bhut. Hundreds of men saw this. I can give no one's name in particular.

*Q.*—Did you see Moonshi Jowala Pershad working with Ram Lall in his Court?

*A.*—I saw Jowala Pershad working in the Cutcherry with the Deputy Collector Ram Lall. I have also seen him going to the Nana's, whom he advised in all kind of matters.

*Q.*—While you were Kutwal, how often were Europeans killed? and were any killed in your presence?

*A.*—Once, when the Gentlemen who had come from Futtygurh were kil'ed, and again when they came out of the entrenchment they were killed at the Suttee Chowra Ghat, also when the ladies and women who were in prison were killed. I knew it. This much I remember, but others may have been killed. No Europeans were ever murdered before my eyes, for I remained at the Kutwali and never went to look on.

*Q.*—As you were Kutwal, were the Europeans who came from outside sent on by you or not? and who furnished the executioners?

*A.*—I never forwarded on any Europeans. I furnished the executioners to murder the Europeans.

*Q.*—State in detail how many times, and what executioners were sent to murder Europeans, and by whose orders?

*A.*—I do not remember exactly how often executioners were sent for. But I recollect perfectly that I received 5 or 6 purwanahs sending for them, signed by the Nana, on whose orders I sent them.

*Q.*—State plainly what executioners were sent who murdered the Europeans?

*A.*—Itwari, Bahadur, and his son, were the head men of the executioners. I used to send them, and they used to take others with them. Bahadur is a resident of the city.

*Q.*—How and by whose orders was food supplied and cooked for the ladies who were Prisoners?

*A.*—By the orders of the Nana. The dinner for the ladies and females (so long in confinement) was prepared by cooks procured by the Kutwali, who took it to them.

*Q.*—Give the names of the Cooks.

*A.*—I don't remember the Cooks' names but Mahtabkhan and Mehrabkhan, Burkundauzes, and Jurab and Daud Beg, Lais, were employed in this work. They can give the names of the Cooks.

*Q.*—Do you remember what food was supplied to the ladies?

*A.*—At first the ladies and women got their dal and bread to eat, then one day the cooks said, the ladies wont eat dal. Let us have as much meat as can be procured at the cost of the dal. Then meat used to be given.

*Q.*—Who distributed the food?

*A.*—A slave girl of the Nana's by name Begum, used to distribute the food. She is now with the Nana.

*Q.*—How and why were the ladies murdered?

*A.*—When the British troops advanced on Cawnpoor, and the action was fought at *Aong*, and Bala returned wounded, it was concerted at the Nana's residence that the ladies and wo-

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men should be killed, but I dont know how or by whose hands they were murdered. I indeed heard on the next day the jallads threw their bodies into the well. One Zainolabideen who was formerly naib Bukshee of the Cawnpoor Tehsilee, and was Bukshee in the Nana's time, and is so still, used to furnish the supplies of food under me at the kutwali. He is acquainted with the names of the cooks and the executioners.

*Q.*—You say that when Bala returned wounded, it was concerted to kill the ladies; who advised this?

*A.*—Among those who advised the murder of the ladies and women after the return of Bala, were Bala and Baba Bhut, and Tantia Topie, Mahrattas. Azim Ullah, Sha Ali, Ahmud Ali Khan, Wukeel, and Kazi Wusi-ud-deen Mussulmans were always present. Of Hindoos Jwallapurshad Brigadier, and Munshi Jowaila were frequently present, all used to advise.

*Q.*—Have you heard by whose hands the ladies were killed?

*A.*—I have never heard by whose hands the ladies and women were killed.

*Q.*—Bhagee Sing, Thakoor Jagarnath, and Narain depose they saw you at the massacre of the Suttee Chowra Ghat.

*A.*—I did not go to the ghat where the Europeans were killed; had I gone I should not conceal it.

*Q.*—What do you know about Thomas Maling, Native Christian?

*A.*—Thomas Maling, Christian, with his younger brother and sister were imprisoned at the kutwalli by the Nana's orders. After a while I told them to become Mussulmans, with the intention of saving their lives, and sent them to Moulvie Salamut Oollah, who gave a futwa for the execution of Thomas Maling and his brother. But I concealed them and let them go, and told the Nana they had become Mussulmans. In this manner they escaped.

*Q*—Is this deposition you have made true and have you not been instructed or cajoled to make this confession?

*A.*—All this deposition that I have caused to be written is true. I have not written it at any one's instruction, or cajoling, or threats, nor have I indulged in any intoxicating drink. I am in full possession of my faculties.

*Continuation of the Deposition of Hulas Singh, June 16th 1859.*

*Q.*—Where were the rebel batteries placed and who commanded them?

*A.*—When the entrenchments were attacked, one of the rebel batteries was planted on the North of the entrenchment by the racquet court commanded by Nunney Naweb. One was planted by the Cavalry parade ground which was held by Nawab Bakur Ali Khan. Another was placed by the Dala Nulla served by the rebel sepoys. Another battery was on the north of the Savada House and South of the entrenchments. This the Nana commanded, and Geda Hossein who had brought his Regiment from Lucknow, served this battery.

*Q.*—How used the Nunney Nawab to visit his batteries?

*A.*—All used to serve their batteries by orders of the Nana.

*Q.*—Did the Nunney Nawab go under compulsion, or of his own accord?

*A.*—Nunney Nawab served of his own accord.

*Q.*—Did you yourself see the Nunney Nawab and Bakur Ali at the batteries?

*A.*—I never stopped at the batteries, but used constantly to see them go armed to the batteries. At Nunney Nawab's house were all kinds of English weapons, pistols, double barrelled guns &c., &c. There was always a supply of English gunpowder which had been purchased from European merchants, at the Nawab's House. I have seen it myself. Gunpowder used to be sent from his house, and ammunition laden on keranchis and gharries to his batteries. Reuz Ali, son of a one eyed pensioner was a skilful artillery man, he used to work in Nunney Nawab's battery. One day he threw a ball of rosin into the entrenchments which set fire to a barrack and some tents. I heard this from hundreds of men.

*Q.*—What employment did the Nunney Nawab obtain from the Nana?

*A.*—Nunney Nawab was among the noblemen of the court, and had no special employment, beyond that in the battery.

*Q.*—What employment had Jugul Kishor, Budre Bunwaree, and Sheo Pershad, under the Nana?

*A.*—Jugelkishor Jeweller, used to supply the Nana with thousands of Rupees worth of jewels. Gunga Pershad used to supply tents. Sheo Pershad, treasurer, used to furnish cloaks.

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Therefore they used to visit the Nana. I have often seen them at the Nana's. Budree had transactions with the Nana but he went less than the others.

*Q.*—How many tents and cloaks were furnished to the Nana?

*A.*—To the best of my knowledge Gunga Pershad supplied about 50 tents. I have no recollection of the number of cloaks furnished. I have myself paid Gunga Pershad for tents supplied, several hundred rupees at the Nana's order.

*Q,*—What had you to do with the disbursements of money?

*A.*—Ahmud Ullah tehseeldar and officer of police had lodged with me nearly rupees 2000. They were deposited in the kotwal cutchery. On the day that the British troops arrived and the Nana fled, I saw at night that this money would be plundered; so having called Gunga Pershad, I made the money over to him. Do you call him before you and question him. He wrote a receipt by the hand of Hur-Pershad, mohurrir.

*Q.*—State before whom did you hear Kazi Wasiuddin mention the murder of the Europeans?

*A.*—Two days before the boats for the Europeans were got ready, in the evening the Kazi with two sirdars of the cavalry regiment whose names I dont know, was concerting measures at his own house for their death. At that time I arrived at the house and heard that to murder the Europeans having got them out of the entrenchment was lawful and proper; this I heard, but I dont remember who was present.

*Q.*—How can it be proved that powder was always prepared at the Kazis house and that moulvie SalamutOollah set up the mahomedan flag, collected men, and went to the fights?

*A.*—All the hindoos and mussulmans and Government servants here present know that the Kazi was a plotter against Government, and that he and moulvie Salamut Oollah set up the mahomedan flag, and having collected men went off to fight. This is true and let it be inquired into.

*Q.*—What Burkundauzes went with Thomas Maling to the moulvie Salamut Oollah when a decree was given for his death?

*A.*—That Thomas Maling's death was decreed by moulvie Salamut Oollah is true, and it is written in the Kutwall's diary. Hur-purshad mohurrir will know all about it. I do not remember the Burkundauzes' names but if the former Burkundauzes are called up I may be able to find out.

*Q.*—What Burkundauzes do you wish summoned?

*A.*—Call Hur-pershad mohurrir, Meer-Beg, Mahtabkhan, Mahrabkhan, and other old Burkundauzes. Its pretty certain they wont deny the truth before me.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing of Moonshie Munzur Ahmed who was in the 56th N. I.?

*A.*—I don't know any Moonshie Munzur Ahmud. But there was a regiment moonshie who had great influence with the sepoys. It was determined that he should go as vakeel on the part of the Nana to Delhi. But I dont know why the idea was not carried out. If I saw him I should recognise him.

*Q.*—What sweepers used to attend on the ladies while they were in confinement?

*A.*—I don't know the names of the sweepers who attended on the ladies and women, but if your honor will call up Peeroo, duffadar of sweepers, I can find out.

*Q,*—Who were the leaders in the insurrection?

*A.*—The leaders in the insurrection were, Bala the Nana's brother, Jowallah Pershad Brigadier, and Tekah Sing, Subadar, who was made General. Rao Sahib the Nana's nephew and one Gunpat Rao Mahratta, and Tantia Topie; these were the chief leaders who always went to the fight. Afterwards the Allahabad moulvie joined them.

*Q.*—Who commanded at the battle of Futtehpore?

*A.*—I myself saw Teekah Sing the General, and the Allahabad Moulvie, and Jowalla Pershad Brigadier, going off to command. Many others went. Small fry of leaders.

*Q.*—What arrangements did you make to supply the troops?

*A.*—I bought supplies for the troops from the Bazar people through Ahmed Ullah, who used to receive the order from the Nana and give me orders; there was no other arrangement for supplies.

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Q.—State plainly what arrangements you made with the city people and Mahajuns?

A.—Motie Ram and Kheatie Ram were the chowdries. I used to work through them. Whatever place they pointed out, I used to demand supplies from thence.

Q.—How were the magazine arrangements made?

A.—From wherever I could get sulphur, lead and saltpetre I used to send them, and supply dhar wood, sending for it from the villages.

Q.—Describe how the Europeans who came from Futtehgurh, and those at the Suttee Choura Ghat and the ladies who were prisoners, were murdered?

A.—The Europeans from Furruckabad were killed in the afternoon near the Savada house by the sepoys and sowars at the Nana's orders The next day in the morning the Jullads having laden their bodies in the Garris, threw them into the Ganges. I did not see the slaughter of the Europeans but I saw the gharris laden with the dead bodies; all had clothes on; there were about 100 bodies I should imagine. The Cantonment jullad or executioner was present. I do not remember his name. I did not go to the Suttee Chowra ghat to see the Europeans killed, but I heard that almost all the sirdars of the regiments and of the ressalah and Jowalla pershad brigadier, and all the other sirdars belonging to the Nana went there armed. The guns were placed in position. I did not see the slaughter of the ladies and women, nor have I heard by whose special order they were murdered; but I know for certain that the order for the murder was issued by the Nana or Bala. No third party had power to give orders without their permission.

Q.—You say you were not present when the Europeans from Furruckabad were murdered. How do you know the Nana gave orders for their execution?

A.—Special orders for execution, the Nana used to give himself. I therefore knew the Europeans from Furruckabad were killed by the Nana's orders.

Q.—Explain how the Nunney Nawab had no horse or carriage when you gave him your horse?

A.—When I gave the Nunney Nawab a horse he had only a Chaise Gharri.

Q.—Where did the Nunney Nawab then go?

A.—The Nawab told me he was going to Ghatumpore; I dont know where he went.

Q.—Had Abdul Rahman, Sudder Ameen, any employment under the Nana?

A.—I never saw Abdul Rahman visiting the Nana, nor heard of his doing so, nor had he any employment under the Nana.

Q.—When you left the Nana's camp, was there a native doctor Wuzeer Khan with him?

A.—A native doctor Wuzeer Khan and some other doctors were in the Nana's camp when I separated from him. I do not know Wuzeer Khan by sight.

Q.—Do you know a sowar named Hoosein Ali Khan who carried off Miss Wheeler?

A.—I know that a sowar carried off a lady when the Europeans at the Ghat were killed, I do not recollect his name.

Q.—Have you heard of a young lady in the Nana or Begum's camp?

A.—I have not heard of a young lady in the Nana or Begum's camp.

Q.—What do you know about Adala the Nana's mistress?

A.—I know nothing about the Nana's former mistress.

Q.—How long have you served Government?

A.—I have served the Government nearly 50 years.

Q.—Being so old a servant why did you turn traitor?

A.—I did not seek service from the Nana. He forced me to be kutwal. Whoever did not obey his orders, he put to death.

Q.—If you did not serve him heartily, why did you make such arrangements for supplies and ammunition?

A.—All my arrangements for the benefit of the troops were made from fear of losing my life.

Q.—You repeatedly joined the rebel cause, explain this.

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A.—When I left the Nana after his first defeat, I went home, and when the rebels came and encamped near my village, I served them for fear; knowing me as they did to be an old servant, they might kill me. I therefore went and returned to Cawnpore and joined the Gwalior Contingent at the Nana's order.

Q.—Is this your signature attached to the Cawnpore Kotwallie Roznamcha found in the Nana's office?

A.—It is my signature, and this is my roznamcha.

Q.—You have written therein under date 12th July 1857, that 7 Christians were sent with a petition in charge of Elahi Bux and Umrad Ali, Burkundazes, to the Huzoor, (Nana). State who these Christians were, why sent, and what became of them?

*A.*—I tell the truth when I say that I do not remember who they were. Hur Pershad did the work, he is now at the kutwallie. Summon him and the truth will be ascertained.

Q.—It is well known that every rebel who could seize Christians, to show his loyalty, sent them to the Nana, where they were murdered. State the truth?

*A.*—I state truly. I do not remember the circumstances or would relate them.

Q.—Do you know Shaick Hunnee and Nukkee, and what did they do for the Nana?

*A.*—Hunnee was ordered to raise a cavalry regiment, and enlisted sowars. Nukkee was made Ressaldar. Both of them were amongst the Sirdars, and I used to see them frequently at the Nana's.

Q.—When the Europeans left the Entrenchment, did you see whether any of the wounded were left behind?

*A.*—Up to the present day I have never seen the entrenchment.

Q.—What employment had Kazi Ishmael about the Nana?

*A.*—He was Tehseeldar of Jagmow, and used to come to the Kutwallie regarding the supplies.

Q.—Whose boats were prepared for the Europeans?

*A.*—About the boats got ready at the ghat, Lochun, ghat mangi, can tell all.

Q.—Did any of the boatmen come from Bithoor?

*A.*—Some mullahs came that day from Bithoor. Lochun knows their names.

Q.—Was there a man called Akbar Ali with the Nana?

*A.*—There was an Akbar Ali, Son of Khanat Ali, Vakeel, who used to attend the Nana's durbar, and became Tehseeldar of Akberpore. The money I said above, I gave to Gunga Pershad, I gave to him and Bhagwandas and others who were with him, and who supplied the tents. I dont remember all their names.

Q.—You have stated that Hur Pershad mohurrir, and Janki chowkeedar, are aware that the Nunney Nawab abstracted the money you buried. Explain this?

*A.*—When I came to Cawnpore the second time, I heard from Hur Pershad mohurrur and Janki and Moortaza chowkidars, that the Nunney Nawab had abstracted the money I had buried in my house.

Q.—Where are Moortaza and Janki chowkidars?

*A.*—I got them service in the household of the Begum of the Nunney Nawab, and they will be found there.

Q.—From what merchant did the Nunney Nawab get the gunpowder?

*A.*—I do not know from what merchant Nunney Nawab used to buy his gunpowder.

Q.—Do you know any thing of a sowar of the 2nd cavalry named Gunput?

*A.*—A sowar by the name of Gunput, a mahratta, is the son-in-law of Baba Bhut and is with the Rao, the Nana's nephew. I know nothing of any other Gunput who may be among the sowars.

Q.—When the Gwalior contingent was defeated, you returned home; why did you then go with Mata Deen to Birwa?

*A.*—When the contingent was defeated I went home, but hearing of the approach of the British Troops I went and joined the Nana, for no other means of safety remained for me.

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Q.—Why did you not state the whole truth in your deposition before Colonel Brasyer?

A.—I did not write the deposition at Jalpa through fear, but I now make a clean breast of it, in hopes that the Government may have mercy upon me.

Q.—What were done to the Europeans sent to the Nana?

A.—The Christians and Europeans who were sent up to the Nana were killed.

Q.—It is well known that you formed a punchayt of the mahajuns, and promised them that you would not allow the city to be plundered, if they would give supplies regularly for the troops. Explain this.

A.—I made a promise that the City should not be plundered if supplies were regularly given. I collected the bazar people and made them this promise. The principal Mahajuns I collected were Gunga Sali, Kulloo Nath, Rambux, Sarup Sukh, and Hurgean, Thekadar, who was appointed superintendent of supplies by the Nana, and two or three more whose names I don't remember.

Q.—The troops having mutinied, how could you arrange for supplies for traitors against the Government?

A.—I furnished the rebels with supplies for fear that they would kill me if I did not do so.

Q.—You have heard the whole of your deposition, is it the truth &c.?

A.—I have heard this deposition. It is all true and correct, no one has threatened or bribed me. I was not intoxicated.

Q.—Where is the receipt written by Gunga Pershad?

A.—The receipt which Gunga Pershad wrote by the hands of Hurpershad will be found with the latter, all the papers are with him.

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*No. 24.—Statement of Sheo Pershad Khazanchie, son of Thundie Mull, Caste Khutree. resident of Cawnpoor. Age 28 years. Trade, merchant,—service.*

Q.—When the rebels were in possession of Cawnpoor, where were you?

A.—I was at the time in Cawnpoor.

Q.—On what date did the disturbances occur and in what manner?

A.—I think it was on the 4th June 1857, during the night, that the troops mutinied and robbed the Treasury, and burnt all the bungalows. The first Regiment to mutiny was the 2nd Cavalry, then the 53rd and 56th Regiments followed their example. On the following day all the troops marched to Kulleanpore, but the Nana Dhondo Punt, Mahratta, went thither himself and persuaded them to return to Cawnpoor, and commenced to attack the English entrenchments. Plundering was the order of the day in the city. A day or two after this, a couple of Mahomedan flags were planted on the part of the Mussulmans. One of these flags belonged to the butchers of the city who were joined by the scum of the population; the other flag was unfurled by Moulvie Salamut Oollah. A printed notification was issued to all Hindoos and Mahomedans, the purport of which was as follows: that all Hindoos and Mahomedans should unite in common for the protection of their religion. I do not know who was the person that issued this proclamation. The flag of Moulvie Salaamut Oollah was placed in the direction of the "Thundie Suruck." On my hearing of it I sent a servant of mine called Lutchmun Pershad to see it. He came back and told me that he had seen the flag, and that Moulvie Sallamut Ollah was standing under it with his "beads" in his hand praying for victory. After prayer, Moulvie Sallamut Oollah, said, in my opinion we ought not fight to day, but proceed towards the entrenchment for that purpose tomorrow. I remained silent.

Q.—Did you then hear whether any other chief was with Moulvie Sallamut Ollah?

A.—I heard this, and it is well known to all, that Kazie Wussee-od-deen and Moulvie Sallamut Ollah were in league together.

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*Q.*—Did you hear any thing further of the Kazi?

*A.*—I heard the Cavalry were with him, and that he on one occasion took five hundred rupees from Ram Deen, late Government Khazanchie, to distribute among the sowars.

*Q.*—Were you in the habit of visiting the Nana?

*A.*—I was not regularly in the habit of visiting the Nana, but four or five days previous to the English (Sahib log) quitting the entrenchments, Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother and son who had been captured at Nujjuffghur, and confined in the Savada House, sent for me through Sha Ali, the city Kotwal. I was afraid to go near them myself, but deputed one of my servants, by name Jowkie Ram to visit them. He went, and on his return told me that Sha Ali Kotwall said that I ought to go, and that it would be ill for me if I did not. I did not go that day; on the morrow the Kutwal's servant came to me and said Mr. Thomas Greenway's Mother had sent for me. Jowkie Ram my servant likewise told me that I had been sent for by Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother. I proceeded first of all to Sha Ali's residence which was near the Savada House. On my arrival, Sha Ali said, when you were sent for yesterday, why did not you come? I answered "I was too ill yesterday", whereupon he replied Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother has written an order on you for the Nana, you must go and see her, she has sent for you. At the Kutwal's house their were Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel, and another Mussulman who was Tehseeldar of Khaja, and with whom I was unacquainted; there were several sowars of the Cavalry likewise present. I went with the Kutwal's servant to the Savada house, to Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother. I spoke to her. After a few observations she said the Nana has promised my release on presenting him with one lakh of rupees; if you and Futteh Ram arrange to pay this, my life will be spared. I replied I do not covet my life or property, and am ready to do what I can, and provide as much money as I am able. I will also speak to Futteh Ram. She now requested me to bring Futteh Ram to her next day and procure her some tobacco. I then departed, and next day in company with Futteh Ram went there. By stealth I continued to carry her a few fruit and some tobacco. Mrs. Greenway spoke to Futteh Ram about the money. I told her that I could arrange to make her over a a note of sixty thousand rupees, and likewise give her some money in cash. The remainder Lalla Futteh Ram would settle about. During this conversation Baba Bhut Mahratta, came in, and getting angry, inquired whether our conversation was over, and whether we had made any arrangements. I replied yes Sir, we have been conversing. Upon this Baba Bhut went outside and directed the sentry to turn me out and close the gateway. After he had gone, I and Futteh Ram said to the lady, settle with the Nana and let me know the result. I will send you the note and cash. Having said this I departed, the lady never sent for me again nor informed me of anything.

*Q.*—On the second visit, when you and Futteh Ram went in company, did you see Sha Ali and Ahmed Ali Khan?

*A.*—On the second day I did not go to the house of Sha Ali, on this occasion I only took his Chuprassie.

*Q.*—After this, did you again go to the Nana?

*A.*—Many days afterwards the Nana had an open durbar and directed all the mahajuns to attend. All accordingly went. I likewise went. On that day all the city people were assembled in a tent inside the Savada house compound, and I joined them. The Nana, after some delay, sent word to say he had not leisure to attend, so the assembly dispersed.

*Q.*—Who were there present?

*A.*—The following were present, Jogulkishore, jeweller; Ramanund, Mahajun; Baboo Salic Ram, and a great many others with whose names I am unacquainted.

*Q.*—Did you on the present occasion witness what Officers were present?

*A*—The only (sirdar) officer present was Ressaldar Jowallah Pershad.

*Q*—Did you again attend any of the Nana's Durbars?

*A.*— I was not called upon to attend any more of the Nana's Durbars, but I once went to Baba Bhut's Cutcherry.

*Q.*—What was going on in Baba Bhut's Cutcherry, and who were subordinates in his office?

*A.*—In the present Post Office compound there was a small house, inside of which there was a billiard table, on which I saw Baba Bhut seated. This was his Cutcherry. All the old

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(Government) servants were there carrying on business.

*Q.*—Mention the names of the Government servants there in attendance.

*A.*—Hoolas Ra, Sheristadar foujdary, was present ; I do not recollect the names of all the others.

*Q.*—Did you ever go to Deputy Ramlall's Cutcherry ?

*A.*—I never went.

*Q.*—Do you know how many massacres of the English took place ?

*A.*—I am not aware, but I heard some gentlemen who had come from the West were murdered.

*Q.*—When the English evacuated the entrenchments and were murdered at the Suttee Chowra Ghat, did you hear any particulars ?

*A.*—I did not go to the Ghat, but only heard that immediately upon the English going on board their boats, they were murdered.

*Q.*—Why did you attend Baba Bhut's Cutcherry ?

*A.*—The sowars and sepoys were constantly in the habit of coming and quarrelling at my house, they once took away some of my horses, and I went to report this circumstance at the Cutcherry, which I did to Baba Bhut, who grew angry and inquired of me what he was to do.

*Q.*—It has been ascertained that you constantly visited the Nana, and supplied him with cloaks ; for his troops you were likewise an agent of his. You are therefore called upon to state who the Nana's Sirdars were, also his favourites, and in what manner were the English murdered. Likewise state from whom the order emanated directing the massacres ?

*A.*—It is not true that I was constantly in the habit of visiting the Nana. I did not know him before, neither was I ever an agent of his, nor had we any transactions. It is true I supplied him with cloaks once, and it was on this account that I did so. The Nana ordered all the mahajuns to be seized for the purpose of extorting money from them ; among these were Futteh Ram, the son of Seish Nath's agent, Bhie Ram, Ram Pat, Gungoo and Gobind. I got alarmed at their seizure, particularly as the Nana told them that they had property and money in their possession belonging to the English, and which he claimed ; he likewise confined all their wives. On my first hearing of the seizure of these men I fled to Bithoor, and went and resided with Thakoor Pershad mahajun. The reason for my quitting Cawnpore is that I had the property of a great many gentlemen with whom I transacted business. After my departure I was summoned by the Nana. I did not go myself, but sent my agent. The Nana ordered him to make some tents for the sepoys, he replied we do not make tents nor have we any ready, nor any materials. The Nana then said " I have heard you have blankets and must make me some cloaks. My agent answered, we have got blankets but we cannot get the great coats ready. I sent word to my agent of what had taken place and advised him to prepare the cloaks in order to save my house from being searched, for it was full of property belonging to gentlemen, and a discovery of which would have entailed great trouble on my household ; whereupon my agent supplied the requisite blankets, the Nana seized some tailors and made them over to my agent with directions to prepare the great cloaks : being helpless he had some cloaks made.

*Q.*—Who got the order to prepare them, and who informed you of the order ?

*A.*—Kidernath one of my servants, sent me word about the order to make cloaks. I am not aware which of my men superintended the making. Suffice it to say my own people only were employed.

*Q.*—Are you acquainted with any particulars relative to the massacre of the ladies and women ?

*A.*—On the day of their massacre I was not present at Cawnpoor, but was at Nunheir. I heard the ladies were murdered previous to the British forces arriving at Cawnpoor.

*Q.*—Where is your servant Lutchmun Pershad ?

*A.*—He is residing at the village of Chickenda ; when ordered he will attend.

*Q.*—Where is Jowkie Ram your servant ?

*A.*—He is present here.

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*Q.*—Are you aware where the enemy's guns were placed in position, and who were commanding them ?

*A.*—I heard there were four batteries in position, one was towards the church, one on the road leading to the cavalry lines. I am not aware of the localities of the other two. I don't know who were in command of the batteries.

Q.—Did you hear that Nunney Nawab was in command of any of the batteries ?

*A.*—I heard first of all that the rebels imprisoned the Nunney Nawab, and that he was afterwards commanding one of the batteries. I cannot say whether he was compelled to do this or went of his own accord.

*Q.*—Are you aware who were the Nana's officers and agents ?

*A.*—I heard Bala, and Baba Bhut, and other Mahratta chiefs were in league with the Nana, there were likewise numbers of zemindars and villagers there in attendance. Raja Suttee Pershad was also present, as likewise Rajah Doorgapershad of Chickenda.

*Q.*—Among the Zemindars and Rajahs present, mention the names of those whom you know ?

*A.*—I do not know the names of any.

*Q.*—Was there any person of the name of Akber Ali, with the Nana ?

*A.*—I heard there was an Akber Ali with Azimoollah. I saw him at the Kutwali one day, and heard that he was going to be made Tehseeldar of Acberpore.

*Q.*—Are you aware who among the residents of Cawnpoor made tents for the Nana ?

*A.*—I heard Gunga Pershad arranged to make tents for the Nana, and some of the tents were said to be made by Bhugwan Doss.

*Q.*—What proofs have you that the Nana persuaded the mutineers to return from Kulcanpoor and come back to Cawnpoor ?

*A.*—Every body in the city said it was the Nana who brought the troops back from Cawnpoor. It was a general belief in which I likewise participated.

*Q.*—Can a copy of the proclamation that was issued be obtained any where ?

*A.*—I will search for one, and if I succeed in finding a copy I shall produce it.

*Q.*—At that time, who were the proprietors of the printing presses ?

*A.*—I do not know for certain, but Mustuffeh Khan's press was the one I heard of, and there were several others.

*Q.*—Do you remember the person who came to you on the part of Sha Ali ?

*A.*—I do not know who the person was.

*Q.*—When you saw Mrs. Greenway, who were the others in confinement with her ?

*A.*—There was Mr. Thomas Greenway's mother, Mr. Edward Greenway, his wife and daughter, and two small children; besides these, there were the wife of Mr. Jacobi and child, there was nobody else.

*Q.*—On the second occasion of your visit to Sha Ali, do you know who the chuprassie was that summoned you in person ? Could you recognize him ?

*A.*—I never saw him before, and therefore could neither recognize him ; nor do I know where he lives.

*Q.*—Previous to the British quitting the entrenchments, was there any rumour afloat in the city of the intended treachery that was afterwards displayed ?

A.—I heard no rumour of the kind.

*Q.*—How many great coats were prepared by you and what profits did you realize ?

*A.*—I do not remember the exact number of great coats I prepared, but I think sufficient to have supplied half of one Regiment. My servant was once paid six hundred rupees by Baba Bhut, I received nothing more.

*Q.*—Who brought the money you received ?

*A.*—I cannot say, but it was one of my own servants. The money was sent to the tailors for their hire and was distributed among them.

*Q.*—Who is Kidarnath ?

*A.*—Kidarnath was once an agent of mine, but I discharged him, since then he has been in my employ again.

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*No. 25.—Statement of Ram Deen, Khuzanchi, Collectorate of Cawnpoor, son of Moonshee Adjoodhia Pershad, resident of town of Baligram, lately resident of Cawnpoor, age 24 years: service.*

*Q.*—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor where were you?

*A.*—I was present in the station at the time, but four or five days after, from fear of oppression on the part of the rebels, I fled to the village of Rodhapoor, from whence I only returned when the British troops came to Cawnpoor. A great many people know this.

Q.—As long as you staid in Cawnpoor after the breaking out of the disturbances, state what you saw.

*A*—Previous to, and after the outbreak I was in the service of Government as treasurer. In the month of May, intelligence came to Cawnpoor of the outbreak at Meerut. The troops here were suspected on receipt of this news, and the General commenced making an entrenchment. The Nana Dhoondo Punt Maharatta, was summoned to Cawnpoor by the Magistrate; he came, and brought along with him some Cavalry and Infantry and a couple of guns. The Magistrate intrusted to him the keeping of the treasury. On the night of the 4th June the troops at the station mutinied, robbed the treasury, set fire to the bungalows, and released the prisoners in Jail, after which they marched to Kulleanpoor; the Nana became their leader and marched them back to Cawnpoor. My bungalow No. 100, which is situated on the grand parade, was now burnt by them and plundered. I heard a few shots fired in the Nunney Nawab's house, the sowars took the Nawab away, and the whole commenced firing on the entrenchments. The sepoys and sowars were guilty of great oppression in the city, and seeing this I quitted it through fear.

*Q.*—When you were at Cawnpoor, did you see or hear of a Mahomedan flag been planted?

*A.*—There was a Mahomedan flag planted.

Q.—Was there a proclamation issued inviting all classes to flock to the flag?

*A.*—Proclamations were issued.

Q.—What was written in those proclamations?

*A.*—The proclamations invited the Mahomedans and Hindoos to unite in common for protection of their religions.

*Q.*—State the truth, who raised the flag? By whose order were the proclamations issued, and did you see the flag with your own eyes?

*A.*—I did not see the flag with my own eyes, nor am I aware who the person was that first of all got it up. The proclamations were issued from the press of Musseh-oz-zuman, one of whose scholars furnished me with a copy.

*Q.*—Do you know whether it was Kazi Wussie-ood-deen or Moulvie Salamut Oollah who planted the flag?

*A.*—I only know that both these persons used to accompany the flag.

*Q.*—Did you upon any occasion furnish money for the Sowars? If you did furnish it, who were the recipients.? What quantity did you give, and on what account?

*A.*—The fact is, that one day a servant of Kazi Wussi-ood-deen's came to me from his master to say that the Cavalry Moonshee and sowars intended plundering my house, and that it was therefore necessary that I should give them some money. Having said this, the man departed. About three hours afterwards, some fifty Sowars came to my house and fired a few shots, then demanded ten thousand rupees of my servant; whereupon I fled to the house of a Bengalie and concealed myself. It was settled between my servants and the sowars that I should pay five hundred rupees; my servant paid this sum and thereby saved his life.

*Q.*—Do you know who that Cavalry Moonshee was, and where he used to live?

*A.*—I do not know what his name was, but he used to reside with the Kazi.

*Q.*—Who was that servant of the Kazi's that came to your house about the money?

*A.*—I do not know who he was, but he accompanied the Kazi to my house when the latter visited me on two or three occasions.

*Q.*—Who was that servant of yours that paid the money with his own hands?

*A.*—He was a relative of mine, by name Bhugwan Dass.

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*Q.*—Are you aware that the food prepared for the Sowars used to be cooked at the Kazi's house?

*A.*—I was not aware of this.

*Q.*—How do you know that those proclamations that were issued were printed by Musseh-oz-zumman, and do you know the name of his pupil that used to distribute them?

*A.*—I heard the proclamations were printed at Musseh-oz-zumman's press, but I do not know the name of his pupil who distributed them.

*Q.*—State any further particulars you know of the Nana's Durbar; who his Chief Officers and advisers were, and the ringleaders in the revolt.

*A.*—I know nothing more.

*Q.*—All that you have now stated relative to the planting of the flag, &c., did you upon any occasion reveal to any body in authority?

*A.*—Nobody ever inquired any thing of me before, and I consequently related nothing to anybody. Now that I have been called upon to do so, I readily comply.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing concerning the batteries the rebels placed in position against the English entrenchments?

*A.*—I know nothing whatever concerning these batteries further than having heard of their erection by the Nana and his followers.

*Q.*—Did you hear the names of the officers who commanded the batteries?

*A.*—No, I did not.

*Q.*—Did you hear that Ahmed Ali Khan Vakeel, Kazi Wussi-od-deen, Akber Ali, and Kazi Ahmud were in the habit of visiting the Nana, and if so what was their object in so doing?

*A.*—I know nothing of these people nor did I ever see them, but a certain Mohomed Istemal, Tehseeldar reported my absence from my own house to Deputy Ram Lall. I can produce the Urzie with the Tehseeldars signature affixed to it.

*Q.*—Where is your servant Bhugwan Dass?

*A.*—He is at Lucknow.

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*No. 26.—Statement of Lalla Ganga Pershad, senior, tent maker of Thundie Ram, caste khutrie, resident of Cawnpoor, age 66 years, contractor and mahajun.*

*Q.*—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*A.*—I was present in my house at Cawnpoor.

*Q.*—State any particulars you know concerning the outbreak.

*A.*—On the night of the 4th June 1857, the troops mutinied. On the day following, they plundered the treasury, set fire to the bungalows and marched off to Kuleanpoor. The Nana Mahratta, brought them back from Kuleanpore. Disorder and confusion were the order of the day. I concealed myself from fear in my own house.

*Q.*—Were you in the habit of visiting the Nana?

*A.*—A servant of Mr. Palmer reported to the Nana that I had money in my possession belonging to his master, whereupon a guard of the Nana's came to my house and commenced quarrelling with me. I reported the circumstance to Kutwal, Hoolas Sing; he sent a chuprassie and persuaded the guard to depart. Hoolas Sing sent me with one of his own men to the Nana, who received me very kindly and inquired what amount of money I had, I told him that I had four hundred and sixty rupees, house rent money. He then ordered me to go to Azim-ollah Khan at the Kutwalli. I did not go, but returned to my own house.

*Q.*—When you saw the Nana, was there any body else with him?

*A.*—Yes there were present with him all the old Government officials, *i. e.* amlah.

*Q.*—Mention their names.

*A.*—There was Bilas Rai, Sheristehdar Foujdary. I do not know the names of the others.

*Q.*—Did you ever again visit the Nana?

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*A.*—Many days after my first visit, Hoolas Sing Kutwal, sent for me and ordered me to go to the Nana, stating that I should be employed in making tents. When I arrived at the Nana's and he saw me, he got very angry and told me to make him some tents unless I wished to be disgraced. I would not agree to do so, a guard was accordingly sent to my house which perforce carried away five tents from my premises.

*Q.*—Whom did you see among the Nana's chief advisers and officers?

*A.*—I saw the following, Baba Bhut, Bala Rao, Azimoollah Khan, Jowalla Pershad, Brahmin, and Tantia Topie, and many others.

*Q.*—Was there any religious flag raised at Cawnpoor?

*A.*—I heard the Mahomedans had raised a flag of this nature.

*Q.*—Who was the person that put up the flag?

*A.*—I heard it was Moulvie Salamut Oollah. Numbers of Mahomedans flocked to it. I likewise heard that a single cannon ball from the entrenchments dispersed them.

*Q.*—Did you receive any money for the tents?

*A.*—Yes, and in this manner; when the Nana fled, Hoolas Sing Kutwal sent for me and informed me that he had some money which he requested me to keep. He gave me about four hundred rupees. I did not ask for it.

*Q.*—Was there any body else present when you received the money?

*A.*—There was an agent of Bhugwan Dass, Mahajun present, and he received some money likewise.

*Q.*—Mention the names of any other of the chiefs whom you know followers of the Nana.

*A.*—I know nothing about them.

*Q.*—Did you hear that Nunney Nawab was in the habit of going to the batteries?

*A,*—I did hear the Nunney Nawab was constantly going about with the Sowars, but whither he went I do not know.

*Q.*—Who was Bhugwan Dass's agent?

*A.*—I do not know his name. I only know he was a servant of Bhugwan Dass.

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No. 27. *Deposition of Luchmun Pershad in the employ of Shew Pershad, Khazanchee, resident of Cawnpore.*

Q.—Where were you at the time of the mutiny at Cawnpore?

*A.*—I was at Lala Shew pershad's house at Cawnpore, and was his servant.

*Q.*—Relate what you know of the mutiny?

*A.*—About 2 or 3 days after the mutiny we heard that a Mahommedan flag had been raised, Lala Shew Pershad sent me to see it, and to ascertain what was going on. I went and at Mogul Ke Serai, I saw a great crowd of about 2 or 3000 men and a green flag raised. I went amongst the crowd, and asked whose flag it was; they said it was a Mahommedan flag, and raised by Moulvie Salamut Oollah. I saw the Moulvie sitting near the flag with a rosary in his hand, and heard that the Moulvie had said he would see about the enemy tomorrow. I then returned and told what I heard and saw, to Lala Shew Pershad. I know nothing more.

*Q.*—Did you hear the Moulvie say that this was an ill-omened day to attack his foes and that he would go tomorrow?

*A.*—Yes. I did hear it.

Q.—In the crowd did you recognize any other Mahommedan?

*A.*—No. None.

*Q.*—Besides this, did you see any thing else during the mutiny?

*A.*—I never left the house, except when Lala Shew Pershad sent me to see about the flag.

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*No.*—28 *Deposition of Azeezun, Prostitute, and resident of Cawnpore.*

Q.—Before the mutiny, what Sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were in the habit of paying you visits?

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*A.*—I was in the keeping of Kulloo Mull, Mahajun; therefore no Sowars of the 2nd Cavalry were allowed to visit me.

*Q.*—About two days before the mutiny, Shumshuddeen Khan, sowar, came to your house and said, that in one or two days more the Peishwa's rule would be established and the Nana would be supreme?

*A.*—Before the mutiny, Shumshuddeen Khan, sowar, never came to my house. I don't know the man. He may have come without my knowing it.

*Q.*—What do you know about the religious flag raised at Cawnpore?

*A.*—I heard that it was raised by Azeem Oollah Khan, who took Moulvie Salamut Oollah with him. The Moulvie in vain attempted to resist. He also took all the residents of the City, and said "if you don't come I will blow you from the mouth of cannon;" he must have also taken Kazi Wasi-ooddeen. The sowars collected all the people, and took them to a house near the Canal and they took me also. There were about 1,000 persons, men and women collected there. The Nana and Azeem Oollah ordered the people to attack the Entrenchments. Moulvie Salamut Oollah and the people said, you first attack them, then we will. They then sent the people away, and I also returned home. I remember seeing the Nunney Nawab; Azim Ali Khan, Darogah; Agha Meer Shah Ali; Reear Alie; Moulvie Salamut Oollah; Baker Ali; Kazi Wasi-ooddeen; and Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel; Moulvie Ubdul Ruhman; Hoolas Sing, Kotwal; and Raheem Khan, Native Doctor; and all the Government officials were present, and a good many from the city whose names I don't know.

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*No. 29.—Statement of Jowahir Sing, Duffadar of the Cawnpore Police Battalion, son of Bullum Sing, Caste Brahmin, resident of Koder Koti, Zillah Etawah, age 45 years, service.*

*Q.*—When the rebels were at Cawnpore, where were you?

*A.*—I was at Cawnpore and in the service of the mother of Nunney Nawab.

*Q.*—In those days where was the late Kotwal, Hoolas Sing?

*A.*—Hoolas Sing resided in the "Khoord Mahal" at Cawnpore.

*Q.*—Did Hoolas Sing ever give a grey Arab Horse to Nunney Nawab?

*A.*—The day the Nana and the rebel forces fled from Cawnpore, Hoolas Sing at night gave Nunney Nawab a grey horse in my presence.

*Q.*—Who mounted that horse, and where did he go?

*A.*—Nunney Nawab and Nawab Doolah that night, along with their families fled, and went to Ghatumpore. I likewise accompanied them. The horse was with us, but I do not remember who mounted the animal.

*Q.*—What became of the Horse?

*A.*—The Nawab had the horse until we reached Humeerpore, and then the Nawab brought the animal back to Cawnpore. After this I heard the Nawab gave the horse to some gentleman.

*Q.*—You were at Cawnpore throughout the disturbances. State how often, and in what manner were the ladies and gentlemen murdered, and who were the officers present with the Nana, and who accompanied the rebel forces to fight against the English Troops?

*A.*—I only went twice in the direction of the Nana's forces. On one occasion when the Mahumdee flag was planted, I went to the Nunney Nawab with "Pan." The Nunney Nawab was seated in a palankeen in the compound of the present Telegraph Office. I gave him the "pan" and returned to my house. I saw nothing more.

*Q.*—What was the Nawab doing there, and who else was with him?

*A.*—I do not know whom he went to see, or on what account he went. There were only two or three Sowars with him at the time.

*Q.*—Where was the Mahumdee flag planted, who raised it, and who were present?

*A.*—I did not see it, but heard a Mahommedan flag was planted somewhere, and that Moulvie Sulamut Oollah took the flag to the spot. And on the second occasion when the Nunney Nawab fled across the Ganges, I was with his wife who was captured at the Ghat in a Chaise Gharri.

*Q.*—What did you see of the Nana's army?

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*A.*—I only saw the Nana's Court (durbar.) I know not how the ladies and gentlemen were murdered.

*Q.*—Whom did you see in the Nana's Court?

*A.*—I saw a great number of people but do not know their names, nor could I recognize them.

*Q.*—How many days before the Nana fled, did the Nawab run away, and what was the reason of his leaving?

*A.*—About seven or eight days before the Nana fled, the Nawab ran away.

*Q.*—Who were the sowars attending Nunney Nawab, and why with him?

*A.*—I do not know why they were escorting him, they belonged to some Corps of the army, and wore a blue uniform.

*Q.*—The rebel Kotwal Hoolas Sing, lived in the same house you occupied. You cannot therefore be as ignorant as you pretend; it is better to state all you know of rebel doings.

*A.*—I used to shut the door of the house and only left it on one or two occasions when the Nawab sent for me. I know nothing of rebels, and only heard that they had killed Europeans.

*Q.*—If you were not guilty of rebellion why did you leave Cawnpore on the approach of the British forces?

*A.*—I was under the Nawab's orders, being his mother's servant, he ordered me to accompany him, so I went.

*Q.*—What was your object in going to Humeerpore, then occupied by rebels?

*A.*—I was in the service of the mother of the Nunney Nawab and went with him; he must know why we went.

*Q.*—How long were you at Humeerpore?

*A.*—Seven or eight days. When we heard that the Nana had fled and Cawnpore retaken by the British, we returned.

*Q.*—How long have you been in the Nunney Nawab's service, and how did you get into Government employ?

*A.*—I have been 20 years in the service of the Nawab's mother, and the Nunney Nawab was my security.

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*No. 30.—Deposition of Moonshee Zuhoorce, son of Jyesook Sweeper, Abkaree Darogah, Cawnpoor.*—In May 1857, I heard of the Meerut outbreak and of the interruption of dâks. About the end of the month, the entrenchments at this place were commenced. At this time the 1st regiment of Infantry and 2nd Cavalry stationed here, seemed to be in an excited state, when a sepoy named Jân Mahomed went to the Cavalry and held a consultation, which proceeding was brought to the notice of the General by Subadar Bhowanee Sing, and led to the confinement of Jân Mahomed. On the 4th June 1857, at night, the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Light Infantry suddenly broke out, and proceeded towards the Treasury at Nuwabgunge, and on the next morning, the other two Infantry Regiments *i, e,* 53rd and 56th joining them, broke open the jail, and plundering the Treasury, proceeded towards Kulleanpoor; and it was rumoured that the Nana had also joined these mutineers. On the next day *i. e,* Saturday the 6th June, all the mutinous troops returned to the station, accompanied by the Nana, who placed himself in command. The first shot fired by the mutineers, was from the Subadar's tank, on the house of Azim Allee, Darogah of Oude, who then presented himself before the Nana, accompanied by his son; the Nana sent for Bakur Ali, and Nizam-ood Dowla, who also joined him. After this they fired a cannon against the house of the Nunney Nawab and took him a prisoner, plundering all his property. I heard of all these occurrences whilst at the residence of Jeeâ Lall, jemadar, at Gwaltola, and believe them to be true. The same day, the mutineers commenced firing at the entrenchments; the City was in a great uproar, the burning and plundering of bungalows commenced, and all Christians, both men and women, were put to death wherever found. From the place of my concealment at Gwaltola, by the assistance of 15 men whom I had engaged, I had provisions conveyed during the night to Captain Sir George Parker, Cantonment Joint Magistrate, General Wheeler, and Major Larkins, in the entrenchments. The fight continued, and a battery was erected near the Church and Racquet Court, under command of the Nunney Nawab, where Buldeo Sing Ze-

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mindar of Mouzah Seesa Mow, Jajmow, always remained in company with the Nawab. A second battery under Nawab Bâkur Ali was erected near the riding school, and a third under command of the Nana on the mall. I did not see all these batteries, but was informed of them by different people. The sweepers who were unfriendly to me, took and made over the members of my family to the mutineers and told them that they were a christian family. When they were taken prisoners, the people of the City interposed and stated that they were Sweepers and not *christians*, and should therefore, not be put to death : on this representation the mutineers released them, after which they concealed themselves in the house of Bara, Sweeper. On the 9th June, I heard that a number of Ladies and Gentlemen, and Children, together with their servants, about 126 souls, were taken prisoners by Heera Sing, Jowahur Sing, and Puhlwan Sing, Zemindars of Nuwabgung, and made over to the Nana. And I heard they were massacred by his orders on the 10th June near the Savada house. Jowahur Sing left the station on that very day, but Heera Sing the brother of Jowahur Sing, and Puhlwan Sing a relative of his are still there. After this, I heard of many European travellers being killed at different places. On the 14th June I sent to the entrenchments, by Kulloo, Bhoodoo and 13 others, a supply of eggs, sugar, bread, butter &c., to Major Larkins of the Artillery; these people were taken prisoners by the mutineers and blown away from guns on the next day. At the time of their capture, they confessed that they had been sent by me, consequently a search was made for me, when I stealthily left the station, bearing a note from Major Larkins to Allahabad, with a gold ring set with 5 diamonds given to me by the Major's Lady, these I delivered to the authorities at Allahabad. I returned to Cawnpore in company with the European troops.

*Q.*—You have stated, that a battery was erected near the Racquet court under command of Nawab Nunna, and that Buldeo Sing &c., were with him. Did you see the Nawab ?

*A.*—From the place of my concealment I observed for many days Nawab Nunna, Nizam-ood-dowla, and Bakur Alli Khan, brother of the Nawab ; together with Buldeo Sing and Munsub Ali &c., Zemindars, and a number of other people going daily to the batteries accompanied by a number of armed men, and was also told by others, that these people were going to the batteries. I saw the Nawab and his brothers mounted on horseback.

Q.—Did you hear whether the Nawab went of his own accord to the batteries, or was he taken there, as a prisoner by the Nana's men ?

*A.*—I do not think he went there as a prisoner. But certainly on the first day, when the mutineers returned from Kulleeanpoor he was taken a prisoner to the Nana, but after that, he went about the batteries of his own accord, accompanied by a host of attendants. It was also rumoured that the Nana had promised to make over Cawnpore to the Nawab. Thousands of persons, residents of this place, know all this. When the members of my family were taken prisoners on 8th June, I left Gwaltola and went to Buldeo Sing Tewarry's house, in Kirswan, and hid myself on the housetop, from whence I could see Nunna Nawab going to the batteries daily, and also Teeka Sing and Jwalla Pershad, who were commandants of the mutineer forces.

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*No. 31.—Deposition of Seo Pershad Panday, son of Banee Pershad Brahmin, Resident of Cawrpore, age 50 years.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, where were you ?

*A.*—I was in the station.

*Q.*—State clearly and truly, the occurrences that came under your observation ?

*A.*—In the month of May, I heard a rumour of the mutiny of the Meerut troops ; the Nana came from Bithoor with guns. Suddenly one night a fire broke out at the Cavalry lines, and in the morning I heard that the troops of the station had mutinied, broke open the jail, and plundered the treasury, after which they went away towards Kulleanpoor. On the next morning I was told that the Nana had brought back the mutinous troops, which caused a great commotion. Europeans were put to death, wherever met with ; and the sepoys commenced plundering; cannons were discharged in the direction of the Church, and it was rumoured that the Nunna Nuwab had been plundered. The troopers were scattered about,

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at the different Muhajuns' residences, extorting money. When the fight commenced at the entrenchments, all the bad characters of the city joined the mutineers, and all Christians were massacred, wherever found. There were four batteries erected against the entrenchment, Nunney Nawab was in charge of the battery near the Racquet Court, and the battery near the Artillery stables was I think commanded by Nuwab Bakir Ali, the other batteries were occupied by the sepoys and troopers and the Nana's men.

*Q.*—Did you personally see these men on the batteries, or only heard of them?

*A.*—I saw them personally, and on one occasion at noon, I was sitting at a well near the Horse Artillery bazaar, when a trooper made a prisoner of me and taking me to the Nuwab's battery told me to remain there in attendance on the sepoys giving them drink. I was then compelled to remain there till the evening, and it was then that I saw the persons on the different batteries.

*Q.*—State who this Nuwab was, and how was he engaged?

*A.*—He was the Nunney Nuwab, and was seated on a chair in the Racquet Court, with a hookah placed before him. The sepoys and a number of other men were in attendance. Guns were being fired. Sometimes the Nuwab would be walking up and down the Racquet Court, and at other times he would come out of the place.

*Q.*—Was the Nuwab in confinement or was he free?

*A.*—He was not under any restraint, but appeared to be the commander and master of the place, every one obeyed the orders given by him.

*Q.*—You have stated that the Nuwab was plundered by the mutineers, how then was he on their side and engaged in giving orders?

*A.*—I have stated whatever I heard and saw. On the first day the Nuwab's house was plundered, but afterwards I heard that he and the Nana and the mutineers had made friends, and the Nuwab was in full authority, and always remained at the battery giving orders. This fact is well known to thousands.

*Q.*—When you were brought a prisoner to the Nuwab's battery, did you see any other brahmin there, whom you knew?

*A.*—Yes there was another man named Bajay Lall, a brahmin, who was taken up the same time as myself, and there were two others, named Muttra, a brahmin, and Ram Pershad, Tewarry, who were engaged in giving drink to the sepoys.

*Q.*—Where are the two latter named persons now?

*A.*—They are living at Poorana Gunj, at Cawnpoor.

*Q.*—How often did you see Europeans murdered?

*A.*—It is impossible to recollect this, but I often heard, that as many Europeans as were found at different times were always massacred. On one occasion I saw a number of Europeans massacred in the Savada house about 4 P. M. by the Nana's orders.

*Q.*—When the Europeans left the entrenchments for the ghats, what occurrences did you observe?

*A.*—I did not leave my house on that day, but heard of the massacre, and that several ladies and children who escaped it, were put into confinement; and that a trooper had carried away Major General Wheeler's daughter. I also heard that this lady put an end to the trooper, and threw herself down a well.

*Q.*—Did you hear where this took place, and into which well the lady threw herself?

*A.*—I do not know any thing regarding this.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing of the massacre of the ladies and children, who were in confinement?

*A.*—When the European troops reached Futtehpoor, and the Nana and his troops fled, the massacre took place. I did not hear by whom and how they were massacred.

*Q.*—Had Nunney Nawab any arms at the battery?

*A.*—He had a sword and telescope by him, and used to go to the guns and direct the Artillery men what to do.

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*No. 32—.Deposition of Bajay Lall, Brahmin, age 42 years, resident of Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, where were you ?

*A.*—I was at my house in Cawnpore.

*Q.*—State what you know of the outbreak.

*A.*—In the month of May, a rumour reached Cawnpore, that the Native troops had mutinied at Meerut. Some days after this, the Regiments at this station also broke out, and I heard that the 2nd Cavalry, and the 1st N. I. took the lead. The next day, the other Regiments also broke out, and all of them conjointly broke open the Jail and plundering the Treasury, proceeded towards Kulleanpoor. I also heard that on the invitation of the Nana all the mutineers returned to the station, and a fight ensued between them and the European Troops within the entrenchments. A number of Christians were killed, their houses set on fire, and all their property plundered and destroyed. I became alarmed and retired to my house, from whence I could perceive all that was going on. Batteries were erected, and the fight commenced.

*Q.*—At what places were the batteries erected ?

*A.*—There were four batteries erected, one near the Racquet Court, one near the Church, another on the Mall, and the fourth, near the Cavalry lines opposite the nullah.

*Q.*—Who did you see engaged at these batteries ?

*A.*—The Nunney Nawab was at the battery near the Racquet Court, Nawab Bakur Ali was at the one near the Church, and on the other two, the sepoys, and a number of the Nana's men.

*Q.*—How do you know that the Nunney Nawab was at the battery near the Racquet Court ?

*A.*—I frequently saw the Nawab's conveyance going to, and returning from the battery in question, and I often saw him seated there on a chair with a table placed before him. On one occasion, about three o'clock in the afternoon, some of the Nawab's men took me forcibly to the battery, and told me to remain there, and supply water to the men. I spoke to the Nawab and begged of him to let me go, stating that I was a poor Brahmin, when he told me that as I was a brahmin, I would only have to give drink to the men, and that I should therefore remain. I was thus compelled to stay. I saw several other persons there.

*Q.*—Did you recognise any of them and what were their names ?

*A.*—There was one Sheopershad Pandy, a brahmin taken up at the same time that I was. In the evening, finding an opportunity of escaping, I left the place.

*Q.*—Did you see the Nunney Nawab there as a prisoner ?

*A.*—He was not a prisoner, but had full authority over the troops.

*Q.*—Was the Nawab in a tent or in a house ?

*A.*—He occupied the Racquet Court and when I was taken to him, he was seated on a chair in the open plain.

*Q.*—Did you see any Europeans killed ?

*A.*—When the fight was going on within the entrenchments, I saw a number of persons shot to death on the plain near Savada house, and was told that they had come from some other station. On the same day, a person named Mr. Williams, a writer, was brought a prisoner from Colonelgunge. He was known to me, and I went some distance with him, but when I saw the massacre, I left the place.

*Q.*—State what you observed on the day the Europeans left the entrenchments.

*A.*—I will state truly whatever I saw. In the morning (the date I do not remember), I was told that the Europeans were going to leave the entrenchments, and I saw thousands of persons, proceeding to see the sight. I accompanied them and saw a number of Europeans, some carried by elephants, others on palanquins, proceeding towards the ghat, escorted by a number of armed troopers and sepoys. When the Europeans were getting into the boats, the sepoys and troopers discharged a volley of musketry, and setting fire to the boats, opened on them with guns : seeing this, I left the place and returned to my house. All the Europeans both male and female together with children were massacred. Some of them, that were not dead but severely wounded, were brought away and confined in the Savada house. I also heard, that Europeans coming in from other stations were also massacred at Savada.

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*Q.*—Did you hear any thing of the murder of the Colonel of the 1st Regiment N. I. ?

*A.*—I heard nothing of this occurrence.

*Q.*—When the Europeans were massacred at the boats, did you see or hear of a lady being carried off by a trooper ?

*A.*—I did not see the occurrence, but heard of it; and I also heard that the lady in question killed the trooper.

*Q.*—What became of the ladies confined in the Savada house ?

*A.*—I heard that when news of the advance of European troops reached Cawnpore, they were all massacred.

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*No. 33.—Deposition of Perma Nund, Jemadar in the employ of the late General Wheeler.*

I was in the service of General Wheeler when the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore. There were first reports that a disagreement had arisen between the Sepoys and their officers regarding cartridges; then intelligence came, that the Meerut force had risen against the Europeans; then I heard that some Sahib had fired at a Sowar, and that a well known Soubadar or Jemadar of the troops here, Teeka Ram, had taken advantage of this circumstance to excite disagreement and insurrection. When the Sahibs were all living in the hospital within the entrenchment, the report spread that at midnight of the 4th June, the Cavalry Regiment had got under arms and sounded their trumpets, and that the 1st N. I. had followed their example. When these two regiments formed outside their lines, the gentlemen went outside the entrenchment and stood looking on. I was with them. The two Corps marched off towards Nawabgunge, and I heard, went to the Treasury and made arrangements for the disposal of the treasure, going afterwards to the Jail and breaking it open, and liberating the prisoners. The next morning after day break the 53rd and 56th N. I. also marched out and joined the others, some of their officers however left them and came into the entrenchment; I do not know their names.

I then heard that the whole force went to Kullianpore, en route for Delhi, and that the Nana called them back.

On the 6th June the firing on the entrenchment commenced, and from that day ingress or egress became difficult. Sometimes servants who got out made their way with difficulty as far as the Bazar of the European lines. All the Gentlemen, Ladies, and Europeans, to the number of from 500 to 550 were within the entrenchment, with 3 or 4 guns which were disposed at the four faces. Fighting went on, and on the 18th of June one of the guns became disabled by the fire from the Nunney Nawab's battery; soon two more broke down, and the English began to despair. The positions of the batteries of the rebels were as follows. The first, "the Nunnee Nawab's," was near the Racquet Court; the second, "Nawab Bakur Alee's," near the stables; the third, "the Nana's," in the direction of the Mall; the fourth, "the Sepoys'," towards the Nulla. Men outside of these batteries were visible from the interior of the entrenchment, and hundreds of spectators used to look on. Nawab Bakur Allee is a prisoner now, and I believe the Nunney Nawab has been forgiven.

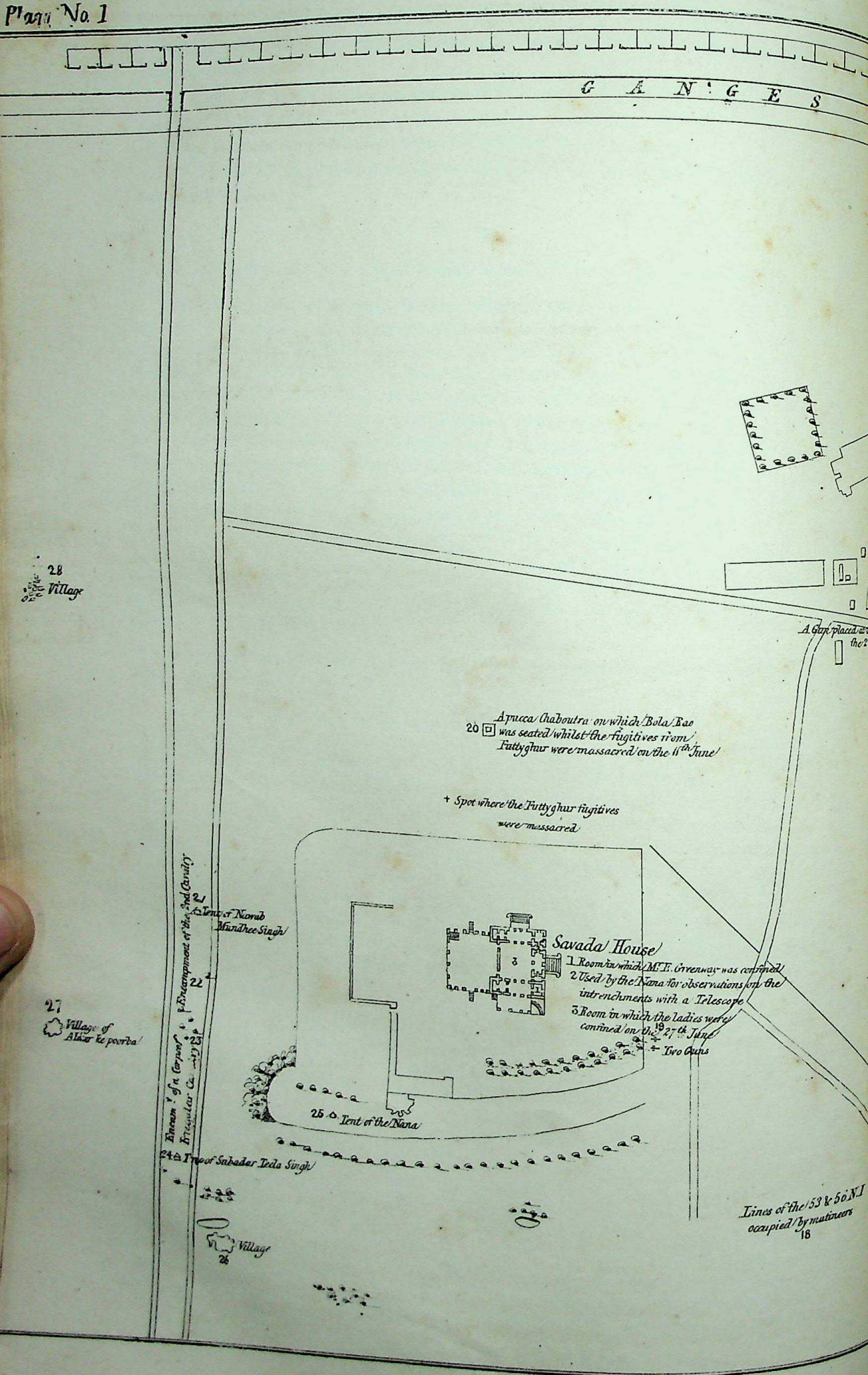
The English then negociated a treaty with the Nana. Some merchant's wife went out and made her way to him. The retirement of the English to Allahabad was agreed upon, the Nana taking a solemn oath. Two men named Azeem Oolla and Jowalla Pershad came to the entrenchment to convey the Nana's ratification on oath of the agreement, and I heard that a written treaty signed by him was also received.

The fighting then ceased, and the Nana sent some food for the garrison. On the morning of (I think) the 26th June, elephants, palkees, doolees, carts and beds, and other means of conveyance were brought, and all the English set off on them. The General, his Lady and his two Daughters, mounted one elephant, and I, Ramdeen, bearer; Khoda bukhsh, Khitmutgar, and Hingun, cook; and all his servants who were with the General in the entrenchment accompanied on foot; and the General, his Lady and Daughters, the Adjutant General, Brigade Major, Captains Thompson and Delafosse, and we four servants embarked in one boat, depositing the things we had in it. The other English were embarking in other boats when a shot was heard, two or three boats were set on fire, and a great outcry and noise arose. At this

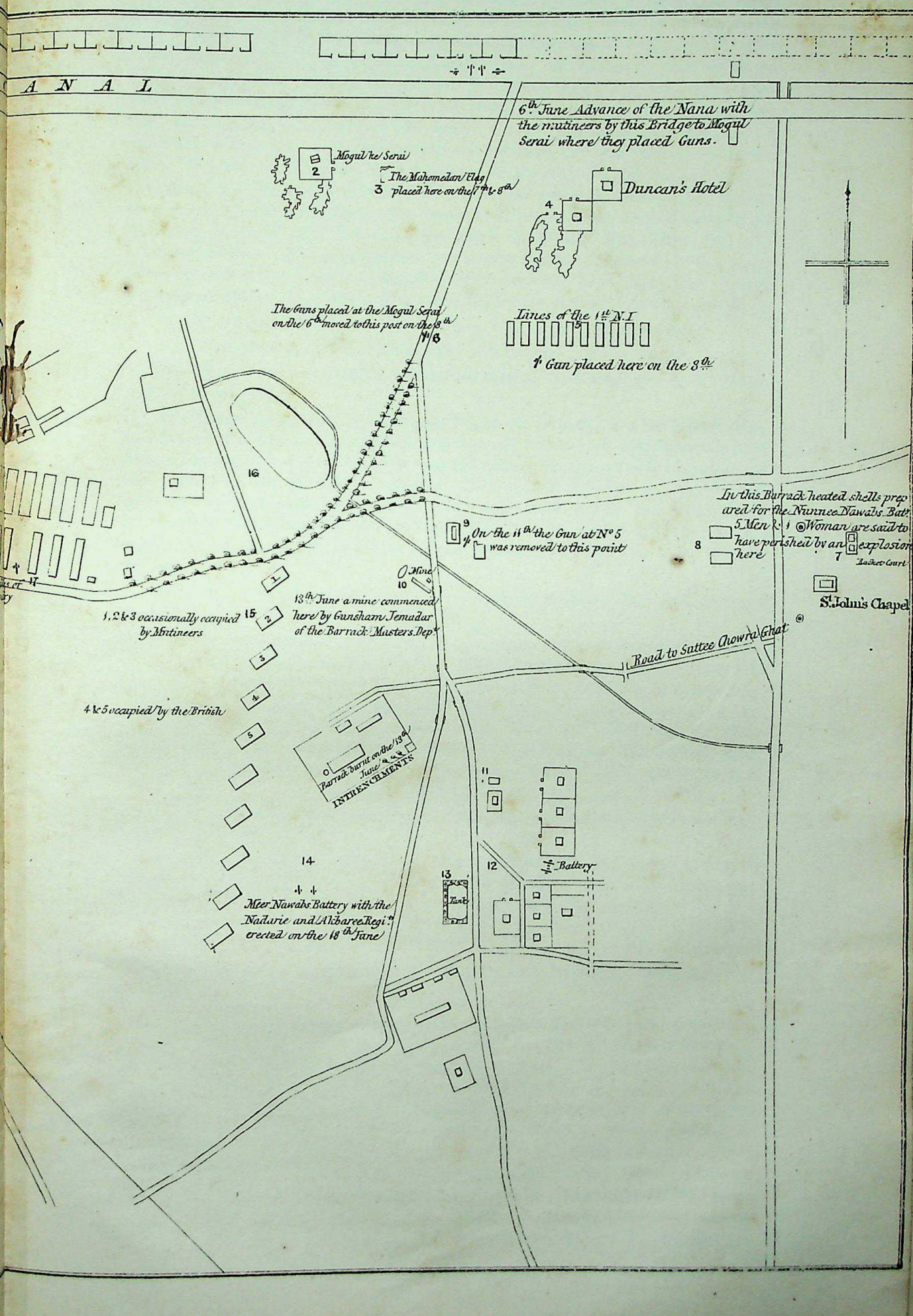
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Plan No. 1



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we all became terrified, but the General gave the boatmen a present of a bag of 1,000 rupees and they pushed off. When we had gone a little way below the village of Chajhmow, about a gunshot distant from the Suttee Chowra Ghât from which we had started, a cannon ball hit the stern of the boat. I do not know from which bank it came. The boat swung round and all the sahibs became terrified. Captains Delafosse and Thompson jumped out, and one of the General's daughters followed, whether the elder or the younger, I cannot remember. We four men then leaped out too. I do not know what became of Captains Delafosse and Thompson, or which side the boat went to. I however saw a Cavalry Sowar take Miss Wheeler out of the Nulla. We ran off and hid in a Jhao Jungle; when we came out, Raja Suttee Pershad of Sheorajpore who was there on horseback, arrested us, and put us in confinement in Mouzah Sheorajpore. We remained there in confinement 11 or 12 days. When the intelligence of the approach of the British army arrived, we were sent to the house of Ram Bukhsh, Baboo, in Dhoondeea Khera, who kept us prisoners in the stocks for 20 days. He then released us on our promising not to enter the service of Europeans again, sending us across the Ganges. I went to Cawnpore, and the other three to their homes, the locality of which I am not aware of.

*Q.*—What happened after the Sowar took Miss Wheeler out of the water?

*A.*—I did not see whether he took her away or killed her.

*Q.*—Did you know and recognize the boatmen to whom the General gave the 1,000 Rupees in your presence.?

*A.*—He gave the bag in my presence, and I looked well at the boatmen, but I do not know their names. The General had many bags with him, and when we left the entrenchment he wished to give each of us a bag of 1,000 Rupees as a present, but we said we would not accept them until we had seen him safe to Allahabad. He gave 1,000 Rupees to an Ayah who had remained in the entrenchment, but whose name I do not know; and she brought the money out of the place when the garrison evacuated it. A sepoy however snatched it from her and gave her a blow with his tulwar. I saw this from a distance as I was going along with the General.

*Q.*—How do you know that the Nunney Nawab and Nawab Bakur Alee were in the attack batteries?

*A.*—We used to see them every day from the entrenchment, and hundreds of men of the Regimental, artillery, and other bazars, in Cawnpore know they were; having actually seen them there. One day the Nunney Nawab with about 50 of the Cavalry made an assault on the entrenchment at about 3 P. M., and fought with Captain Vibart of the second Cavalry, and a Serjeant who were on the embankment. I myself saw the Nawab shoot the officer through the chest, and the Serjeant was wounded by a shot from a sowar. The alarm was given, and the Nawab and his sowars all turned and ran away. Both the Captain and the Serjeant died that day.

*Q.*—When you accompanied the General out of the entrenchment did you see Colonel Ewart of the 1st N. I.?

*A.*—I did not know the names of the Officers of that Regiment, but I know that the Colonel of the Corps was wounded by a bullet and was carried out of the entrenchment that day on a Charpoy, his wife accompanying him. I know nothing more about him.

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*No. 34.—Deposition of Jhokun, servant of the late Colonel Williams of the 56th Regiment N. I.*

I entered Colonel Williams's service about November 1856 at Bousee. On our arrival at Cawnpoor, there was no sign of what was to follow. The cartridge question used to be talked about, but it did not seem to engross much attention. The 53rd and 56th N. I. showed great lukewarmness until the mutiny actually broke out. The 1st N. I. and 2nd Cavalry were at the bottom of it, and were the instigators. I had no idea of what was likely to take place until I had gone into the entrenchments with my master. But on the 1st N. I. and 2nd Cavalry breaking out I felt that the troops were irresistably gone. The officers I left in their tents at the Regimental lines, ten days before they went into the entrenchments. All ladies and house servants used to go down to the lines at night and the chowkedars and syces used to remain at the houses. The Colonel used to converse with the men in the evening and do his best to allay their apprehensions regarding the cartridges and

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apparently with success. I dont know what took the officers into the entrenchments, as there was no active demonstration on the part of the troops to lead me to suppose that it was from fear of an immediate attack. I could not hear of any meetings among the sepoys taking place before the officers went into the entrenchments; they may have done so without my knowledge. My work kept me at my master's house and I had no opportunity of hearing anything. I accompanied my master into the entrenchments. All the servants went also, with the exception of the syces. My master took but one horse, the syce on which went with him. Baichoo Singh, Sepoy of Lt. Company, went into the entrenchments with Colonel Williams. For the first four days the orderlies used to attend on their officers. On the night of the 4th June, after the occupation of the entrenchment, the 1st N. I. and 2nd Lt. Cavalry broke out and marched to Kullianpoor. The officers in the entrenchments were aware of the Cavalry going, for they saw their lines on fire and made ready for an attack. There was a report that the 1st Regt. Native Infantry had gone off with the Cavalry, which proved correct in the morning. On the 5th June, all the officers in the entrenchments keeping two or three servants with them, told the others to load all their property in the Bungalows on boats, and when this was done to inform them; after which the boats were to go to Allahabad. On this order I left the entrenchment and assisted in taking my master's property to the boats. He could get no coolies, so we had to carry the things ourselves. After the 1st N. I. and 2nd Lt. Cavalry had gone, the officers of the 53rd and 56th went down to the lines of their respective Regiments who were assembled according to the orders of their Officers on parade. I had gone away to help to load the boats. After this I never entered the entrenchments. I was occupied on the boats on the 6th of June when about 10 A. M. we all heard the first gun fired by the rebels, and leaving work ran towards the entrenchments, but found it was surrounded by rebel sepoys who would not let us pass. I did not see them turn out, but as I was taking some things to the boat on the morning of the 5th, I saw the Colonel's Guard leaving and asked them where they were going; they said the Regt. had left the lines, and they were going to join it. Baichoo Singh above mentioned did not go with the Regt. He told me that the Nana from Bithoor had met the 1st N. I. and Cavalry, at Kullianpore, and persuaded them not to carry out their design of going to Delhi, but to return to Cawnpore, plunder the Treasury and fight the English. I don't know how the 53rd and 56th came to join the other, but I know that after they met, they became one. All I know about the sepoys is what Baichoo Singh told me. He told me that the Nana, Tantia Topie and Bala Rao had assumed the control of the rebel forces. They were all three present when the rebels opened on the entrenchments, Baichoo Singh joined his Regiment the day after the first attack, but used to come to the servants who remained at the house to ask about the Colonel and his lady, and told us to give him all the information we could about them. We could however give him none, as we had no means of getting any ourselves. For 19 days the fight went on with only slight cessations at night. The guns of the rebels were freely answered by the besieged for the first four days; after this the fire was very slack, and it was only at long intervals they fired, except in the case of an assault, when the firing was more rapid. The last two days there was a cessation from firing while some treaty was being made. On enquiring from Baichoo Singh the cause of this sudden cessation, he told me that a letter had been received by the Nana from the entrenchment, and that both parties were treating, and that in a short time the officers would come out. Even after the cessation of hostilities we were not allowed to go and see our masters. On the morning of the 26th June, three officers of the 56th, named Goad, Fagan and Warde, mounted on an elephant, and two Europeans whose names and Regts. I don't know, mounted on another elephant, came out of the entrenchments and went to the river to inspect the boats. The gardener and I taking some grapes, went up to the officers and told them that we were in a starving condition and wanted to come to our masters in the entrenchment. They said "no you can't come with us, but we shall come out to-morrow and you shall accompany us down to Allahabad in boats". Messrs. Goad and Warde each gave me 2 Rs. After inspecting the boats they returned to the entrenchments. I asked these officers about my master and mistress and the other officers of the 56th. They told me that my master Colonel Williams, Major Prout, and Captain Holliday had died natural deaths. Lt. Chalmers had been shot, the rest were well. They also told me my mistress was well but slightly wounded, and that Miss. * * was dead. Her death was caused by fright at the cannonade, and that she was not wounded. On the 27th June, a little before 6 A. M. as many as could walk came out, some of the wounded in doolies, others of whom were left behind in the entrenchments. This part of my narrative was witnessed by me. The party from the

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entrenchment was unarmed and surrounded by sepoys. I had great difficulty in reaching my mistress. I saw Baichoo Singh at the ghat and asked him to procure an interview with my mistress for me. He said it was impossible, that the men would shoot him if he attempted such a thing. After much persuasion he took me to the Havildar Major of the 56th N. I. who said the thing was impossible. I appealed to him, and begged him to remember the kindness he had received from the Colonel. After persuasion, he said he could not show his face before the Colonel's lady, but directed four sepoys to take me to my mistress and to prevent my being disturbed. The Havildar's name was Amundee Deen Misser. I was then taken to my mistress, with whom were her two daughters, Miss. * * and Miss. * * They were in a wretched plight, scorched and blistered by the sun. My mistress had a slight bullet wound on her upper lip. She told the same story as the gentlemen of the 56th, above named, that my master had died on the night of the 8th of June. My mistress then asked about the property left in the house, and enquired about all the servants; she enquired particularly after the cook who I told her was residing in "General Gunge." She then told me to go and fetch him, as she wanted him to go down to Allahabad with her, and told me to go to her son in the hills and inform him of all that had occurred. I replied, that my child was in Cawnpore and that I could not leave him. She told me then to take my child to my house, and then to make every endeavour to join her son as soon as the roads should be open, and to show her son the spot where the Colonel was buried. I told her I did not know the spot. She said the syce who remained with them in the entrenchment would show it. I then went to call the cook. As I was returning with him to the boats we heard musketry, and both of us ran to the river to see what was the matter. On reaching the banks of the river, I saw that the Europeans were all on board the boats, and being fired into: 5 of the boats were on fire. Men and women jumped into the water which was over their waists, when the sepoys went in with their swords, and cut them up. I could not bear the sight any longer, so went away to the Bungalow. I heard from Baichoo Singh that 112 women and children had been saved and taken to the Savada. He told me that Miss. * * and Mrs. * * were there. I then went to see them, but could not get near them on account of the sentries, but saw that food was being distributed to them. It consisted of native bread, and milk. I remonstrated with Baichoo Singh and begged of him to supply people who had lived in a very different way, with better food. He gave me 8 annas to go to the bazaar and buy some sweet-meats. I did so. But on my return was prevented going to the ladies. The Havildar Major again got me permission to go to them. Miss. * * and Mrs. * * came into the verandah to meet me. Miss. * * repeated her mother's injunctions about my going to her brother. I gave them the sweetmeats, and had little time to speak to them; for seeing me, the other ladies came out into the verandah; on which the sentries turned me out. I got 4 annas from Baichoo Singh and started off the next morning towards my house in Oudh. I reached my home, and placing my child there, I started for Colonel Williams's son. I got as far as Byram Ghat, where I was stopped and not allowed to proceed further. I then returned again to my house. On Lucknow being occupied by the British, I again went and attempted to get to Colonel Williams's son; but was this time made a prisoner on the suspicion that I was seeking employment among the British, and kept in confinement for a month in the Begum's camp at Boondee. Since then I have been seeking for Mr. Williams.

*Q.*—On what day were the officers' houses burnt?

*A.*—The day the attack on the entrenchments commenced.

*Q.*—Did all the drummers go into the entrenchment?

*A.*—Yes nearly all.

*Q.*—What became of the servants who went on board of the boats?

*A.*—White or black, they were indiscriminately murdered.

*Q.*—Did you see any boat get away?

*A.*—One boat with 12 men got away. On board of it were two officers, Murray and Anderson of the 56th, and the Qr. Master Sergeant of the same Regt. I don't know who the others were.

*Q.*—Were the guns brought to play upon the boats?

*A.*—Yes. And on the boat that got away, guns played with round shot from both sides of the river, but none struck.

*Q.*—Did this boat escape entirely?

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*A.*—No. It was captured some short distance down the river, and I saw the gentlemen brought back bound. They were brought back by the road.

*Q.*—What became of these prisoners ?

*A.*—I left Cawnpore the next morning and do not know their fate.

*Q.*—Who captured and brought back these prisoners ?

*A.*—The 2nd Lt. Cavalry alone.

*Q.*—Were the Nana, Tantia Topee, and Bala Rao, present when the embarkation was taking place ?

*A.*—I only saw Tantia Topee, he was dismounted, and his horse standing close by.

*Q.*—Was there any order among the sepoys, or were they all mixed up together when the massacre was taking place ; and did you see any men of any one particular Regt. more active than the others ?

*A.*—They were not drawn up in any order, but extended in a long line down the banks. It was impossible to see who was most active. The sepoys fired for about half an hour, but it was the Nana's people and men of a local Regt. that had come over from Lucknow, that cut up the Europeans in the water with their swords ; the Feeda Hoosein Regt.

*Q.*—How was it that 112 women and children escaped from the heavy fire you describe ?

*A.*—The thatch of the boats stopped the bullets.

*Q.*—Who stopped the massacre, so that those people were saved ?

*A.*—I don't know who gave directions to stop the massacre.

*Q.*—Were there any influential men from the city mixed up with the sepoys or in the Nana's confidence ?

*A.*—No. I know of none. I didn't go among the sepoys but heard all I have related above, from Baichoo Singh.

*Q.*—When did you again visit Cawnpoor ?

*A.*—Not till after the British authority had been re-established.

*Q.*—Are you certain that the officers were four days in the entrenchment, before the attack commenced ?

*A.*—Yes. I am certain they were in the entrenchments four days before being attacked. The 1st N. I. and 2nd Lt. Cavalry broke out on the 4th night, and the fighting commenced on the 6th day.

*Q*—Did you see General Wheeler at the ghat ?

*A.*—No, I did not. But I saw him in the entrenchment before the attack.

*Q.*—After the massacre at the ghat, were all the ladies taken to the Savada, and do you know of any of the sepoys or others taking any of the ladies away ?

*A.*—They were all taken together to the Savada, and I know of no lady being taken away by any sepoys.

*Q.*—Did you see any children destroyed, and if so how were they killed ?

*A.*—I did not see any killed at the ghat.

*Q.*—Do you know of any servant who escaped from the boats ?

*A.*—I only know of one, and believe her to be a solitary instance. She was wet nurse to my master's child. She came out of the boat almost naked. The mob were going to kill her, but were prevented by the sepoys. I asked her what had become of the child. She said her master had thrown it into the river, and told her to leave the boat.

*Q.*—Did you see any christian female dishonored in any way, while at Cawnpoor ?

*A.*—I did not.

*Q.*—Did you see any of the officers of the 56th at the ghat ?

*A.*—I saw Messrs Goad, Warde, Kempland and the Doctor on board the boats. This was before I went for the cook. On my return I did not see them.

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*No. 35.—Deposition of Choonee Lal, Mahajun, resident of Nanoo.*

I reside near the encamping ground at Choteypore. When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, the men of my village took advantage of it to plunder and create disturbances.

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Two days after the Cawnpore mutiny, a detail consisting of two Troops of the 7th Cavalry and 2 Companies of the 48th N. I., from Lucknow encamped at Choteypore. On their arrival, the disturbances immediately ceased; but the next day we heard rumours that this party had also joined the Nana. On the following day, (it was Tuesday the 9th June,) about noon, a bugle sounded, and there was an uproar in the Camp. I went to the top of my house and saw three Europeans mounted. They fled by the road to the east of the encamping ground, and were pursued by the Sowars. Finding the road to the east occupied by Sepoys, they turned to the south, followed by the troopers who were firing at them. Some men of my village joined the mutineers. The three officers were murdered about a mile from the encamping ground by the village of Tinheea. The troopers shot them. Being on bad terms with some of the Rajpoots of my village, they took advantage of the disturbance to bring some of the Sepoys to plunder my house. I fled to Bitthoor and took refuge with Geshree, Putwarie, who told me shortly afterwards that the troops encamped at Choteypore had brought in the heads of some Europeans. At dark I went to the house of the Rao, the Nana's nephew, where the heads were exposed. There were thousands looking on, and I recognized the three heads as those I had seen at Choteypore. A gentleman and a lady were also brought into Bitthoor by the mutineers. The lady was in a dooly. They were not murdered whilst I was there, and I do not know what became of them.

*Q.*—Can you give a description of the three murdered officers?

*A.*—I only saw them from a distance, and could not describe their features.

*Q.*—Describe the Gentleman and Lady brought in prisoners.

*A.*—The gentleman was middle aged, and the lady, young, and pregnant.

*Q.*—Can you name the men of your village who joined the mutineers in murdering the officers?

*A.*—Yes, some of them. Lochun Sing, Bhugwan Sing, Geshrie Sing, Dulman Sing, Munrahun Sing, with others whose names I do not recollect.

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*No. 36.—Deposition of Maun Sing, Brahmin, resident of Nanoo.*

Two or three days after the mutiny at Cawnpore, some sepoys and sowars accompanied by three Europeans, encamped on the Choteypore encamping ground close to my village, and near to which, I was at the time, engaged in watching some mangoe trees. One day I heard a disturbance in the Camp and shots fired. I saw three Gentlemen on horseback pursued by sowars. Some Thakoors and Rajpoots joined the mutineers, on seeing which I fled to my home. The next day I saw the headless corpses of the three Gentlemen, on the road from the encamping ground to Tinheea.

*Q.*—Who were the men that joined the mutineers?

*A*—Bijool Sing, Meerahedun Sing, Geshree Sing, Punchum Sing, Bhugwan Sing, and several others.

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*No. 37.—Deposition of Mungna, Aheer, resident of Nanoo.*

My house is close to the encamping ground at Choteypore. I do not remember the day, but after the mutiny at Cawnpore, some troops encamped there. On the third day, in the afternoon there was a disturbance in the Camp, and from the top of my house, I saw the Sowars pursuing three Gentlemen who were on horseback. Some of the Rajpoots of my village joined them. I heard that the Europeans had been shot by the Sowars, and afterwards saw three headless corpses laying on the road between Choteypore and Tinheea.

*Q.*—What became of the bodies?

*A.*—I do not know.

*Q.*—What are the names of the villagers who joined the mutineers?

*A.*—They were Lochun Sing, Meerahun Sing, Dewan Sing, Geshree Sing, Bijole, Oojogur and Ruttun Sing.

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*No. 38.—Deposition of Appajee Luchmun, Bhakree, son of Luchmun Punth, Bhakree, age 67 years, resident of Bitthoor.*

*Q.*—When the disturbances broke out at Cawnpore, where were you?

*A.*—I was at Bitthoor at the time. On the 6th June, when the Nana's rule was proclaimed; Goordeen, Agent of Meina Bais, and Tutee Baee, the late Peishwa's Widow, together with his family were put to death by the Nana's orders, and Appâ Shastree and myself with five others, were put in confinement with irons. On Tuesday, 9th June, two troops of Cavalry and two companies of Sepoys brought into the Rao at Bitthoor, the heads of three Europeans, together with a gentleman and lady. The latter was pregnant. On reaching the Rao, the sepoys wished to put them to death, but Mainta Baee, and her daughter, interfered, and said that if the lady was put to death, they would put an end to themselves; on which, the Rao ordered the lady to be kept in the *Burrá Sahib's* house, and sent the Gentleman and the three heads to the Nana. Four or five days after this, about 40 or 45 persons, Ladies and children inclusive, were sent into Bitthoor, by Jussa Sing, Zemindar of Futteypore Chourasie. They reached the place in the evening. The Rao treated them very kindly and sent food for them. At this time the Rao had no evil intentions towards these Europeans. On the next day, a messenger sent by Bala and the Nana from Cawnpore reached the Rao, and in accordance with the instructions received by him, he sent away all the gentlemen and ladies to the Nana. Two or three days after, the lady who was kept in the *Burrâ Sahib's* house, was delivered of a daughter, and great care was taken of her. Whatever news regarding the Nana reached the Baee's, was conveyed by them to me, and I forwarded it on to Lala Manuck Chund's Gomashta, by means of Teekagee Punth, and Appâ Shastree who wrote letters for me. After the entrenchments were vacated, the Nana and Bala both came to Bitthoor, and the former took his seat on the throne. Presents were offered to him, salutes fired, and the place illuminated in honor of the occasion. After this, Bala returned to Cawnpore, and the Nana remained at Bitthoor. When news of the approach of British Troops at Futteypore reached Cawnpore, Teeka Sing who was made a General, accompanied by a number of sepoys and sowars, came to Bitthoor, on account of a dispute having arisen between the troops, regarding payment, and took away the Nana with him to Cawnpore. When the European troops reached Cawnpore, the Nana left it, came to Bitthoor during the night, and commenced having boats prepared. Choonnee Sing, Chowdree, an old servant of the Nana's, got all the Nana's property loaded on boats, elephants, and hackeries, and despatched them across the river from Teekapore ghât, on the same night. The Nana left in a boat, on Friday night, the 17th July. When he was leaving, he gave orders to put to death the lady who was confined in the *Burra Sahib's* house, and the guard of sowars of the 7th Cavalry, placed over her, murdered her and the child. The Nana forcibly took away with him the Baees. I was confined at the Thanah. Bulwunt Sing the brother of the Baee, came and gave me all this information, and advised me to take off my fetters, and leave the place. On the next day, British troops reached Bithoor, and I presented myself to General Havelock. He saw the lady's corpse lying at the place where she was massacred by the Nana's orders, and was very much grieved.

*Q.*—Was there with the Nana, any Mahommedan woman named Begum, and if so, what was her occupation, and from what period had she been with him?

*A.*—The Nana had four slave girls belonging to the Peishwa, one of them was named Taj Beebee; a second, Chundur Khanum; a third, Gatee Ufroz; and the fourth, Hossainee Khanum, who was also called Begum; she was an attendant on Oula, a courtesan, kept by the Nana; this girl Oula had by her Lacks of Rupees worth of property belonging to the Nana.

*Q.*—Give a description of the woman called Begum?

*A.*—She was of a fair complexion, tall, and about 25 or 26 years of age.

*Q.*—Do you know where Choonnee Sing, Chowdree, is now?

*A.*—I am not sure where he is, but I was informed that he is living somewhere towards Creyah.

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*No. 39.—Deposition of Appa Shastree, Son of Ramchunder Punth, Brahmin Dukhnee, of Poonah, at present residing at Bithoor; age 51 years.*

*Q.*—When the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore, where were you?

*A.*—I was at Bithoor at the time. One day, the date of which I do not remember,

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Bapoo Datar, a mahratta, accompanied by 20 or 22 persons, both horse and foot, went to the Thanah of the old Cantonments at Bithoor, set up a flag there, and another at the Government Thanah. From that time it was known that the Nana's rule had commenced, and that all the troops were subject to him. After this, the Nana blew away from a gun, Goordeen the *Baee Sahib's* agent, and his family; also confined me, Lalla Ram, and Appa Jee Punth, at the Thanah, and put fetters on us; and until the re-establishment of the British rule, we remained in that state, together with a number of other persons connected with the Baee.

*Q.*—State the occurrences you observed during the disturbances at Bithoor.

*A.*—As I was not liked by the sepoys and the Nana's men, I did not venture to stir from the Thanah, but Appa Jee, Luchmun Bhakree, Lall Ram, and Juggurnath Deechut used to go out of the place and witness what was going on. The Baee's men used to come every day to see me, bringing me food and giving me all the news. I remember having heard that on Tuesday the 9th June, a gentlemen, and a lady who was with child, and three heads of some Europeans, were brought into Bithoor by some sepoys and sowars who carried them to the Rao; and that when the sepoys intended putting the two former to death, the Baees interfered and had their lives spared. So the lady was kept in the Burra Sahib's house, and the gentleman together with the heads were sent to the Nana. These facts were communicated to me by Bulwunt Rao, the Baee's brother. Some days after, the lady above alluded to was delivered of a daughter, and the Baees caused great care to be taken of her. Five or six days after this, a boat containing 45 or 46 Europeans together with some ladies and children were sent to Bithoor by Jussa Sing, Zemindar; their boat was brought and moored opposite the Thanah. I saw it from a distance, but Appa Jee Punth and Lalla Ram, went out of the Thanah and saw the boat, and Choonee Sing Chowdree, who was appointed Thanadar, called out to Juggunnath Deechut, now deceased, to come out and see his friends the English. He accordingly went out to see them. I was informed, that the Rao treated these Europeans very kindly and sent them food. The next day in accordance with instructions received from Bala, they were all sent to Cawnpore. Koosaba Khiranee-gir, and Koondoo Punth, two of the Nana's officers, were sent in charge of them. When the entrenchment was vacated, the Nana and Bala came to Bithoor; the former took his seat on the throne, in honor of which salutes were fired, the city and other places illuminated, and khilluts distributed, after which Bala returned to Cawnpoor, and the Nana remained at Bithoor for five or six days, when he also returned to Cawnpoor owing to a dispute having arisen in the troops, regarding the distribution of salary and rewards. A short time after this, when Europeans troops reached Cawnpoor from Allahabad, and the Nana was defeated, he came back to Bithoor, and taking away his valuables, retreated towards Teekapoor Ghat, and the European troops came into Bithoor. The Nana left during the night, and I quitted the Thanah the next morning, had the re-establishment of the British rule proclaimed, and prevented Government property being removed from the palace. When General Havelock reached Bithoor, I sent to him Appa Jee Punth, and gave intimation of the Government property which the son of Narain Rao Subadar had removed, and whatever Government property I could collect I made over to them.

*Q.*—What became of the lady who was kept in the Burra Sahib's house?

*A.*—The day that the Nana left Bithoor, the guard placed over her put her to death by his orders.

*Q.*—Where is Bulwunt Rao, the brother of the Baee, now?

*A.*—He is at Gwalior.

*Q.*—When Koosaba Khuranee-gir, and Koondo Punth, accompanied the Europeans from Bithoor, did you see them?

*A.*—I did not see them go with the Gentlemen, but when Koosaba Khiranee-gir returned, he told me he had gone in company with the Europeans to Cawnpoor. He is still here, and will not I think tell a falsehood, if put on oath.

*Q.*—Where is Koondo Punth?

*A.*—He left this in company with the Nana.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing further regarding the Nana's doings?

*A.*—Whatever news of the consultations and proceedings of the Nana reached Rao, was communicated to me by the Baee's brother Bulwunt Rao, and her elder brother; and I con-

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veyed this intelligence to Lalla Nanuck Chund's Agent, through Teeka Jee Punth, who is now at Bithoor.

*Q.*—How long did the 45 Europeans remain at Bithoor?

*A.*—They only remained at Bithoor for one night, in the Burra Sahib's house.

*Q.*—Did Koosaba Khiranee-gir, tell you the number of ladies and children?

*A.*—He did mention it to me, but I do not recollect now, he will be able to give a correct account.

*Q.*—What other news did you convey to Lalla Nanuck Chund, and what was your motive for doing so?

*A.*—I with several others were in the service of the Peishwa's widows, and engaged in fighting out their case against the Nana. I was therefore convinced that as the Nana's rule was predominant, there was no chance of any of us being spared. I was also confident that in a short time the British rule would be re-established, and if the Nana were taken alive, such a record would be very useful. Lalla Nanuck Chund is the Baee's Agent, I therefore sent him all the news I could collect.

*Q.*—Was there a woman named Begum in the Nana's service?

*A.*—Yes there was a slave girl of the Peishwa's time, named Hosseinee, who was called Begum.

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*No. 40.—Deposition of Nana Ubbhunkeer, son of Kesho Rao Bhunkeer, Brahmin, age 30 years.*

Q.—Where were you at the time of the outbreak at Cawnpore?

*A.*—I was at Bithoor.

Q.—State all you saw at Bithoor during the outbreak.

*A.*—A day or two after the troops mutinied at Cawnpoor, and agreed to be on the side of the Nana, he caused a flag to be set up at the Thanah of Bithoor, and it was reported that the Nana's rule had commenced; in honor of which a salute was fired. Jumna Jee Rao deserted through fear of the Nana, by whom Bulwunt Rao and others, relatives and servants of the Baee, were put in confinement. I remained at home through fear, and very seldom ventured out. About eight days after this, a boat containing some gentlemen from Furruckabad, was brought in. There were two batteries erected, one at Bundee Mata Ghât, and the other at Shookul-deo Ghât, when the boat arrived opposite the latter ghât, shots were fired at it by the Nana's people, and from the other side of the river, the people of Jussa Singh zemindar of Futtehpoor Chourassee were firing. I saw all this from a distance. The Europeans in the boat also fired, after this, a gentleman put out a flag from the boat, on which firing on both sides ceased, and the people of Jussa Singh came in a boat from the other side of the river, and took away the boat containing the gentlemen to the Thannah, and then taking it to Shookul-deo Ghât, caused the gentlemen, ladies and children to leave it, and putting them on two hackeries covered with sirkee, took them to the Rao at the palace. It was about 9 P. M. when they reached the Palace, it was raining at the time, and the Rao seeing the Europeans, ordered them to be taken to the *burra sahib's* house, which was done. In the morning, food was sent to them, the gentlemen and ladies were about 45 in number, and one of them was called Colonel. On the same day on receipt of an order from the Nana, the Rao sent them all to Cawnpoor.

Q.—Did you see the gentlemen sent from Bithoor to Cawnpoor? How many were there?

*A.*—The Europeans were brought to the palace about 9 P. M. and were sent from it to the *burra sahib's* house, and on the next day about 3 P. M. they were all sent away on carts, to Cawnpoor, and were accompanied by sowars and sepoys: through fear I did not approach them so close as to be able to count how many ladies and children were with them.

Q.—Which of the Nana's officers accompanied the Europeans from Bithoor to Cawnpoor?

*A.*—Kosaba Ghiranee Gir, Mahratta Bapoo Kan kutta and several others, whose names I do not remember.

Q.—Were any other Europeans brought in to Bithoor?

*A.*—No.

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*Q.*—What became of the lady who was pregnant, and was kept in the *burra sahib's* house at Bithoor?

*A.*—When the Nana retreated from Cawnpoor, and passed through Bithoor, he ordered the sepoys and sowars to put her to death, which was done. I only heard of this occurrence and did not witness it.

*Q.*—When did the Nana reach Bithoor, and when did he leave it?

*A.*—I believe he came on Thursday the 16th July, and left Bithoor on Friday night the 17th July.

*Q.*—Was there a women called Begum, in the Nana's employ?

*A.*—There was a slave girl named Hosseinee Khanum, of the Maharajah's time, who was called Begum.

*Q.*—Were there any other slave-girls besides the one above named?

*A.*—There were two or three others, but I do not remember their names.

*Q.*—Give a description of the woman called Begum?

*A.*—She was tall, fair complexioned and about 25 or 30 years of age.

*Q.*—When the Nana was at Cawnpoor, where was this Begum?

*A.*—She generally was in attendance on Oula, a prostitute, and was with her at Cawnpoor.

*Q.*—Where did the woman named Oula reside?

*A.*—She lived with the Nana.

*Q.*—Did you ever see her?

*A.*—Yes, I frequently saw her.

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*No. 41.—Deposition of Hingun, Ayah.*

I was in the employ of Mr. J. Palmer, Deputy Collector of Furruckabad. Some time in June last, I think it was in the beginning of the month, my master with his wife and eight children, left Futteyghur. A party of nearly 190 Europeans including women and children embarked at 10 P. M., in five boats, intending to proceed by water to Cawnpore. Whilst passing Dhurmpore at noon, the Zemindar Hurdeo Bux tried to persuade us to remain with him, it being unsafe to go on. The Judge and Collector of Furruckabad with 2 or 3 military officers all in one boat remained at Dhurmpore. We had not proceeded more than 2 coss when we were fired at by a large body of insurgents. I believe there were about 5,000. One boat was plundered, the Europeans fled and I know not what became of them. Rupees 2,000 was raised and paid for permission to depart when the three remaining boats proceeded on to Koosumkhore, about 2 coss. Here the insurgents again attacked us, their fire was returned from the boats, and I heard Mr. Palmer say that they had killed 3 men, but on our side, only Mr. Toes was wounded. He was wounded in the thigh, and reached Cawnpore alive. On the second day we arrived opposite Bitthoor, were fired at, and the boatmen were hailed from the bank, and ordered to bring the boats to; they said this could not be done as the boats contained 700 Europeans. It was however found impossible to proceed as the rebels had posted Guns on the banks between Nawab gunge and Cawnpore. The Lucknow bank was swarming with insurgents and the boats were therefore brought too on the Cawnpore side. A messenger was first despatched to gain information of the Europeans at Cawnpore, but could not get into the entrenchments. We heard the firing of cannons. A communication was then opened with the Nana. What answer was returned I do not know, but no further letters were sent. On the third day, early in the morning (it was between 5 and 6 o'clock whilst the gentlemen were drinking tea) firing suddenly commenced from the Cawnpore bank. A cannon ball struck the boat. I was with my master in one of Mr. Brierly's boats, like a Budgerow. The Europeans jumped into the water nearly up to their waists. All the arms they had, (a large number) were thrown into the river. On the second shot being fired, we crept into some high grass near the boats. This was set on fire and two ladies were burnt. We then again rushed into the river, about 100 sowars of the 2nd Cavalry rode into the water and took us prisoners. Our hands were tied behind our backs, and then attached to a long rope. We were taken to the Subadar's tank at Cawnpore. It took us a long time to get there, for the ladies and children were without shoes and stockings, and their feet were bleeding. It was evening

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when we reached the Subadar's tank. The hard-hearted sowars would only allow a handful of water to each European and refused to give them more. At this place 16 hackeries were procured; for the Europeans said they could go no further, and in these all 190 were taken to a plain beyond the canal. All the servants had fled but an Ayah, a Dhie, 4 Mehtranees, and a sweeper, with myself, who followed the party. Early in the morning we reached the rebel camp at Jewhee Medaun. It was about 700 paces from the entrenchment, and firing was going on between the British and the rebels. The European gentlemen were made to sit in one row, their hands were all tied, the ladies and children were placed in front of them. A Resaldar and Subadar mounted on horseback came and ordered the whole of the Europeans to be killed. The sowars of the 2nd Cavalry with some 300 sepoys commenced firing on them, and some poor children who were not killed by the musquetry, were cut in half, dividing them at the legs into two parts.

*Q.*—Did you see this?

*A.*—Yes, I saw all this with my own eyes, for I was sitting abont 30 paces on one side. The Nana was not present. May God take vengeance on him and these cruel men. Two pits were dug and all the bodies thrown in. I was kept in confinement three days, when a sepoy released me and told me to fly. I do not know his name.

The 2nd Cavalry and a native regiment were encamped at this place, and they had a number of guns firing at the entrenchments, the British I heard had only two guns.

*Q.*—Were the prisoners ill treated?

*A.*—No, they were not ill treated beyond what I have stated.

*Q.*—Were the ladies dishonored?

*A.*—No, they were not.

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*No. 42.—Deposition of Nanuck Chund Mahajun of Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—In the narrative of events furnished by you, under date 7th June, you state that Ahmed Alie, Vukeel, went about armed in company with Baba Bhut; who are the witnesses to this?

*A.*—He was seen by many. But the people of this city do not give a correct account of the disturbances, though I think if questioned some would state the truth. Munshi Kalka Pershad in the employ of the late Mr. Greenway, and Futteh Sing, could give evidence regarding Ahmed Alie. It is a well known fact that when the Nana gave orders for the imprisonment of the Nunney Nawab, on the supposition that his great intimacy with the Mahomedan Sowars arose from a plot against the Nana, the Nuwab was released on the security of Ahmed Alie Vakeel. The Nunney Nuwab told me that Ahmed Alie was the means of saving him from imprisonment.

*Q.*—Who are the witnesses to the murder of the Superintendent of roads, and the gentlemen of the Canal Department, by Komeer Sing, as stated under date of June 8th?

*A.*—Many of the villagers were witnesses of these murders. Koomeer Sing concealed himself till the amnesty, when he returned, and having great influence in his village, it will be difficult to gain evidence against him.

*Q.*—Under date 11th and 13th of June, you state that you saw many European corpses floating down and on the banks of the River, how many were there? Could you recognize any? Do you know from whence they came?

*A.*—On the 11th June, whilst on my way to Jagmow, I saw 18 or 20 bodies, most of them ladies and children, between the Suttee Chowree Ghat, and Dulha Nullah. On the 13th, I saw a number of corpses of ladies and gentlemen, also the bodies of a number of Natives. I cannot tell the exact number, but they extended here and there about a mile. I did not recognize any near the Ghat. I saw the bodies of three young ladies. They all had their clothes on, but the low caste people had commenced to take the clothes from the bodies; and the animals had torn some of the corpses. I heard from the people of Gunsham Sing, Zemindar, (who was afterwards hanged,) that the bodies were those of the party who had come from Futteh Ghur.

*Q.*—Under date 15th June, you state that 40 ladies and gentlemen from Furruckabad,

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had been seized by Gunsham Sing, of Futtehpore Chowrassie,—can you state the exact number, and who they were?

*A.*—I since heard from Appa Shastree, and Appa Lutchmun, that the numbers were 46. Koosabha Khiranee a Mahratta Brahmin, now at Bithoor accompanied the ladies and gentlemen to Cawnpore, when sent for by the Nana. He must have all the names, as he kept an account of the expenditure. He could give a good deal of correct information, but being under the influence of Narain Rao, son of Subadar Ramchunder, he will not permit him to disclose anything. Kooshabha Khiranee did not willingly join the Nana, but being a good accountant was forced to take the accounts; he would tell the truth, as he is not addicted to falsehood.

*Q.*—Who gave you the information regarding the meeting at the Nana's, in which it was decided that the Europeans should be massacred on leaving the entrenchment, as stated in your narrative under date 20th June?

*A.*—I received the information from Jugger Nath Ditchit, of Bithoor, who heard it from Gunga Dhur, Tantea, an Officer in the Nana's Army. Jugger Nath Ditchit was shot by the Europeans by mistake, but I have the letter he sent me containing the intelligence.

*Q.*—Under the head of 26th June you state, that Brigadier Jwala Pershad, Tantia Topee, Azeemoollah, Sha Alie, Ahmed Alie, and Bala were ordered to arrange with Chowban Zemindars, and to be prepared to attend at the Suttee Chowra Ghat. Who was your informant?

*A.*—Munshi Kalka Pershad, and Futteh Sing.

*Q.* What has become of the boatman Kulloa, who aided in killing the Europeans on the 27th June? What are the names of the other boatmen?

*A.*—Kulloa is said to be dead, and I do not know the name of the others. Goordial, Ghat Manjie, and Baba Luchmun Doss, could perhaps give information.

*Q.*—Who are the witnesses of the seizure of the gentleman on the 28th June, by Huttee Sing, and Chundee Sing, and of his being sent as a prisoner to the Nana?

*A.*—The witnesses are Theen Sing, and Madhoo Komar, of Budouka.

*Q.*—Who did you hear from, that Ihmud Yar, and Rujub Alie were present at the massacre of the 15th July?

*A.*—From Gunga Deen Shaith.

*Q.*—From whom did you learn the particulars of the massacre of the 15th July?

*A.*—From Futteh Sing and his men.

*Q.*—Who arranged the attack at Suttee Chowra Ghat?

*A.*—A Resaldar in the Nana's employ named Teekum, who had been a Sowar in the 8th Irregular Cavalry. He is a resident of Mousinpore near Cawnpore.

*Q.*—What Mahrattas took the lead in the Nana's force?

*A.*—Raghopunt Apta commanded his Artillery, and was at the battle of Futtehpore; Pandoo-jee Sabre, Bittul-punt, and the brother of Ram Bhow, Mahratta; were cognizant of the Nana's doings; these are now at Bithoor. Ahmed Oollah Tehseeldar of Bithoor was one of the Nana's councillors. I heard from Hur Pershad that Ahmed Oollah, with 4 or 5 others brought an European to the Kotwalie, and afterwards took him to the Nana. At the commencement of the outbreak, Raheem Khan, a sowar in the Nana's employ, and Muddud Alie a horse dealer, were employed to tamper with the troops; and held consultations about the mutiny. Muddud Alie was at Cawnpore the other day. He told me he had been plundered by Sha Alie, the former Cotwal, and had therefore left the Nana's force in disgust. He could give valuable information, but he has again left Cawnpore. I will search for him.

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*No. 43.—Deposition of Futteh Sing, son of Roop Sing, Rajpoot, Age 28 years, resident of Mouzah Bingowan, Tehseel Jajmow, Cawnpoor.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny occurred at Cawnpoor where were you?

*A.*—I was at Cawnpoor, and was employed to guard Lalla Nanuck Chund's house in the City. On the 5th June, about 10 o'clock in the morning the troops mutinied. Hearing

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the uproar, Lalla Nanuck Chund, desired me to ascertain the cause. I therefore proceeded towards Faithful Gunge and saw that the sepoys and sowars were moving about, and several places were on fire. Seeing this I returned to the Lalla's house. On the next day the troops plundered the Treasury, and took possession of the magazine, after which they moved off to Kulleeanpoor. When the mutineers were proceeding to plunder the Treasury, I saw the troopers shoot Mr. Murphy, Road Overseer, on the road to the south of the City. When the troops went to Kulleeanpoor, after setting fire to the Public Offices, a few troopers remained who set fire to the bungalows, and commenced their riotous conduct. On the 6th June the mutineers returned from Kulleeanpoor, and the seige of the entrenchments commenced. On the same day some Christians who had taken refuge in the shops of the City, were shot by the troopers, who set on fire the shops they had taken shelter in. Two or three Christians were also massacred opposite the Abkaree godowns. A lady and gentleman with a child, who had hid themselves in a bungalow near the staging bungalow, were found and taken by the sowars and sepoys to the Nana, by whose orders they were shot on the plain opposite the staging bungalow. On the 7th June I went towards Gwaltola on the road to the Customs Ghat, and saw Mr. Mackintosh (a merchant) with his wife and child, dressed in Hindustanee clothes, hiding under a bridge; they were also massacred towards evening. Another gentleman was murdered on the Parade ground, near the Subadar's tank. On the 8th June, another gentleman of the road department, was sent wounded to the Nana from the Nawab Gunge Thanah, together with his wife and child, who were all shot by the sepoys. On the 9th June, about 10 A. M., the Guns placed at the magazine were fired. It became known that some Christians had taken refuge in Gunga Roee Kuttra. I went towards the magazine and saw that Jowahir Sing Zemindar of Nawab Gunge, (who has since been hung,) going towards the Kuttra, accompanied by a number of sepoys, and the guns ceased firing. On the next day *i. e.* on the 10th June, Jowahir Sing and his companions brought to the Nana the gentlemen and ladies together with their children who had taken refuge in the Kuttra. All of whom about 135 in number were kept in confinement at the Savada house. On the same day the Nana's Cutcherries were opened, and I heard that an order had been issued for the apprehension of Lalla Nanuck Chund. I gave him notice of this and he went across the river, telling me to remain at Cawnpoor, and appoint persons to collect news regarding Europeans. I kept five persons for the express purpose of obtaining information, and formed an intimacy with Utbul Sing, Pay Havildar, of the Cavalry, for the purpose of getting news. He was always in attendance on the Nana, and from him I obtained news of the doings of the Nana's Cutcherries, and gave information to Lalla Nanuck Chund's Gomashta. On the same day three heads of some gentlemen, and a gentleman were sent in from Bithoor by the Rao, who was the Nana's nephew. The gentleman was massacred and the heads thrown away. On the 11th June, about 2 P. M., the Nana sent for the people who were brought prisoners from the Kuttra, to his tent which was pitched on the plain to the South of the Savada house. I was at the time with Utbul Sing Havildar. Bala, Azeemoollah, Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel, and some zemindars were within the tent. Many zemindars &c., were collected outside. When the gentlemen were brought to the tent, the Nana commanded them to be kept prisoners, but Bala ordered them to be shot; a dispute arose between him and the Nana, but afterwards I heard Bala gave an order for them to be massacred, and that the sowars took away the gentlemen to the plain on the west of the Savada house, when I told Baboo Sing, who was standing close to me, to go and see how the Europeans were murdered. He went, and on his return, stated that the sepoys of the 1st and 56th Regiment and the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry shot the gentlemen, and that afterwards some of the budmashes killed some with their swords who were only wounded. Baboo Sing saw all this, and when the gentlemen were sent for by the Nana, the ladies were taken away to the Savada house. The gentlemen were about 117 in number. When Bala gave order for their massacre the Europeans asked him not to kill them, but keep them in confinement, and said that there would be no good derived from murdering them, and that England would never be emptied of Europeans. From that day to the 14th I did not hear of any gentlemen having been killed, but the fight at the entrenchments continued. On the 15th, about 4 P. M., some gentlemen were sent in from Bitthoor with a message to Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, stating that Jussa Zemindar of Futtehpoor Chowrassee, had sent them. He gave an order for them to be taken to the Savada house. Their number inclusive of Ladies and children was about 45. On the 16th the Madaree regiment and Fidda Hossein's regiment, and some Artillery came from Lucknow, and said that they would take the entrenchments in two days. On the

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18th after 12 o'clock, the gentlemen of the party of 45 above mentioned, were sent for to the Nana's tent. The ladies and children were kept in the Savada house. Only the males (18 in number,) came and they were shot. Besides these there were three others who held a conversation with the Nana; (Jwallah Pershad, Brigadier; Azeemoollah, and Shah Ali, were with the Nana). The three gentlemen promised the latter they would have the Fort of Allahabad given up to them; so they were sent back to the Savada house, and the other 18 were shot by the orders of the Nana. There were many *Jullads* there also, who took out in my presence, gold mohurs from inside the shoes of these gentlemen. All the *Jullads* were residents of this place, and if I saw them, I think I could recognise them. The persons whom I employed, could do so likewise. After this and until the 22nd no gentlemen were massacred. On the 23rd the fight at the entrenchments ceased, and Jwalla Pershad, Azeemoollah, and Sha Ali, had an interview with an old lady, (a relative of Mr. Jacobi, the watch maker,) at the Savada house; who was then taken by them to the Nana's tent, where a consultation was held, and she engaged to have the entrenchments vacated. Utbul Singh told me that in a day or two the entrenchments would be vacated. The next day the same old woman left the Savada house in a doolie about 9 A. M., and went to the entrenchments; she returned about 1 P. M., went to the Nana's tent, and had a talk with Azeemoollah; after which a rumour spread that the Europeans were going to evacuate the entrenchments, and that the Nana had agreed to see them safe to Allahabad. The next day, the same old lady, Azeemoollah, and Jwalla Pershad went to the entrenchments; and we heard that they had confirmed all arrangements for the evacaution of the entrenchments. In the evening of that day, the Nana gave orders to Hoolass Sing the Kotwal to procure boats. On the 26th I heard that an agreement had been made between the Europeans and the Nana, on oath, that all the Treasure and magazine were to be made over to the Nana. About sunset, of the same day, Nana, Bala, Jwalla Pershad, Shah Ali Kotwal, and several others assembled in a tent. After the consultation, an order was given that some sepoys and sowars with zemindars were to be present at the Ghat, and that the Artillery should also be there. When I heard this, I enquired of Utbul Sing, the reason of these troops being required at the Ghat. He told me that the Nana and his comrades did not intend to be faithful to their oath, and intended massacring the Europeans. He also told me that the troopers did not agree to the murder of the Europeans by treachery. I returned during the night to Utbul Sing's tent, and told my servants Shunker Sing, and Bikhee Sing, to proceed to the Ghat in the morning with the troops, and report all their proceedings. On the next morning the 27th, about 3 A. M., 500 sepoys and troopers went to the Ghat, and took two Guns and placed them at the Suttee Choura Ghat opposite the boats. About day break Shunker Sing returned and informed me of the position in which the guns had been placed, which Shunker Sing and Bikhee Sing can point out; the sowars and sepoys were in ambush close by the guns. About 8 in the morning the Europeans commenced quitting the entrenchments, when I and Utbul Sing, together with Golab Sing and Jowahir Sing, my servant went to the entrenchments. Shunker Sing and Bikhee Sing were at the Ghat. I observed that the Europeans were leaving the entrenchments, mounted on elephants, palanquins, doolies, hackeries &c., and that their property was being removed, there were also thousands of spectators there. When all the Europeans had got clear of the entrenchments, Utbul Sing returned to the Nana's tent. I accompanied him and saw that the Nana was walking up and down outside the tent, Bala, Jwalla Pershad and Azeemoollah mounted and went to the Ghat, and Ahmed Alli Khan, with two or three Mahrattas, remained with the Nana. A short time had elapsed, when reports of guns and musketry were heard, and a trooper came galloping down. I recognised him well, his name was Makhun Sing, he was said to be a resident of Mouzah Khandeepoor, Pergunnah Jajmow, in the Cawnpoor district, and a Brahmin by caste: he was one of the Nana's personal attendants. He told the Nana that the enemy were being destroyed. About two hours after this, Bala and Azeemoollah returned to the Nana, and stated that they had put an end to the enemy (meaning the Europeans) and taken possession of all their property, and that only one boat had escaped, to take which, Sadho Sing Jemadar, together with some sowars had been despatched and that the females and children who had escaped the massacre, were being brought in. After this, my servant Bikhee Sing returned, and gave me a full account of the proceedings. He stated that a few gentlemen had got on the boats, when Bala and Azeemoollah told the 2nd Cavalry troopers, it was the Nana's orders to kill all the Europeans; on hearing which, volleys of musketry were fired, and guns also from the banks of the river. Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier, was near the boats, and ordered the boat men to set fire to them. The Europeans also fired,

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but they were all massacred. A number of ladies and children met with the same fate, though some of them managed to reach the other side of the river, and Jwalla Pershad and Azeemoollah ordered that they should not be killed. He also related to me other facts, which I do not remember, but Bhikee Sing, and Shunker Sing, who were eye witnesses to all that was perpetrated at the Ghat from the commencement to the end, are alive. A short while after, ten or twelve sepoys brought in 17 or 18 ladies, and some children, and presented them to the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in the Savada house; many of these ladies were wounded, two of them I observed well, as being wounded in the leg, and under the arm. All the ladies' clothing was wet and soiled, and some of them were barefoot; and in this manner two or three batches of ladies and children were brought in and kept in the Savada house. There were altogether about 100 or 125 of them. On the same day after 12 P. M., a sowar came and informed the Nana, that Ali Shah a sowar had brought away a lady, whom he had concealed in his hackery; this sowar was immediately summoned, and the Nana persuaded him to give up the lady, from whose statement, it appeared that when the Europeans quitted the entrenchments and proceeded to the Ghat, this sowar had carried her away. The Nana sent this lady to the Savada house where all the others were. I also heard, that some sowars had carried off General Wheeler's Daughter, but could gain no satisfactory account of what became of her. About 4 P. M., on the same day, the sowars of the Sultanpoor force who were encamped on the other side of the river, brought in 17 gentlemen, who it appeared had managed to escape from the boats when the firing commenced and had reached Kuttra Gunge; the Nana on seeing them ordered them to be put to death. The sepoys and troopers shot them on the plain opposite the Savada house. Six or seven *Jullads* were also present, who after the gentlemen were shot, fell on them with their swords, and stripped them of their clothes. The next day the 28th, about 10 o'clock, Sadhoo Sing Jemadar, together with the Thanadar and several other persons, brought in 10 or 12 gentlemen with some ladies and two children, and presented them to the Nana, who ordered the former to be separated from the ladies and children and shot, and the latter to be sent to the Savada house opposite which the gentlemen were killed. One of the ladies who had a baby about a year old would not part from her husband, they therefore both met the same fate as the gentlemen. Two or three days after this, about 10 A. M., some 40 or 50 Zemindars &c., brought in a gentleman bound, from the other side of the river, intimation of which was conveyed to the Nana, when Baba Bhut came out of his tent, and gave an order that he should be killed. But the Zemindars who brought him refused laying hands on the gentleman, urging as a reason that he was bound and helpless, after which a sowar wounded him on the arm with a sword, and five or six *Jullads* falling on him despatched him with their tulwars. I do not remember the name of these men, but would recognise them if I saw them. After this, in the evening the Nana and Bala both went off to Bithoor. Baba Bhut, Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier; Azeemoollah, and Shah Ali, together with a number of other persons continued superintending all operations. For several days the Nana did not come from Bithoor, but Bala returned. When it was rumoured that European troops were coming up from Allahabad, Bala wrote to the Nana pressing him to come quickly to Cawnpoor, as the enemy's troops were coming on, but when he did not respond to this invitation, Subadar Teeka Sing, who was made a General in the Nana's army went to Bithoor, and brought the Nana. Preparations were then made for proceeding to Futtehpoor, and arrangements commenced for procuring supplies. On the 9th or 10th July, the rebel troops accompanied by the Artillery, marched for Futtehpoor, but after proceeding 12 or 13 miles returned. On the next day, Jwalla Pershad Brigadier, accompanied by Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, proceeded to Futtehpoor, and news arrived of his having been defeated, and of the European troops having arrived at Sukeepoorah, which caused great confusion amongst the rebels. Bala went out with some more troops, but on the next day, *i. e.* 15th July, he returned to Cawnpoor, being slightly wounded. On the same day in the afternoon, Bala, Baba Bhut, Jwalla Pershad Brigadier; Ahmed Ali Khan, Vakeel, and several other attendants of the Nana assembled at the Hotel, which was the Nana's residence, and had a long consultation. Utbul Sing told me, that they were all much alarmed and were purposing to murder all the ladies and gentlemen who were in confinement; otherwise, if they were left alive, they would reveal every thing, and thus every one concerned in the rebellion at Cawnpoor would be known. While all this was going on, a man came and informed me that sowars were plundering my house, and creating a disturbance in the village. I mentioned this to Utbul Sing, who desired me to go and see who the sowars were, and I started to proceed to my village, but left there my three compani-

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ons, Bikhee Sing, Baboo Sing and Shunker Sing. On the same day in the evening three or four gentlemen who were in confinement were massacred near the assembly rooms, and after this all the ladies and children met with the same fate. On the next day about 9 in the morning, the persons whom I had left at Cawnpoor came to me, and stated, that the gentlemen were first massacred, and that an order was then given for the massacre of the ladies, but the sepoys objected to fire at them, and then Surwur Khan a Vilaitee, who was an old servant of the Nana's, and two or three others, went in and killed all the ladies and children with swords. After which their bodies were thrown into a well and one or two Ladies and Children who were still alive, were also thrown in. On the same day the European troops arrived at Cawnpoor, and the Nana and his troops left the station. After this Lalla Nanick Chund wrote to me, desiring me to appear, whenever called upon.

*Q.*—When the Europeans left the entrenchment, you were there, did you see any sick and wounded left at the entrenchments? If so, what was their number, and what became of them?

*A.*—No Europeans were left within the entrenchments. With the exception of 5 or 6 soldiers who had expired, and two or three broken guns, nothing was left there.

*Q.*—Did you hear where General Wheeler was killed?

*A.*—I heard that the General was amongst the gentlemen brought in by Sadho Sing Zemindar, but I was not acquainted with the General, and therefore could not recognise him. Baboo Sing however who I think knew the General by sight, might be able to give some account of him.

*Q.*—Do you know the number of the ladies who were confined in the Beebeeghur?

*A.*—As long as the ladies were at the Savada house I saw them, but when they were removed to the Beebeeghur I did not see them, and at the time they were massacred, my people saw them. I do not know their number.

*Q.*—It is stated that a woman named Begum used to carry food to the ladies, and that she visited the Nana's tent also, did you ever see her?

*A.*—I do not know what woman used to carry food to the ladies, but a women named Begum used to visit Adila, a prostitute, in the service of the Nana. This woman I had seen frequently visiting the Nana's tent.

*Q.*—Give a description of the woman named Begum?

*A.*—She was of a fair complexion, tall, and aged about 25 or 30 years.

*Re-examination of Futteh Sing.*

*Q.*—In your deposition of the 24th February you have stated that on the 18th June 1857, out of the 45 or 46 Europeans who had been sent in from Bithoor, 18 were put to death by orders of the Nana, and that three of them were sent back to the Savada house, as they promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated; but from depositions which have been taken, it does not appear that these gentlemen reached Cawnpoor on the 18th June; you are therefore requested to state clearly and correctly when these gentlemen came to Cawnpoor?

*A.*—I remember well that on the 18th June when some Europeans were put to death, 2 or 3 gentlemen were not killed, but were sent away in my presence to the Savada house. I also afterwards saw these gentlemen there, on several occasions, together with an Indigo Planter, but I did not know any of them, neither do I know their names. The fact of these gentlemen having made a promise to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated, came to my knowledge in the following manner; when news came of the European troops having arrived close to Futtehpoor on the 11th or 12th July, I heard a consultation in the Nana's tent, in which it was proposed to ask those gentlemen what they had to say regarding the evacuation of the Fort of Allahabad, as instead of this being effected, troops were coming to Cawnpoor from that direction. After this, Azeemoollah went to them, and from him I ascertained that out of the gentlemen who were confined at the Savada house, the Indigo Planter had promised to send for some money, and that the other three gentlemen, who had come from Furruckabad, and held high positions, were the persons who had promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated. From this I suppose that those very gentlemen who

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were not put to death on the 18th June, were the persons who promised to have the Fort of of Allahabad evacuated.

*Q.*—Did you see any Europeans come from Furruckabad in July 1857 ?

*A.*—I remember well that no Europeans came.

*Q.*—In one of the depositions, it is stated that five or six days previous to the massacre of the ladies and children, one day towards the evening, 3 gentlemen and several ladies and children, were brought in to Cawnpoor, and that the sepoys said they had come from Furruckabad, and that out of the three gentlemen, one was a Judge, and the other two were Colonels, and that these were the gentlemen who promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated, you are therefore requested to state, whether you saw these gentlemen or not ?

*A.*—I did not see these gentlemen, neither did I hear any thing concerning them, nor were any gentlemen again ever massacred before me. But I well remember, that in the month of June, some of the gentlemen who came from Furruckabad were kept in confinement, amongst whom was also the Indigo Planter, but I cannot say which of them promised to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated.

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*No. 44.—Deposition of Golab Sing, son of Shere Sing, Thakoor, Rajpoot, age 20 years, resident of Mouzah Jounrace, Tehseel Jagmow, Zillah Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—Where were you when the Troops mutinied at Cawnpore ?

*A.*—I was at Mouzah Khursal. Four or five days after the outbreak, I came to Cawnpore, having been sent for by Futteh Sing.

*Q.*—Where did you reside whilst at Cawnpore ?

*A.*—With Futteh Sing.

*Q.*—Where did Futteh Sing live ?

*A.*—Near Utbul Sing's tent, who was a Havildar in the Nana's service, and occupied a tent close to the Nana.

*Q.*—State what you observed during the outbreak.

*A.*—A long time has now expired since the outbreak occurred. I will answer all questions that may be put to me.

*Q.*—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans ?

*A.*—I remember having witnessed the massacre of Europeans on three occasions. Two days after I had come to Cawnpore, about 117 *Sahib log* were drawn up in a line opposite the Savada Kotee, close to the Nana's tent. Bala, Azeemoollah, and several other persons were present. I heard the former give orders to massacre the Europeans, which was accordingly done by the sepoys of the 1st N. I., and the sowars 2nd Cavalry, firing at them ; and afterwards by *Jullads* and other budmashes, who used their swords. Their bodies were then carried on carts and thrown into the river.

*Q.*—Where had these Europeans come from ?

*A.*—They had come from Furruckabad.

*Q.*—Do you know the names of any of the *Jullads* that were present ?

*A.*—I do not know their names, but if I saw them, I think I would recognize them.

*Q.*—Who were the other persons present, when Bala gave orders to massacre the Europeans ?

*A.*—There were a number of other persons whose names I do not remember. Eight or nine days after, 45 gentlemen, ladies and children were brought in from Bitthoor, of whom the latter were confined in the Savada house, and the former, 17 or 18 in number, were put to death on the plain opposite Savada. I do not remember the date, the sepoys and sowars shot them down, and the *Jullads* also cut them down with swords ; many of whom found gold mohurs, deposited in these gentlemen's shoes. On the same day, two or three Europeans were put in confinement.

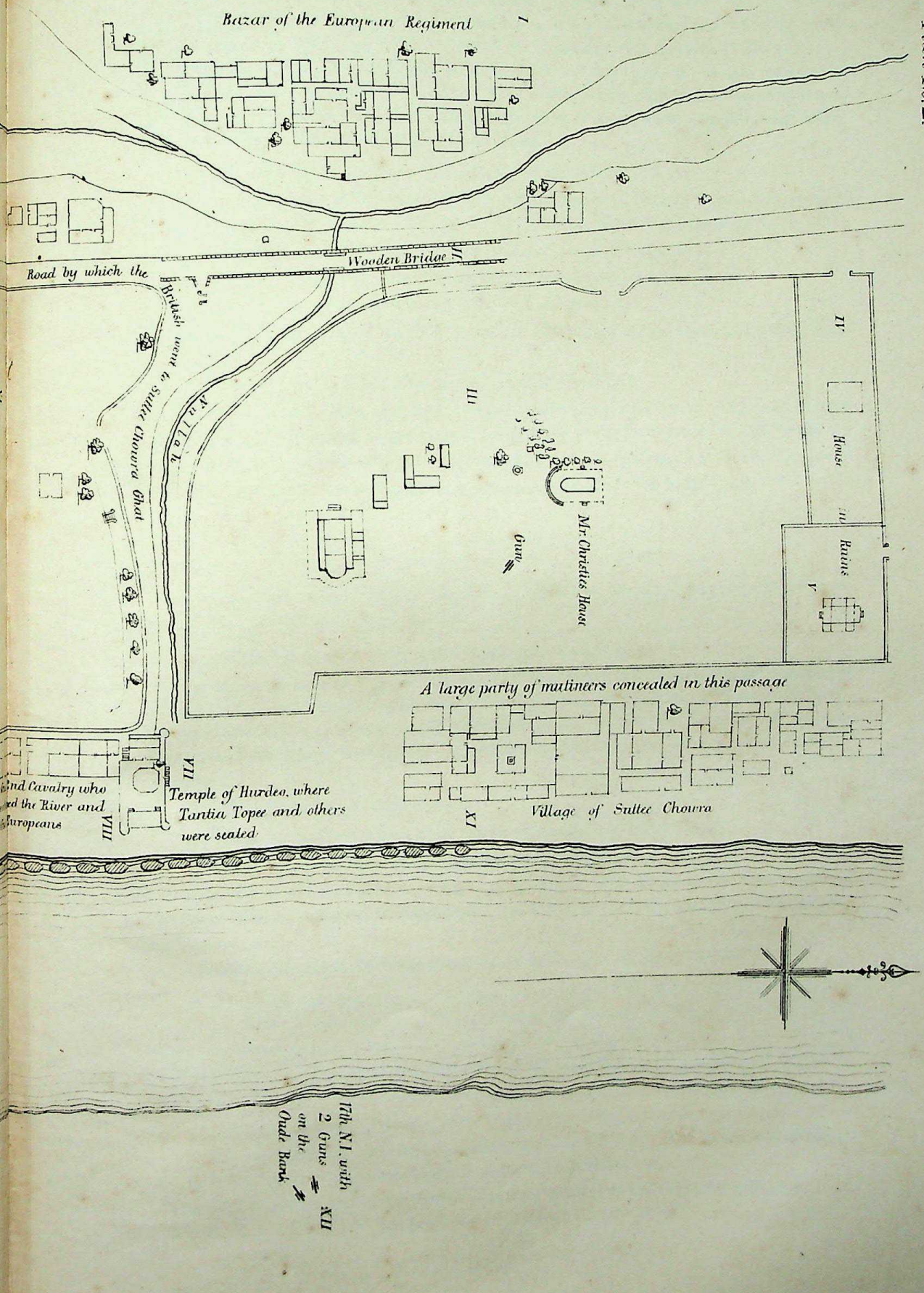
*Q.*—Who gave the orders for their death, and who were the Sirdars present ?

*A.*—The Nana gave orders personally to put them to death, and Shah Ali, Kotwal, told the sepoys to take them away, and put an end to them. Azeemoollah, Jowala Pershad, (Brigadier,) and several others were present on the occasion.

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*Q.*—State when you witnessed the third massacre of the Europeans?

*A.*—At the Suttee Choura ghat. The day the Europeans vacated the entrenchments, I and Futteh Sing, together with Jowahir Sing and Utbul Sing, Havildar, went to the entrenchments, and saw that it had been entirely vacated, but two or three bodies of some soldiers were lying there, and two guns which had burst, together with a lot of other property which the villagers were carrying away. Futteh Sing and Utbul Singh returned, and I separating from them proceeded to the ghat, and met thousands of persons going there. On my arrival at the ghat, I found the people making a great noise, sepoys and sowars were running about the place, and shots were being fired. Many of the Europeans were standing in the river behind the boats, and the Sowars rushed into the water, cutting them up. A gun was being fired from the other side of the river, and by 10 o' clock, all the Europeans were massacred, and the ladies and children about 125 in number, some of whom were wounded, were taken away by the Sepoys and sowars to the Savada house.

*Q.*—Did you again witness the massacre of any Europeans?

*A.*—On the evening of the same day, some Europeans were brought in, and I think once or twice, some more were massacred, but I did not personally witness the occurrence.

*Q.*—What was the number of the boats provided for the Europeans?

*A.*—I did not count them, but I think there were about 21 boats.

*Q.*—Did you recognize the boatmen who were on the boats?

*A.*—When I had reached the ghat, there were no boatmen on the boats, and two of them were on fire.

*Q.*—Who were the Nana's officers present at the massacre?

*A.*—Azeemoollah, Bala, Brigadier Jwala Pershad, General Teeka Sing, and several others, and also a Ressaldar named Nukee, appeared to be the managers of all operations.

*Q.*—Where were you when the ladies and children were massacred at the Beebee-ghur?

*A.*—I was not at Cawnpore, but had accompanied Futteh Sing to his home.

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*No. 45.—Deposition of Bukhee Singh, son of Punchum Singh, Thakoor, age 25 years, resident of Mouzah Tumrae, Tehseel Jajmow.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore where were you?

*A.*—I was at Mouzah Tumrae. In the month of June 1857, the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore, I do not remember the date. Four or five days after this, Futteh Singh Lumburdar of Sherampore, who was at Cawnpore sent for me. Futteh Singh had put up opposite the tent of Utbul Singh, havildar of the 2nd Cavalry, and whatever work he assigned to me I performed.

*Q.*—Where was Utbul Singh's tent?

*A.* Close to the Nana's tent which was pitched near the Savada house.

*Q.*—State what you know of the disturbances at Cawnpore.

*A.*—As I do not read or write, I kept no account of what I saw, and it is impossible to remember all now, two years having elapsed, but I will answer any questions which may be put to me.

*Q.*—State how many Europeans were massacred.

*A.*—The first massacre that I witnessed, was of about 125 Europeans formed up in a line on the plain opposite Savada in the afternoon and shot by the sepoys and sowars, and afterwards dispatched by *jullads*. A great number of the bad characters and Zemindars were present, and on the evening of the same day, all the corpses were carried away on carts, and thrown into the river.

*Q.*—Where did these Europeans come from?

*A.*—It was rumoured that they had come from Furruckabad. The ladies and children, who had accompanied them, were confined in the Savada Kotee.

*Q.*—Do you know any of the *Jullads* who were present at the massacre, and took a part in it?

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*A.*—I do not know their names, but would be able to recognise them, if I saw them.

*Q.*—At the time the Europeans were drawn up in a line, who were the Sirdars that were present, and by whose orders were they massacred?

*A.*—I think Bala, Mahratta, gave the orders; the Nana was also present in the tent, but Bala called out aloud, saying it was the Nana's orders that the Europeans should all be massacred. I do not remember the names of all that were present there, but amongst them was Azeemoollah, and Ahmed Alie Khan Vukeel. When the Europeans were massacred, I left the place, but Baboo Singh, my companion, remained there a long while and saw every thing that occurred.

*Q.*—After this, were more Europeans from Furruckabad massacred?

*A.*—I often heard of the massacre of Europeans, but I never witnessed any personally, except at the ghat.

*Q.*—State what you saw at the ghat.

*A.*—The night previous to the massacre at the ghat, Futteh Singh desired me and Shunkur Singh, to go there in the morning, and see what occurred. Accordingly I and Shunkur went very early next morning to the ghat, in company with the sowars and sepoys proceeding thither. When we reached the ghat, Shunkur Singh separated from me, but I remained there, looking on. Very early in the morning, about four or five hundred sepoys and Sowars, with two guns, started for the ghat, and placed themselves in a Nullah called *Chore Ghate*, in Mouzah Korean, near Suttee Choura ghat, behind some timber heaped up there. In the morning, thousands of spectators were assembled at the ghat. The Europeans commenced arriving, on palanquins, doolies, and elephants, and on foot were engaged in placing the property on the boats. The entire number of the Europeans inclusive of ladies and children was about 400. Some of them had got into the boats, and others were in the act of doing so, when two sowars of the 2nd Cavalry came galloping up, and told the crowd to move off, otherwise they would all be killed; the people commenced moving off, when a bugle sounded, and two boats were set on fire; the Cavalry fired, after which the big guns commenced, and the Europeans, jumping off the boats, sought protection behind them, and then the gun placed on the other side of the river was fired, and a number of the Europeans were killed. The sowars rushed into the river on horseback, and commenced using their swords. I also remember, that two of the boats were pushed off, one of which grounded on the opposite bank of the river, and I do not know what became of the other boats. All the Europeans were massacred, and only about 125 ladies and children escaped, some of whom were wounded, all these were surrounded by sowars and brought to the Savada house. I then left the place, and related all the occurrences to Futteh Singh.

*Q.*—What was the number of the boats collected at the ghat?

*A.*—They appeared to be about 20. Some of them belonged to the lower provinces, and were of the kind called "*Kona*" and some had come from the upper provinces.

*Q.*—Did you recognise any of the boatmen?

*A.*—I recognised two or three of them, but do not know them all.

*Q.*—Give the names of those you recognised.

*A.*—Two were well known boatmen of Bithoor named Ramdeen, and Dabeedeen, and they were present; and Goordyal boatman, resident of *Suttee Choura Ghat*, was also present near the boats.

*Q.*—Did you see which of the boatmen set fire to the boats?

*A.*—I did not take notice of this.

*Q.*—Do you know which of the Nana's officers, and which of the influential men of Cawnpore, were present at the ghat, at the time the bugle was sounded?

*A.*—The following were some of them, Jwalla Pershad (Brigadier,) Bala, and Azeemoollah, mounted on horseback, and several others, whose names I do not remember. The commanders of the sowars appeared to be Teeka Singh, and a Mussulman Ressaldar, called Nukee.

*Q.*—Did any sowar carry off a lady from the ghat?

*A.*—I did not see any one taking away a lady but heard that a sowar had carried away a lady. On the same day 16 or 17 Europeans were brought from Gunga Kuttra, by the

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sowars and Zemindars, they were taken before the Nana, who ordered them to be put to death. All were shot on the plain opposite the Savada Kotee by the sepoys, and afterwards dispatched with swords by *Jullads*.

*Q.*—After this, did you witness any other Europeans being massacred?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—State what you know regarding the massacre of the ladies, at the Beebeegurh.

*A.*—Futteh Singh had gone away to his house in the afternoon, but I and Shunkur Singh, and Baboo Singh, remained in the Nana's camp, and a short time after, we heard it stated in Utbul Singh's tent, that the ladies and children would be massacred on that day. Hearing this I went off to Futteh Singh, but Shunkur Singh and Baboo Singh remained there, and witnessed the massacre of the ladies. I did not witness it.

*Q.*—What became of the corpses of those Europeans who were massacred in your presence at the ghat?

*A.*—Those bodies that fell in the river, were carried off by the stream, but those that were on the banks, still remained there.

*Q.*—Did you ever visit the place the ladies were confined at?

*A.*—No, I never went there.

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*No. 46.—Deposition of Goordial, Chowdree of Boats, son of Muddaree, Boatman, resident of Gola Ghat, Cawnpoor, Age 26 years.*

*Q.*—Where were you during the outbreak?

*A.*—I was at Cawnpore.

*Q.*—State what you know of the disturbances.

*A.*—Two or three days before the outbreak, I had provided boats for Mr. Thomas Greenway and the Barrack Master, to convey them to Allahabad. Bhola, a relative of mine had also provided a boat for Mr. Saunders. When the outbreak occurred, the sepoys and sowars plundered Bhola's house and property, and made a search for me; hearing of which I went to a village called Ulwapoor, on the other side of the river, about 9 miles from Cawnpoor; put up with Sookha, a boatman, (who lived near Juggurnath,) a brahmin. When the fight at the entrenchments ceased, and a requisition for boats was made, Dabeedeen, a boatman in the Nana's employ, (who also kept all accounts connected with boats,) accompanied by two sepoys, came to Ulwapoor, and took me away. I reached the Ghat at 2 P. M., and found Buddreenath alias Bhoodhoo, a Commissariat contractor, and Holass Sing, Kotwal, having the boats put in order. A short time after this, a Captain Sahib, whose name I do not remember, (he was I believe Surperintendent of Bazars,) accompanied by another gentleman and two soldiers mounted on an elephant, came to the Ghat, and seeing the boats, disapproved of them, and asked me why I had not the boats put into proper order. I told them that I had only just come, after which I had the requisite fittings of the boats completed. Badul, a mussulman Jemadar, an old servant of the Nana's, was superintending the coolies working on the boats, he had about four hundred men under him, and he had the boats completely fitted out during the night; they were 24 in number. The next morning I was at the Ghat, and about eight o'clock the Europeans made their appearance, some on elephants, palanquins, doolies, and hackeries, and a number of them on foot. The soldiers carried their own property and placed it on the boats. They came by the road opposite the European bazar and over the wooden bridge, and passed behind Hurdeo, boatmen's temple; they were about 400 in number inclusive of ladies and children. Some of them were on the boats and others were round about them when firing commenced. The troops had come to the Ghat during the night previous, and others came in rear of the Europeans and commenced firing volleys from the Wooden bridge. A gun was placed at Gola Ghat, to the east of a temple known as Soor Dass, built by a Subadar, and another behind a village called Koreean, and a third in the compound of the bungalow formerly occupied by Mr. Henry, a merchant. To the west of the bridge, and behind this bungalow, in a nullah, called Chore-ghattee, a number of sepoys and sowars had concealed themselves. Two boatmen set fire to a boat: the name of one was Ramdeen of Bithoor, the other was also a resident of Bithoor, but I do not know his name. Ramdeen received a reward of 500 rupees from the Nana for this act. A number of the

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Nana's Sirdars were present at the time, but Brigadier Jwalla Pershad, a brahmin, who was close to the boats, gave an order to Dabeedeen boatman, to set fire to the boats; and a bugle was sounded by orders of Bala, Mahratta, and Azeemoollah, on which volleys were fired, and the sowars rushed into the river and commenced firing their pistols. A gun placed on the other side of the river then commenced firing. The Europeans managed to push off three of the boats, two of which grounded on the other bank of the river, and one of them which contained General Wheeler, went down the stream; a shot from the gun placed on the other side of the river struck it, which turned it round, but it still went on and reached Sheorajpore, about 24 miles from Cawnpore. Sowars sent in pursuit, kept firing at the boat from the banks of the river, and the Europeans returned the fire. The boat grounded on a sand-bank at Sheorajpoor, and an encounter with the sowars took place, in which General Wheeler was killed, and the rest of the Europeans were brought in prisoners the next day. This account regarding the capture of the boat was related to me by Tilluck Sing, a sowar. Some of the boats had come from the east, and others from the west, only five of them belonged to Cawnpoor. There were four or five boatmen to each of the boats from the east, and two or three to each of those from the west, and there were no boatmen to the boats belonging to this Station, as they were moored at the Permit Ghat and brought away from there. When the boats were completely fitted out, I told Holass Sing, Kotwall, that there were not sufficient boatmen for all the boats, and asked him to make arrangements accordingly, he was angry at this, and told me that it was no business of his. I was not acquainted with the names of any of the boatmen, until the value of the boats was given, and the money distributed.

*Q.*—State who were the persons that received the money, and who were the owners of the boats that belonged to Cawnpoor.

*A.*—Moonshie Dabeedeen, a boatman, received the money from Tanteea Topee, amounting to Rs. 4,467 or 4,465, and distributed it. My brother Lochun was along with me at this time. The following were the owners of the boats belonging to this station, Muheeshree Sheo Pershad, son of Dyr Kishen, residing in the city; Baboo Mull, Muheshree; and Jankee Pershad, Ugurwalla, and two boatmen, viz., Banee, residing in the village called Koreean, and Muttra, of the same village. The above five persons were paid in my presence, and the rest of the owners were paid by Moonshee Dabeedeen. I do not know who they were.

*Q.*—Are the above named three bunneeahs and two boatmen now at Cawnpoor or not?

*A.*—Yes they are here.

*Q.*—What occurred to the ladies and children who went to Suttee Chowra Ghat?

A.—When the Europeans were massacred, a number of ladies and children met with the same fate. After which a sowar brought an order from the Nana to spare the ladies and children. At this time there were about 150 of them, who had escaped the massacre, some of them were wounded, the sepoys and sowars took all of them away to the Savada house, and subsequently I heard that the number of the ladies and children was 155.

Q.—Besides Bala and Azeemoollah, and Jwalla Pershad, did you see any other influential resident of Cawnpoor present at the Ghat?

*A.*—There were a number of Sirdars and zemindars present, whose names I not remember. There were two or three Resaldars also mounted on horseback. I was told that the name of one was Nukee, and of the other Huneef, the latter was formerly a coachman in the service of Captain * * * Commissariat Officer, and latterly a merchant. He was heading a number of sowars.

*Q.*—Did you recognise well, the above named persons, Nukee and Huneef?

*A.*—I was acquainted with Huneef from a long time, and knew him well. It was the first time I had seen Nukee, but I think I could recognise him if I saw him now; besides these two persons, a number of Mussulman and Hindoo sirdars were present.

Q.—Did you witness any other massacres?

*A.*—No.

Q.—Do you know any thing of the massacre of the ladies at the Beebeeghur?

*A.*—I only heard of it. As I was employed by Mr. Thomas Greenway I was looked on with suspicion and therefore did not move about much. A boat containing 500 maunds of

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saltpetre belonging to Mr. Greenway was moored opposite my house, which I concealed in a stream running out towards the banks of the Ganges, and after the restoration of British authority, made over the saltpetre to Mr. Greenway's Gomashtas.

*Q.*—Are the occurrences enumerated in your deposition quite true, or have you been influenced by any party to make the statements therein contained?

*A.*—I have stated truly and correctly what I know, and the authorities can make any enquiries they think proper.

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*No. 47.—Deposition of Lochun, Chowdree of boats, son of Mudaree, Age 41 years, resident of Gola Ghat, Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—Where were you during the mutiny, and what occurrences did you observe?

*A.*—I had provided boats to convey the Barrack Master and Mr. Thomas Greenway to Allahabad, when the mutiny broke out. On the 4th June, the bridge of boats was broken. On the 5th, some of the boats were set on fire, and the fight commenced at the entrenchments, when a search commenced for all Christians, and those connected with them. Dabeedeen, Moonshee over the boatmen, proceeded to arrest me; hearing of which, I hid myself in my village and remained concealed until the 23rd June, when Goordial my brother, being brought in a prisoner from Ulwapore, on the other side of the Ganges, I was also summoned by Holass Sing, Kotwal, who gave me an order to have boats ready, and to be in attendance. I replied that I had no boats, and was quite unable to make arrangements to procure any. On this, the Kotwal abused and ill-treated me, and I was forced to tell him that there were a number of boats at the Custom's ghat belonging to traders, and requested him to send for them. A person named Buddoo accompanied by sowars went and brought away the boats, about 23 or 24 in number. Some of them belonged to Furruckabad, and others to places lower down. All of them had *choppers* on, but repairs and bamboo chalee or flooring were needed.

*Q.*—Who assisted in the repairs, and making of chalee?

*A.*—A person named Badul, in the employ of the Nana, brought three or four hundred coolies from Bitthoor, and had the repairs completed. I only marked out the places where the bamboos should be placed, and at the time of the bamboos being put together for the flooring, I was not at the ghat, but my brother Goordial was present. He mentioned to me the day previous to the Sahib log entering the boats, that two Gentlemen accompanied by two soldiers, mounted on elephants, came to inspect the *choppers* of the boats, and were much vexed, and ordered him to complete the *choppers* quickly. Goordial did his best, and had the work completed. After this, during the night, a Chuprassie in the service of the Nana, brought Dabeedeen, Ramdeen, Guzeea, and Choonnee, to my house, and gave me orders to be present at the ghat positively on the next day, otherwise I would be severely punished; accordingly very early in the morning on the next day, I went to the ghat and saw that a number of sepoys and sowars had located themselves in Mouzah Koorina, which is close by Suttee Choura, on the banks of the Ganges. Some sepoys had also placed themselves in a nullah near Mr. Christie's bungalow. In both the above places, there were about four or five hundrd persons, and a gun was also in position near the above-mentioned bungalow. A second was placed in Mouzah Koorina, and another in the middle of this mouzah, and a fourth one at Koela ghat. From about seven in the morning the Sahib log commenced leaving the entrenchments for the boats, and the soldiers carried their property on their heads. About ½ past 8, the entrenchments were cleared, and its inmates were carried to the boats on elephants, palanquins, and doolies; some of them had got on the boats, and others were in the act of doing so, when two sowars came galloping up, and told the people to move aside, otherwise they would all be killed. Hearing this, the lookers on all got out of the way. A bugle then sounded, when troops made their appearance. At this time some Europeans were passing over the wooden bridge, a volley was fired at them, and another from the nullah called Suttee Choura; a third from Mouzah Koorina. The ladies and gentlemen jumped off the boats into the river, where the water was waist deep. Guns were fired from the places they were concealed in. Jwala Pershad, Azeemoollah, Baba Bhut, and Bala &c., attendants of the Nana, were witnessing these occurrences. Jwala Pershad Brigadier, and Azeemoollah made a sign to Dabeedeen, Moonshee over the boatmen,

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to set fire to the boats, and Ramdeen boatman, fired one of them, which ignited all the other boats. Musketry and guns were being discharged at this time incessantly. Two guns with a number of sepoys were placed at the Kuttra on the other side of the river, volleys were also discharged by them. From the firing on this side of the river, those that escaped being burnt to death in the boats, were killed, and those that had taken refuge behind the boats were killed by the shots from the other side of the river. After this, by order of Tantia Topee, the sowars rushed into the river, and put an end to all the Europeans with their swords and pistols. The Europeans managed to push off three boats, but two of them grounded on the opposite bank near the Kuttra, and one of them went down the stream, which was struck by a shot from the gun placed at the Koela ghat, but it managed to escape, and a number of sowars and sepoys went in pursuit. A short time after this an order came from the Nana, to spare all the women and children who had escaped the massacre. Accordingly, the sepoys and sowars surrounded them and took them away to the Nana at Savada, some of these were wounded, and all of them were dripping wet, and could hardly walk ; they were about 150 in number. The Nana ordered them all to be kept in the Savada house.

*Q.*—When the sahib log left the entrenchment what was their number, and of which place were the boatmen residents who set fire to the boats, and to whom did the boats belong, and who were the persons remunerated for the loss of their boats, and by whom were they paid, and after this massacre, were there any other sahib log killed ?

*A.*—The boatmen were Moonshee Dabeedeen, a resident of Gola Ghat; Ramdeen; Choonnee, and Guzeea, residents of Bithoor. The Europeans, ladies, and children who left the entrenchments were about 400. I do not know the names of the owners of the boats which had come from down the country, but amongst the boats that were taken up, there were 5 belonging to mahajuns and others of the city, as follows ; 1 to Jankee Jawun ; 1 to Dya Kishun, Maheshree ; and 1 to Buttoo, Maheshree, Mahajuns ; 1 to Muthra Mullah ; and 1 to Phuttay Mullah. These people were paid the value of their boats which were burnt, amounting to Rupees 4,467, through Moonshee Dabeedeen, by orders of Tantia Topee. Of this sum, a balance was left with Dabeedeen, which he took for himself. Some 18 gentlemen were brought in prisoners the same afternoon, from the other side of the river, by Chedee Singh and Huttee Singh, and three followers. I heard that they were murdered on the plain opposite Savada.

*Q.*—When the Europeans were embarking, did you recognize General Wheeler; on which boat was he, and where was he killed ?

*A.*—I did not see the General, but heard Dabeedeen boatman, say, that he was on one of the three boats that had been pushed off into the stream. One of these boats floated down as far as Sheorajpore, the inmates of which were brought in the next day, but the General was not amongst them.

*Q.*—Do you know who carried away General Wheeler's daughter ?

*A.*—I heard that a sowar had carried away General Wheeler's daughter.

*Q.*—Where are the boatmen now who set fire to the boats ?

*A.*—When the Nana's troops retreated to Bithoor, the boatmen accompanied them. I do not know where they are now. It is now a year since Dabeedeen was killed near the Chowkee of Rhai Ruwan.

*Q.*—When the Europeans had come to the ghat, which of the Nana's attendants were there ?

*A.*—Baba Bhut, Jwalla Pershad. Brigadier, Azeemoollah and Bala were there, and many others, whose names I do not remember. A Ressaldar in the Nana's service named Nukee was very busy in giving orders regarding the massacre of the Europeans.

*Q.*—You have stated, that the money for the boats was paid by Tantia Topee, where was this person on that day, and how was he engaged ?.

*A.*—He was with the troops engaged in the massacre, and was seated near a temple at the Suttee Chowra Ghat, close to Mouzah Kooreea. By his orders the bugle was sounded, and the guns fired. He also gave the order to the sowars to plunge into the river, and massacre the Europeans. All orders regarding the massacre, issued by the Nana, were carried into execution by Tantia Topee.

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*No. 48.—Deposition of Buddhoo, Commissariat contractor of boats, Cawnpoor, son of Ram Kurn, Caste Buqal Ugurmat, age 40 years, resident of Nareeul Bazar, Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny occurred at Cawnpoor, where were you?

*A.*—I was at Cawnpore. A month previous to the outbreak, I was appointed Commissariat contractor of boats. In the beginning of June 1857, the troops mutinied at Cawnpore, the Europeans went into the entrenchments, and the Nana and mutineers commenced fighting, owing to the mutineers plundering and murdering all employed by Government or connected with it, I remained concealed at my house. When it was agreed on that the Europeans should leave the entrenchments and proceed to Allahabad, and boats were required for this purpose by the Nana; one night about 9 P. M. a couple of chuprassees took me to the Kotwallee. The Kotwal Holass Singh, ordered me to collect 40 boats immediately. I told him that when I received orders from the Europeans to procure boats, I was advanced money and allowed a month or 15 days time to collect the same, and that it was impossible to procure boats on so short a notice. On this the Kotwal was much annoyed, and said that I was only putting him off, and ordered his attendants to take me to the Customs ghat, give me a good beating, and make me get boats; they did as ordered, and kept me there the whole night, beating me, and threatened to blow me away from guns, if I did not comply with their request; they continued threatening me until 12 A. M. but I did not get them any boats. During this occurrence, a chupprassee named Gunga Singh, who was in the employ of Lochun, Ghat Manjhee, came there, accompanied by four or five sowars, and commenced having the boats moved off, which were stationed at the customs Ghat. Gunga Singh sent me away in charge of the Sowars to Suttee Chowra Ghat, where there was a large temple, near which I saw Tanteea Topee Mahratta, the Nana, and Jwalla Pershad, who had been created a Brigadier, seated on a scaffolding of planks, and a number of people were assembled. About two hundred and fifty paces from it, on the river side, a gun was placed, and a company of sepoys of the 56th Regt. N. I. I was made a prisoner here by Tanteea's order, who told me that my hand and nose would be taken off. I saw that some of the boats had choppers on them, others were completed by Goordial brother of Lochun, the Ghat manjhee. The boats were about twenty-two in number. The next day before sun rise the gun and sepoys placed on the river side were removed and hid in the ruins of the burnt bungalow close by. About eight in the morning the Europeans commenced reaching the ghat, and getting on the boats, some had effected it, and others were in the act of doing so, when a bugle was sounded, and guns and musketry were fired. The boats caught fire. The Europeans that had got into the boats jumped off them and stood in the water on the opposite side of the boats, when shots were fired at them from the other side of the river. By this time, the Europeans had managed to get away three boats, rowing them themselves, one of these got into the stream and pushed off, but the other two grounded on the opposite bank. I saw these occurrences personally from the place of my confinement, after which I remained there a prisoner for ten or twelve days, when my father gave some money to Hoolas Singh Kotwal, who sent for me, and kept me in the Kotwallee for about two days, he allowed me to go home in charge of two Peons, for the purpose of taking my food, after which he released me, with an order to present myself, whenever ordered.

*Q.*—Whose were the boats that were taken up? and how many of them were burnt?

*A.*—Some of the boats had come from Furruckabad, and some were of this station, and I had heard that 17 or 18 boats were burnt.

*Q.*—Did you hear to whom the boats of this station belonged to?

*A.*—When I was released I heard that one of the boats belonged to Dya Singh Mistree, residing in Muneegunj, and another to Bubboomull Mistree, who lived in Pooranagunj, and four or five of them belonged to people living in the city whose names I do not know. I also heard that the value of the boats which were burnt was paid from the Nana's treasury to Lochun the ghat manjhee, who partly remunerated the owners of the boats, and kept some of the money for himself.

*Q.*—State what you saw at the Suttee Chowra Ghat, and how previous to the massacre were Gunga Singh chupprasee and Goordyal engaged?

*A.*—I saw Goordyal and Gunga Singh there from morning to noon, the former was engaged in having the choppers put on the boats, and the latter accompanied by sowars was busy pressing coolies.

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*Q.*—Who were the boatmen at the Ghat ?

*A.*—There were a good many there, but I do not know any of their names.

*Q.*—On the day the Europeans went on the boats, how were Goordyal and Gunga Singh engaged ?

*A.*—There was such an assemblage at the time on the Ghat, that I did not observe Gunga Singh and Goordyal there.

*Q.*—Where are these persons now ?

*A.*—They had concealed themselves for a long time, but Goordyal and Lochun have made their appearance, and are here, but there is no trace of Gunga Singh.

*Q.*—Did you hear how and where General Wheeler was massacred ?

*A.*—I did not hear any thing regarding him.

*Q.*—Did you hear of any sowar having carried away General Wheeler's daughter ?

*A.*—When I obtained my release from confinement, I merely heard as a rumour that some sowar had brought away the General's daughter.

*Q.*—What was the number of the persons massacred at the ghat ? and what was done with their bodies ?

*A.*—I was in confinement at a distance from the place where the massacre was perpetrated, and could not therefore tell the number of the victims, but saw about 50 or 60 bodies floating down the river, and a number were left lying on the banks.

*Q.*—Did you see the ladies and children brought to the savadah house ? What was their number, and what did you hear regarding them ?

*A.*—Being in confinement, I did not see them personally, but heard the sepoys say that about 125 ladies inclusive of children had escaped the massacre and were confined.

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*No. 49.—Deposition of Narain, Kachee, son of Golab, age 25 years.*

Q.—Where were you during the disturbances, and what occurrences did you observe ?

*A.*—For some years, I kept a granary at Lutchmun ghat, in Bithoor. In June 1857, when the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore, I was at Bithoor ; the second day after this, a flag was set up at Bithoor in the Nana's name, a proclamation issued, and Choonnee Singh Choudree, was appointed Thanadar of Bithoor, which convinced me that the Nana's rule had commenced : two or three days after this, the heads of three gentlemen were brought in to the Rao. by the sowars of the 7th Cavalry and some sepoys ; a gentleman, and a lady were also brought in. I heard that the widow of Bajee Rao hearing that the lady was pregnant, pleaded hard in her behalf with the Rao, and told him that if any thing happened to the lady she would put an end to herself, and therefore the lady was kept in a house, and an old Mahomedan woman was sent to attend on her. The gentleman was sent away somewhere, I do not know what became of him, as I never saw him again. Koosaba Khiranee Gir, had all the accounts and arrangements regarding the troops, and used to visit the Nana at Cawnpore. Ragho Punth Aptay, Ubbha Dhunoor Sharee, Pandona Shablee, Bitthul Punth Bishkeer, Azeemoollah, and Jwalla Pershad, the Nana's resaldar, who was appointed Brigadier, and several others, remained in constant attendance on the Nana, and often came to Bithoor from Cawnpore. Eight or nine days after this, a boat containing a number of Europeans came from Furruckabad. On the other side of the river at the Kuttra, were Jussa Singh, of Futtehpore Chourassee, and his party encamped. Some sowars and sepoys with a Gun, were posted at Kulwara ghat, another gun was placed opposite the Thana, and a third at Bundee Mata's ghat. Sepoys and sowars were placed at different posts. When the boat came opposite Kulwara ghat, the guns commenced playing on it, and Jussa Singh's party commenced firing from their position on the other side of the river, and the sepoys and sowars from this side of the river ; on which the boat stopped opposite Kulwara ghat, and the Europeans in it commenced firing also. A short time after, a gentleman put out a flag from the boat, on which, the firing on both sides ceased, Jussa Singh's party crossed the river, and took away the boat to Kulwârâ ghat, and afterwards to the Thanah. In the evening, whilst it was raining, the Europeans were put in three or four carts, covered with Sirkee, sent by the Rao, and were conveyed through Bharâ Mull's Kuttra bazar to the palace. The Gentlemen and Ladies were all formed up in a line, the Rao inspected them, and gave orders, that they should be kept in the

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old Residency. Koosaba Khiranee Gir took and placed them there, but all the property belonging to the Europeans was placed in the palace. Food was sent for them in the morning by Koosaba Khiranee Gir, and on the next day they were all dispatched to the Nana, at Cawnporé, and I heard that they were massacred. One day about noon, it was rumoured that the Europeans would leave the entrenchments at Cawnpore for Allahabad, and that peace had been made with the Nana. Hearing this, a number of persons left Bithoor for Cawnpore, to witness the departure of the Europeans. I also accompanied them, and reached Cawnpore on Friday 26th June, and as I was acquainted with Narain, a servant of the Nana's, I went to the Nana's tent. In the evening Tanteea Topee, who was a Captain in the Nana's army, came to the Nana's tent, and remained there a short time. I was informed by Narain, the Nana's servant, that Nana Dhoondoo Punth, and Bala, had given orders to Tanteea Topee, to massacre the Europeans when they entered the boats. On the same night, 500 or 600 sowars and sepoys were despatched to the ghat, and on the next morning, (Saturday) the people commenced proceeding to the ghat and I accompanied them, to witness the Europeans leaving Cawnpore. Thousands of spectators were assembled, and the soldiers and others were loading the boats with property. About 8 or 9 in the morning all the Europeans, about 4 or 500 in number, commenced arriving at the ghat, about half of them had got on the boats, and the others were proceeding higher up towards the ghat, from behind the wooden bridge, when two or three hundred sepoys and sowars arrived and fired a volley from the bridge. Tanteea Topee was seated on a *Chabootra* of a temple, to the right of the road leading to the ghat, and he gave orders to the troops in concealment close to him, and they fired. Shots were also fired from the Nullah to the left, and Ramdeen a boatman set fire to the boats by orders of Jwala Pershad (Brigadier). The Europeans jumped off the boats into the river, Tanteea Topee gave orders to the sowars to cut them up, and the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, rushed into the river on horseback, and despatched them with their swords and pistols. Three of the boats pushed off, one of them went down the stream to the east, and the other two went towards the Kuttra, on the other side of the river. I witnessed this personally. A short time after, a sowar came from the Nana, and gave orders to spare the ladies and children, who had escaped the massacre. The sepoys and sowars then surrounded them, and took them away to Savada. A Resaldar of Hindoostanee cavalry, named Nukee, was very busy in giving orders for the destruction of the Europeans. Nana Dhoondoo Punth gave orders for the ladies to be kept in the Savada house.

*Q.*—Who set fire to the boats, and do you know Tanteea Topee, and which of the Nana's officers were present at the ghat?

*A.*—Ramdeen, Chain, and Guzeea boatmen old servants of the Nana, set fire to the boats, and I know them: besides these, there was a boatman named Lulla of Bithoor. The following were the Nana's officers, Baba Bhut, and Bala, brothers of the Nana; Narain Dewan; Ragho Punth Aptay; Paalona Shablee; Bishnoo Punth; Patun-gir; Kesho Bhut Mullun-gir; Anund Bhut Goottay; Narain Mohnee; Gunput Rao; and Sundhayree, and several other Mahrattas. Besides the above, the following Sirdars were also present, Jwalla Pershad, Brigadier; Azeemoollah; Ahmed Allie Khan, Vukeel; and the former Kotwal Holass Singh, and another person a Mussulman, whose name I do not know, he was of a tall stature and spare body.

*Q.*—How did you recognise Ahmed Alie Khan Vukeel?

*A.*—He used to visit the Nana at Bithoor occasionally, and when the Nana came to Bithoor, after the evacuation of the entrenchments, Ahmed Alie Khan accompanied him, to place him on the throne, and I then saw him; he had put up in Rajah Heera-jee's house, and I had also heard that he was to get a Khillut.

*Q.*—How long have you known Tanteea Topee, and how were you in such close proximity to him, as to have heard him giving orders?

*A.*—I have known him for the last seven or eight years, as I frequently saw him pass my shop in company with the Nana, and as Narain Ahmed was standing near Tanteea Topee, I went close to him, for the pillars of the temple afforded shelter from the shots fired, and in my presence and hearing, Tanteea Topee sent for Teeka Singh, Subadar of the 2nd Cavalry, known as a general, and gave him orders to rush into the water, and spare none.

*Q.*—Where are the boatmen now, whose names you have given above?

*A.*—They all left with Nana Dhoondoo Punth, some of them are perhaps still here in concealment.

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*Q.*—Where are the Mahratta officers named above ?

*A.*—They are at Bithoor.

*Q.*—How is it they did not accompany the Nana, but remained at Bithoor ?

*A.*—They did leave at first, but it appears they gave an immense sum of money to Nana Narain Rao, who has concealed the fact of their implication.

*Q.*—Can you furnish any proofs in support of your statements ?

*A.*—I shall endeavour to furnish proofs as far as possible.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing further ?

*A.* No.

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*No. 50.—Deposition of Nundeedeen Aheer, son of Ramdeen, age 26 years, resident of Bithoor.*

*Q.*—Where were you during the outbreak, and what circumstances did you witness ?

*A.*—I was employed by Dagee, a Mahratta Brahmin, to look after his garden. It was in June 1857, when a flag was set up in the Nana's name at Bithoor, and Choonee Sing Chowdree appointed Thanadar. Two or three days after this, the heads of two or three Europeans were brought into Bithoor by some sowars ; they also brought a gentlemen and lady with them. The latter was kept in the old Residency, and I do not know what became of the former. Eight or nine days after this, about 50 gentlemen and ladies were brought in from Kulwara Ghat, and the Rao ordered Koosaba Khiranee Gir to keep them in the old Residency. In the morning food was sent to them, after which they were all sent away to Cawnpoor on carts, accompanied by Koosaba Khiranee Gir. About eight days after this, it was rumoured at Bithoor that an understanding had been come to, between the Europeans and the Nana, and that in a day or two the former were to vacate the entrenchments and proceed to Allahabad, and that the Nana's rule would be established. Hearing this, on Friday 26th June, a number of persons left Bithoor for Cawnpoor. I also accompanied them, and reached the place in the night, when I heard that on the next morning, the Europeans would embark at the Sutteee Chowra Ghat. I went early next morning at gun fire, and saw a great crowd assembled. There is a temple to the right of the road near the bridge, leading to Suttee Chowra Ghat, near which was seated Tanteea Topeea on a chubootra, and to the right hand side of the temple towards the east, is a village, where a gun was placed with two or three hundred armed sepoys and sowars, and to the left hand side of the temple, some two or three hundred paces from it, a number of sepoys and sowars had placed themselves behind some timber lying there. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning the soldiers and other people commenced putting the European's property on the boats, and two or three hours after this, the Europeans came from the entrenchments, and commenced entering the boats. At this time, a messenger was sent by Tanteea Topee, to order the bugle to be sounded, as soon as the Europeans reached the bridge. A short time after this, the bugle was sounded and firing commenced. The shots fired by the party placed at the right of the temple killed and wounded some ten or fifteen Europeans, but I did not see what occurred at the place where the sepoys had concealed themselves, in a nullah behind the timber, though shots were fired by this party also. A boatman named Ramdeen set fire to one of the boats, which ignited the others. On the other side of the river some sepoys and cavalry were placed, who commenced firing guns at the boats. I was standing concealed in a corner, close to where Tanteea Topee was seated, and I heard him tell Teeka Sing, a Subadar of the 2nd Cavalry, who was known as the General, to order the Sowars to go into the water, and put an end to the Europeans ; and accordingly they rushed into the river and murdered them. A short time after, an order came from the Nana to spare the ladies and children, who had escaped the massacre, the sepoys and sowars surrounded them and took them away to the Nana, but I did not go there.

*Q.*—How many Europeans left the entrenchments, and how many ladies escaped the the massacre ? Were all the gentlemen murdered ?

*A.*—They were about four or five hundred in number inclusive of their servants. I did not count them, neither did I make enquiries regarding their number. Two boats floated

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down to the Kuttra on the banks of the Ganges, and a third boat went down the stream to the east. A number of sepoys and sowars went in pursuit.

*Q.*—Do you know who were the boatmen who set fire to the boats, and of which place were they residents, and by whose orders did they set fire to the boats?

*A.*—I recognised Ramdeen and Chain, boatmen, but I do not know who the others were. I am not aware by whose orders they set fire to the boats.

*Q.*—Which of the Nana's Officers were present at the Ghat?

*A.*—Jwalla Pershad Resaldar, an old servant of the Nana's; Nana Bhut and Bala, the Nana's brothers; and Azeemoollah: the latter had been to England on account of the Nana; Narain Dewan, a Mahratta; Raghopunth Aptay, and Ahmed Alli Vukeel, who often visited the Nana at Bithoor; Shah Ali, formerly a Thanadar and afterwards Kotwal of the city of Cawnpoor, and several others whom I could not recognise. A number of people were plundering the property from the boats.

*Q.*—How did you manage to approach so close to Tanteea Topee, and from what time have you known him?

*A.*—I have known him from a long time, as I frequently saw him pass my garden. As the temple where Tanteea Topee was seated was a convenient place to see the departure of the Europeans, I took my stand on an elevated part of it. As at that time there was no apparent danger, neither was I aware of any; but when shots were fired I concealed myself behind a pillar of the temple in question, about ten paces away from the place where Tanteea Topee was seated.

*Q.*—What was the number of the ladies who escaped the massacre?

*A.*—They were about 100 or 150. I did not count them, neither did I make any enquiry regarding their number. All their clothing was wet, and some of the Ladies were wounded.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing further?

*A.*—Yes, when the Nana went to Bithoor, the Officers named above, *i. e.* Ahmed Ali Vakeel, and others went along with him to place him on the throne.

*Q.*—How did you recognise Ahmed Ali Khan Vakeel?

*A.*—I was employed with Narain Rao, whose Vakeel was Ahmed Ali Khan, and I frequently saw him there. He also often visited Nana Dhondoo Punth's palace. I therefore knew him well.

*Q.*—Where are the above named officers who were in the Nana's employ?

*A.*—Some of them are at Bithoor. They are intimate with Narain Rao, and are under his protection. They have therefore escaped being taken up.

*Q.*—Can you state the whereabouts of those that are at Bithoor?

*A.*—If I am ordered by the authorities I will give information regarding their whereabouts.

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*No. 51.—Deposition of Juggernath, son of Petumnath, resident of Gopalpore, Pergunnah Sárh Sulempore, Zillah Cawnpore, age 24 years.*

*Q.*—Where were you when the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore?

*A.*—The day that the outbreak occurred, I was at General-gunje at my shop kept by Keshree Bunneea, and heard a great uproar, but did not stir to see what was the cause of the disturbance. Five or six days after this, Kamta Pershad and Deechut Nath called Daroga, Brahmins, residents of Gopalpore, who were confined in the Jail, joined the band under Teeka Sing, who was afterwards called a general; and Luchmun Sing, Zemindar of Palee, together with about 150 of their men. These two persons *i. e.* Kamta Pershad and Deechut Nath, together with Thakoor Sing, a dacoit; Jowahir Sing, Chowdree, in company with five Sowars, came to Keshree's shop, took me away, and confined me in Kamta Pershad's tent. Teeka Sing said to me that as I dealt in Indigo I must know where saltpetre was manufactured, and therefore must let him know the different places, and the Sowars demanded 500 Rupees of me. I told them that I was a poor man, and only dealt in Indigo, I therefore did not know where saltpetre could be obtained, and that I had no money. I was still kept in confinement, and during this time, I saw Luchmun Sing, Ojaghur Sing, Bijey Sing, and Thakoor Pershad

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of Palee, and Kamta Pershad of Gopalpore, accompanied by their bands, visit Teeka Sing, and go with him to the batteries. For fifteen days I saw these proceedings, after which time they released me. The day that the Europeans left the entrenchments for the boats, a number of people was assembled at the ghat, and I also went there. It was about eight in the morning, and I went to the ghat by the road leading to it from the European bazar, which road was also taken by the Europeans. There was a temple on the banks of the Ganges, near which Tanteea, Mahratta, was seated, and a number of sepoys and sowars together with a great many Zemindars were ass mbled at the ghat, and between the temple and Suttee Choura ghat, thousands of people were assembled. At this time a person came to the place where Tanteea was seated, and said that the boatmen were very few, on which the Sirdars were angry, and ordered him away. Some of the Europeans had got on the boats, and others were on the point of doing so, when shots were fired, and the sepoys and sowars fired volleys from all sides, which killed a number of the Ladies, Gentlemen and children, on which, the people assembled fell back, and I did the same, and the boats were set on fire. Where I was standing there were a number of Mahratta Sirdars, whose names I do not remember, and the following persons were also there; Teeka Sing, General; Hoolas Sing, Kotwal; and Ukber Alee, who was appointed Tehseeldar by the Nana, and Luchmun, &c., Zemindars, were mounted on horseback and firing shots, and when the Europeans had jumped off the boats into the water, I heard Hoolas Sing, Teeka Sing, Ukbur Alee, and Luchmun Sing calling out to the sowars, ordering them to go into the water, and dispatch those standing in it, on which they rushed in and made an end of all they came across, with swords and pistols. After this, the crowd dispersed, and I returned to my shop. Hundreds of persons have witnessed this.

*Q.*—Did you witness the massacre of any other Europeans?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—Did you see Teeka Sing, Hoolas Sing, and Ukbur Allee, firing on the Europeans?

*A.*—Yes, I saw them at the ghat firing on the Europeans, and several others saw them doing so. The fact is well known of Hoolas Sing having ordered the boats to be prepared, and of Teeka Sing having arranged the distribution of the sepoys and sowars at the ghat.

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*No. 52.—Deposition of Bikhee Singh, son of Chotoo Singh, Thakoor, age 40 years, resident of Mouzah Chundunpoor, Pergunnah Sárh Sulem, Zillah Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—When the troops mutinied at Cawnpore, where were you?

*A.*—In the month of June, when the outbreak occurred at Cawnpore, I was employed with Nynsookh, contractor, who had taken the contract of the lines of the 56th N. I. and was living at his house in the European regimental Bazar, and remained there till the station was again occupied by the European troops.

*Q.*—As you were at Cawnpore, all through the outbreak, state what occurrences came under your notice.

*A.*—A long time has now elapsed, and I do not remember all the occurrences, but whatever questions may be put to me, I will answer.

*Q.*—Did you ever witness the massacre of any Europeans, during these disturbances?

*A.*—A great many Europeans were put to death, and a number of persons are witness to this fact. I remember that a few days after the outbreak 118 or 119 Europeans were put to death, on the plain opposite the Savada Kotee, at noon.

*Q.*—Who gave the order for the massacre and who executed it? And which of the Nana's officers were present?

*A.*—There were a number of persons assembled, both Mahrattas and city people. I do not remember all of their names, and I believe the order was given by the Nana. The sowars and sepoys shot the Europeans, after which *Jullads* dispatched them with swords.

*Q.*—State the names of the Nana's officers who were present at this massacre, as far you remember.

*A.*—There were a number of Zemindars and Mahrattas, whose names I do not remember, and the Nana's officers were, Ahmed Alie Khan Vukeel, Ukber Alie Mookhtiar, Shah Alie, the former Kotwal, and Holass Singh, the then Kotwal.

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*Q.*—How was Holass Singh engaged?

*A.*—He was along with all the others, and at the time that the Nana gave an order for the massacre of the Europeans I was standing at some distance, and therefore could not hear what orders were given by the officers in question. But I think Ukber Alie ordered the *Jullads* to dispatch the Europeans.

*Q.*—Besides this massacre of Europeans did you witness any other?

*A.*—Yes once at the Suttee Chowra Ghat. About 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning I saw the Europeans from the entrenchments passing by the bazar I lived in, and proceeding to the ghat, where there was a great assembly. There is a Pucka temple on the right hand side of the road leading to the ghat. At this place Tanteea Mahratta, and a number of other *Sirdars* were present, and from that temple, at a short distance, sepoys and sowars were concealed in the *Chore ghattee* and a gun was in position between the *Chore ghattee*, and the temple. As the Europeans were getting into the boats, volleys were fired, which killed them.

*Q.*—State who were the *Sirdars* in company with Tanteea, and who gave orders for the firing?

*A.*—I do not remember the names of all the Sirdars, but I remember seeing one or two persons coming running from the place Tanteea was seated at, and giving orders for the bugle to sound, after which Teeka Singh Subadar, Holass Singh Kotwal, Ukber Alie, Mooktiar, and several others armed and mounted on horseback, came galloping up to the boats and gave orders to the Sowars to dispatch the Europeans standing in the water; according to which they rushed into the river and put them to death.

*Q.*—Are you sure you heard Teeka Singh, Holass Singh, and Ukber Alie, give orders to the sowars to massacre the Europeans?

*A.*—I remember well having heard these people, give distinct and strict orders to the sowars to massacre the Europeans, who were standing in the water, and there were several other *Sirdars* who gave the same orders, but I do not remember their names. Teeka Singh, Holass Singh, and Ukber Alie were armed with English pistols which they fired at the Europeans, and a shot fired by Ukber Alie Mookhtiar, struck a gentleman on the breast and killed him. Several ladies and children were wounded, and some of them were killed. Shortly after, I heard that the Nana sent orders to spare the ladies and children who had escaped the massacre, and accordingly those that were alive were brought and confined in the Savada house. After this I did not see any Europeans put to death.

*Q.*—What was the number of Europeans at the ghat?

*A.*—I cannot state this as I did not take any notice of their number, and as I went to the ghat by the road leading from the European Regimental Bazar, I did not see the entire number as they were all scattered about on the boats, and the banks of the river; there was also a great assemblage, and a number of persons were galloping about on horseback.

*Q.*—Did you see the wounded ladies and children brought in from the ghat?

A.—I had left the ghat, previous to the ladies and children being taken away from there, but only saw them coming in from a distance.

*Q.*—Did you see any other occurrences?

*A.*—I did not see any thing else particularly, but a great many occurrences took place during the outbreak, which I do not recollect now.

*Q.*—What were the names of the Zemindars who were present at the massacre of the 118 or 119 Europeans?

*A.*—I do not remember the names of all, but the following are some of them, Luchmun Singh, Ojaghur Singh, Bijey Singh, Thakoor Pershad, and Jado Rao, the two latter named were these Zemindar's *Karindas*, and these people had encamped in tents on the race course.

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*No. 53.—Deposition of Peer Bux, Commissariat Camel Sowar of Agra.*

In June 1857 (I do not remember the exact date) I was sent from Agra with a letter to General Wheeler at Cawnpore; when near Mutteapore, I met a number of Bengalies (some 150 in number,) who had been plundered and maltreated by the residents of that village. As I approached, I saw them drawn out prepared to stop my progress, but being mounted on a

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swift camel, I avoided them. They were armed with swords, spears, bows and arrows. At Juswuntnugger, I saw the gang of Dacoits under Gunga Sing plundering that village, and which they had set on fire. On reaching Etawah, I found that the residents had just beaten off an attack made by some mutineers, and firing was still going on at the Ghat. I saw the bodies of 8 rebel sepoys, who had been killed at the outskirt of the town whilst plundering. I put up at the house of Narain Dass, a Gomashta of Lala Joti Pershad, and hearing that the road to Cawnpore was very unsafe, left my arms and the camel at the Gomashta's house, disguised myself as a Faqueer, hiding the letter in the sole of my shoe, I travelled on foot by cross roads till I entered the Grand Trunk road at Choteypore. The insurgent villagers were plundering each other, but I was not molested except once, when I was searched on suspicion of carrying letters, and was released with a slap on the face. From Choteypore to Cawnpore I passed five police stations, at each of which, there were ten sowars posted, who were the Nana's servants. I reached Cawnpore at four in the afternoon, and went first to Kali Khan, Jemedar of Camel Sowars, and then to Kasim Khan, Mahout, whom I had known at Umballa. I found him with the rest of the elephants near the Mogul Seraie. He was just starting with an old Christian Woman to the Nana's tent pitched in the compound of the Savada, and I learnt that a treaty had been made between him and the British. I accompanied them, and whilst they went inside the tent I remained outside. I recognized the Chackendie Raja whom I, (when formerly at Cawnpore as orderly sowar to General Parsons,) had often seen. The old Christian woman and Kasim Khan after remaining in the tent, went to the entrenchments with a letter from the Nana to General Wheeler. I believing them to be faithful, mentioned that I had a letter for the General, which I made over to them. They entered the entrenchments leaving me outside. At dark they returned and Kasim Khan told me that the Europeans would leave the entrenchments early the next morning, and that I was to wait at the Suttee Choura Ghat, when the General would give me a reply to the letter. I remained all night at Kasim Khan's, and at about half past three, awoke, hearing that the elephants were getting ready. Kasim Khan placed a Howdah on the elephant the General used to ride on, and a second elephant had a pad on his back; the two elephants were taken to the entrenchments and I proceeded direct to the Ghat. About sunrise the Europeans began to arrive; the soldiers were on foot, but the ladies and children were on hackeries. On the pad elephant there were four ladies, and on the General's elephant in the howdah I saw Lady Wheeler and her two daughters, who were put on board the first boat. The General came down to the Ghat on a Galloway, but meeting the elephant, got on it, and was put on board his boat. Kasim Khan made me a sign to ask for a reply to the letter, which I did. The General told me to wait a few minutes, and I should receive one. Kasim Khan with his elephant was waiting by General Wheeler's boat, when all of a sudden firing commenced from both sides of the river, the fire was returned from the fourth boat on the line by which two rebel sepoys were killed close to me. The boats were set on fire and were burning. The two first boats however managed to get into the stream; one of these was the first on the line, and contained the General and his family. Sowars and sepoys were sent in pursuit of them. Those who were in the boats set on fire, leaped into the river, and were shot down by cannon and musketry. The sowars then rushed into the river to cut down the survivors, and when all the men had been murdered, the ladies and children were taken out of the water and placed on the bank. Many of them were wounded.

*Q.*—Did you recognize any of the parties present at the massacre?

*A.*—There was a very large crowd, residents of the city and of the surrounding villages. I was not a resident of Cawnpore and could not therefore recognize any of them.

*Q.*—Did you see any of the city people or villagers take part in the massacre, and were they armed?

*A.*—The villagers were armed with swords, spears, and battle axes, but I did not see any of them use their weapons.

*Q.*—Did you see any of the children killed?

*A.*—Beyond being shot with others whilst standing in the water, I did not remark any special cases of murder.

*Q.*—What became of the ladies and children who were spared?

*A.*—They were taken to the Savada house. I followed in the rear and passing the en-

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trenchments, went in to look at them. I saw the bodies of eleven Europeans; they were on quilts on the floor, some of them still breathing though dying from severe gun shot wounds. There were three useless brass guns that had been split, two leathern bottles of ghee, and a sack of soojie, which the villagers were plundering. I heard shortly afterwards that the wounded Europeans who were alive in the entrenchments had been shot. On returning to Kasim Khan's in the evening, I heard that he had gone across the river. I therefore went to Kali Khan's, and there met a sowar of the 2nd Cavalry named Gujpore Khan who told us that the General's boat had been captured at Nujjufgurh. The next morning I left Cawnpore and on reaching Etawah, resumed my arms and camel. I found Feerozabad had been burnt by the insurgent villagers of Kyer and was detained eight days at Futtehabad, the road being closed by insurgents, after which I reached Agra in safety and made my report.

*Q.*—Give a description of Kasim Khan.

*A.*—Tall, fair and pock-marked, grey eyes and high nose, small beard and mustachios, age about 40. I do not know his village, for all his family resided with him at the elephant sheds.

*Q.*—What was the name of the other elephant driver?

*A.*—I do not know his name, but he was under the order of Nunhey Khan, Jemedar of elephants. He was tall and very dark, small eyes, with a high nose, much hair on the head, small mustachios and no beard, age about 30.

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*No. 54.—Deposition of Dhurm Doss, son of Peen Raj, Kaeth, resident of Mouzah Budurka, Pergunnah Arah, Zillah Onam, age 45 years.*

*Q.*—When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore, where were you?

*A.*—I was at my home in Mouzah Budurka.

*Q.*—Did Lalla Nanuck Chund visit your house during the outbreak?

*A.*—Yes, he remained concealed in my house for about a month.

*Q.*—During the outbreak, did any Europeans ever come to your village?

*A.*—The day after the entrenchments at Cawnpore were vacated, and the Europeans massacred, a gentleman of tall stature, about 40 years of age, was concealed in a nullah of Mouzah Kurroundeea, close to Mouzah Budurka. The boys of the first named village saw this gentleman, and gave intimation to Sheo Sahee, Zemindar of Mouzah Kurroundeea, who brought him away to his house, and asked him where he wished to go to; he said he was desirous of going to Lucknow, and Sheo Sahai told him that if he went on in his present state, he would certainly be killed, he would therefore see him safe out of the village, and provided him with food. During this time about 250 armed persons were sent by Chundee Sing Zemindar, and Kalka, Kanoongoe. A person named Sheo Churn, an Aheer, was at the head of this party, he asked Sheo Sahai to give up the European, and after a short debate, took him away by force, and sent him into Cawnpore.

*Q.*—Where is Chundee Sing and Kalka?

*A.*—They have absconded.

*Q.*—What other persons witnessed the above occurrence?

*A.*—Thousands of people residents of Mouzah Budurka and Kuroundeea, are eye-witnesses to this fact.

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*No. 55.—Statement of Dabie Deen, son of Nachul Lall, caste kait, village Bhuttoora, Zillah Fyzabad, age about 30 years, service.*

*Q.*—When the outbreak occurred at Cawnpoor, were you in the service of the rebel Nana?

*A.*—I did not serve of my free will, but was seized and made to do so, and then I was only employed four days.

*Q.*—State how you were seized and made to serve.

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*A.*—I was residing in privacy at my house at Gurreah Ghat, Cawnpoor. When the Nana's rebel forces marched towards Futtehpoor, about the 6th or 7th July 1857, four sowars of the 2nd Cavalry seized me at my house and first of all took me before the Nana who ordered me to be taken to Tanteea Topie. Tanteea Topie was in charge of the Commissariat and gave me orders to accompany the 2nd Cavalry to Futtehpoor. I made several excuses, alleging I was unequal to the work. Tanteea Topie said "you were formerly in the Commissariat and are up to the work." I again protested, upon which he scolded me and declared that unless I went with the 2nd Cavalry, I should be blown from a cannon. Being helpless I agreed to go. I was then put in charge of fifteen carts and proceeded to Futtehpoor. I was only four days with them (the 2nd Cavalry.) The first march we made was to Jugpoor, the second Aong, the third Mulladan, from whence we marched towards Futtehpoor; on the way we had an engagement with the British, the rebels were defeated, and fled. I fled to Aong, and from thence to Cawnpoor.

*Q.*—What number of troops went to Futtehpoor?

*A.*—Two Regiments of Infantry (one the 1st Native Infantry, the name of the other I do not know,) the 2nd Cavalry, a Regiment of newly raised horse of the Nana's, and a battery of guns.

*Q.*—What Sirdars and other officers accompanied the rebels?

*A,*—Jowalla Pershad Brigadier, and Teeka Sing the General, also the Allahabad Moulvie; there was another individual by caste a Hindoo. The Lumberdar of Futtehpoor who resides there, was present in the action, he was among the superior officers, and used to court the Nana at Cawnpoor, there were many inferior officers present, with whose names I am unacquainted.

*Q.*—Whom of the superior officers did you yourself see at Cawnpoor with the Nana?

*A.*—The Commander in Chief was Tanteea Topie, then Azeem-oollah Mussulman, Jowalla Pershad and a great many others.

*Q.*—Who were subordinates in Deputy Ramlall's cutcherry?

*A.*—I do not know.

*Q.*—On the day the Europeans were massacred at Suttee Chowra ghat, where were you?

*A.*—I was at my own house when the massacre took place. There was a great uproar and I went to the ghat, numbers of the citizens were assembled there. When I reached the spot, all the gentlemen had been murdered, but the women were being brought by the sowars and sepoys to the Savada House.

*Q.*—State what officers and citizens were present at the ghat.

*A.*—I do not remember the names of any. Owing to the confusion and uproar I was unable to discern.

*Q.*—Did you clearly see the ladies being brought in?

*A.*—I only saw them from a distance.

*Q.*—How many times in your presence were gentlemen murdered at Cawnpoor?

*A.*—I never once witnessed a massacre with my own eyes.

*Q*—Did you ever see any of the Rajahs or Zemindars who were in the habit of visiting the Nana, or do you know the names of any?

*A.*—I used to hear that all the Rajahs and Zemindars were present but do not know the names of any, nor yet did I see any with my own eyes.

*Q.*—When you returned from Futtehpore where did you reside?

*A.*—I stopped all along in my own house. When I heard that a proclamation had been issued by the Government pardoning us I came to Cawnpoor, and went to the Commissariat, in which Department I was formerly employed on a security of fifteen hundred rupees, for which I produced receipts. I received back two hundred rupees, and for the remaining thirteen hundred was granted receipts. After a short time a command was going to Agra in which I was employed in the Commissariat. I have stated the whole truth.

*Q.*—In the 2nd Cavalry, or among any other sowars, did you know a man called Gunput Nameh?

*A.*—I knew no Sowar of that name.

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*No. 56.—Deposition of Peeroo, Duffadar of Sweepers in Government employ at the Cawnpore Kotwalie.*

*Q.*—Where were you when the troops mutinied at Cawnpore?

*A.*—I was at the Cawnpore Kotwalie, but know nothing.

*Q.*—Do you know any thing of the men the Nana employed to attend the ladies and children?

*A.*—Mittoo and his wife were employed to attend on the ladies, they were sent from the Kotwalie, but no one else that I know of.

*Q.*—Where is Mittoo?

*A.*—He accompanied the English troops to Lucknow, being attached to the General Hospital. I do not know where he is at present.

*Q.*—What *Jullads* or executioners were sent from the Kotwalie to massacre the Europeans?

*A.*—Itbarrie, (who has since been hung,) Bahadoor and Chota, these three were the head Jullads or executioners, and with them all the other Jullads used to go. I only saw the above three men sent from the Kotwalie, but I heard that the rest used to accompany them.

*Q.*—By whose orders were those executioners sent?

*A.*—By orders of Hoolas Sing Kotwal.

*Q.*—Who carried out the orders of the Nana at the Kotwalie?

*A.*—Hoolas Sing Kotwal, Hurpurshad Mohurrir, and a Mussulman Jemadar, whose name I have forgotten. The Naib Bukshee Zainoolabdeen paid the Sweepers, Bheesties, Chowkedars and Garriewans. These used to do the work. Arsoom Bukshee never came to the Kotwalie.

*Q.*—Where have Bahadur and Chota gone?

*A.*—Bahadur was killed at Bitthoor, but I do not know where Chota has gone, he is not here.

*Q.*—Is there a son of Bahadur's here?

*A.*—There may be, but I do not know. Kunkawara, sweeper of the Bransphor Caste, resident of Bitthoor, was employed by the Nana in cutting off heads. I know this to be true.

*Q.*—Where is Kunkawara now?

*A.*—I dont know where he is, but I know he has a brother still in Bitthoor.

*Q.*—Do you know who used to cook the food for the ladies, and where?

*A.*—Gilharie cook, resident of Muchie or fish bazar, who has since died. The food used to be cooked at his shop, there were a few other cooks as well. I dont know their names, nor any thing regarding them. Eedoo who lives in the Chuckla Mahal used to cook food, but I don't know who used to take it.

*Q.*—Describe Kunkawara's brother, and state his name.

*A.*—A stout man, middle height, rather fair, with small mustachios. I do not know his name.

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*No. 57.—Deposition of Cherunjoo, Brahmin, son of Sheo Dyal, age 22 years, resident of Oghoo.*

*Q.*—Do you know any thing regarding the massacre of the ladies at Cawnpore?

*A.*—Yes, I am acquainted with the facts of the massacre. I came to Cawnpore during the outbreak in July, to look after my brother Gokul, who was a sowar in the 8th Cavalry. I made enquiries regarding him from Kasee-nath, brahmin, a resident of Cawnpore, who told me that he had heard nothing about him. I put up at Muthra, brahmin's, during the night, and at 4 P. M. the next day, as I was returning home, I passed by the place the ladies were confined in, and looking into the compound, saw them washing their dirty clothes. There were two or three other persons standing there, whom I asked, if there was no one that could get the ladies clothes washed by a washerman. One of the sepoys on guard hearing this abused me, gave me a slap on the face, and made me sit by him for a short time, after which he called another sepoy, and sent me away to the guard room, where I remained confined

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all that night, until the next day about 4 o'clock, when it was rumoured that European troops were approaching and that they had passed Futtehpoor. The Nana sent orders for th massacre of the ladies, but the sepoys on guard refused to do so; after which the Nana sen for other people, out of whom, three Mussulmen with naked swords rushed towards the building the ladies were confined in, and two Hindoos who had *chundun* applied on their foreheads, with drawn swords also accompanied them. When these five men entered the building there was a great noise and disturbance, and all the sepoys rushed to the place. Taking advantage of the absence of the guard, I escaped from my place of confinement.

*Q.*—Do you know the three Mussulmen and two Hindoos, who entered with drawn swords?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—If you saw then again would you be able to recognise them?

*A.*—I am not sure, but I think I could.

*Q.*—Did you see these people engaged in the massacre?

*A.*—I did not see them, but heard the shrieks and cries of the ladies.

*Q.*—How far were you from the building?

*A.*—I was in the guard-room, which was about 74 paces from the place the ladies were confined in.

*Q.*—Did the sepoys also fire at the ladies?

*A.*—No, they did not fire.

*Q.*—How long did you remain there?

*A.*—I left the place at about 5 o'clock.

*Q.*—Can you give any description of the three Mussulmen?

*A.*—Two of them were fair, and one was dark, they all wore beards. They were about 40 and 45 years old; had dark hair.

*Q.*—How were they dressed?

*A.*—Two of them had white clothing, and one red.

*Q.*—Can you state of what tribe or caste they belonged to?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—Describe the two Hindoos.

*A.*—One of them was about 40 or 45 years old, and the other about 30 or 32, and both of them had white clothing.

*Q.*—Had you seen them before?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—Where was the Nana at that time?

*A.*—Next the building in which the ladies were confined was another bungalow, and in the compound of this, the Nana was standing.

*Q.*—What was the distance between the two places?

*A.*—About 75 paces.

*Q.* —How do you know that it was the Nana?

*A.*—I heard the sepoys saying that he was the Nana.

*Q.*—Was there any other person beside the Nana?

*A.*—There were a number of other people standing round him, about 20 or 25.

*Q.*—Do you know any of them?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—Did you hear whether the Nana had promised any reward to the five persons who perpetrated the massacre?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—At the time that these five persons rushed in to massacre the ladies, were there any sepoys round about the place?

*A.*—Only those of the guard, about four or five in number.

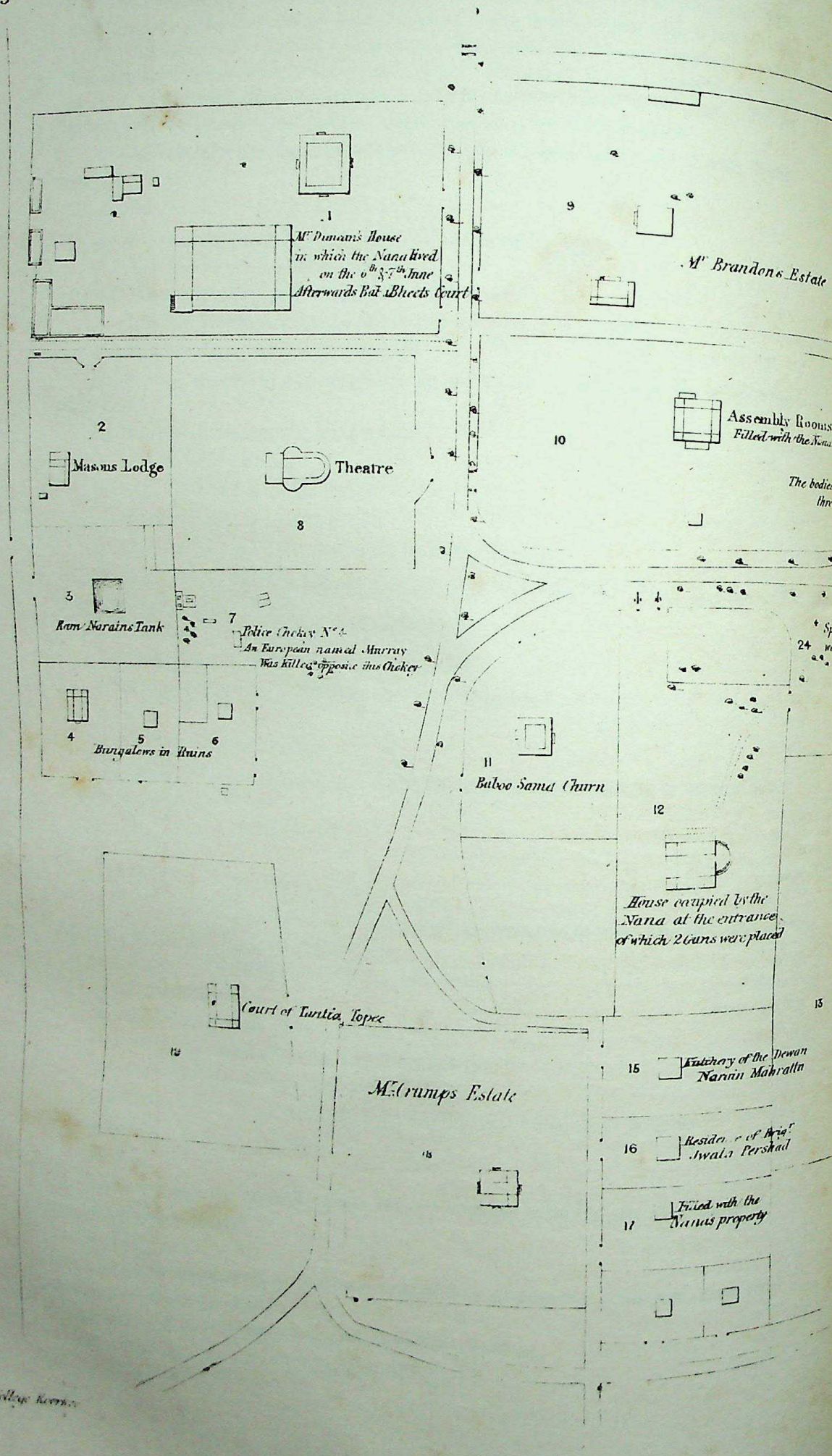
*Q.*—Was there any one in confinement with you?

*A.*—No.

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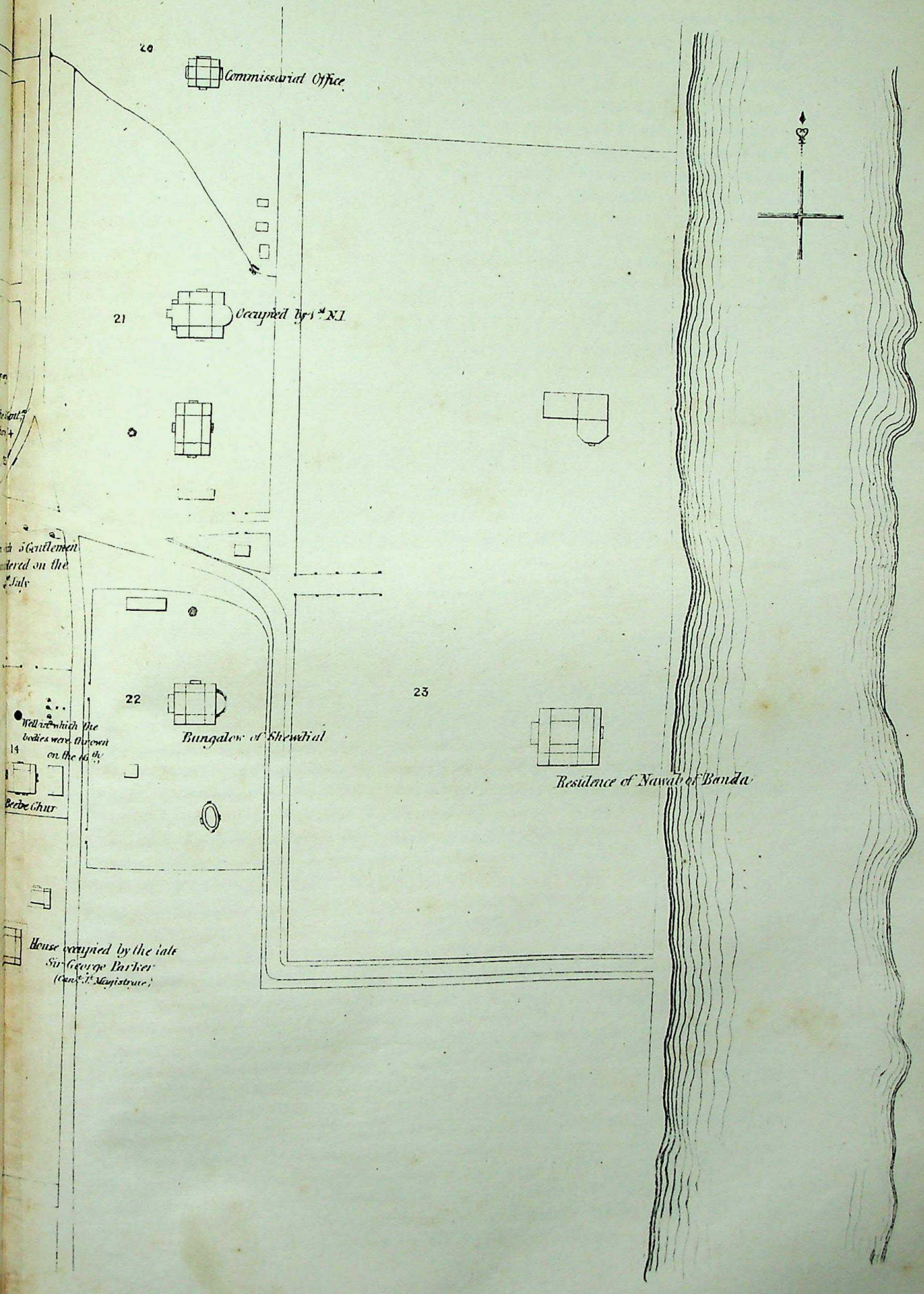
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Plan N.º 3




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*No. 58.—Deposition of Punchum, seller of betel leaf, resident of Ooghoo.*

*Q.*—Did you hear how the ladies were massacred during the Nana's rule?

*A.*—In the month of July, a year and a half ago, I was at my house in Ooghoo, when ten or eleven persons, guards in the Nana's employ, who had fled from Cawnpore, came to my shop, and asked for Paun (betel leaf,) I showed them new betel leaf, when two of them told me to fetch old betel leaf, otherwise they would take my head off. I accordingly went to another pawnseller and brought the kind they asked for, and told them the price of the same, *i. e.* ten pice. The two men said they would only give me two pice, I replied that the betel leaf was worth ten pice, and that they ought at the least give me eight pice. On which they said that they would kill me and all my family. I stated I was a poor man, and had got the betel leaf from another person. They then said that they had shown no pity to the ladies and children whom they had just massacred, and who clung to their feet, and that they would not have pity on me. I wept, and my mother hearing me cry, came out, and begged of them not to hurt me, and that she would let them have more betel leaf; after this they drew water from a well close to my house, near a temple, and conversing amongst themselves, I heard their companions ask the two men, how many ladies they had killed; they replied that they had massacred 21 ladies and children, and had received a reward of 21 rupees, and added that at first, the Nana ordered the sepoys to massacre the ladies, but they refused, and that they two, with three others carried out the Nana's orders.

*Q.*—Do you know the names of those two men?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—If you saw those persons, would you recognize them?

*A.*—Yes, I think I would be able to make them out, if I saw them.

*Q.*—Were those persons Mussulmen or Hindoos?

*A.*—They were Hindoos and had *chundun* applied on their foreheads.

*Q.*—Give a description of them.

*A.*—One of them was of a sallow complexion and the other fair.

*Q.*—Which road did they take after leaving you?

*A.*—They went to the Nana who was encamped at Futtehpore Chourasie that day.

*Q.*—Did any other person beside you, see them?

*A.*—Besides my mother there was no one there; they frightened me greatly by shewing me a naked sword covered with blood, which they said had been used in the massacre of the ladies, and that they would cut off my head with the same.

*Q.*—How do you know the two men above alluded to went to Futtehpore Chourasie?

*A.*—I saw them take the road to Futtehpore Chourasie, which led me to believe that they were going there.

*Q.*—From whom did you get the old betel leaf for the two men?

*A.*—From Tujjoo seller of betel leaf.

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*No. 59.—Deposition of Gunga Bishen, Mahajun and resident of Ooghoo.*

*Q.*—State what you know of the massacre of the ladies on the 15th of July?

*A.*—The truth is, that shortly after the Nana fled and the ladies were massacred, I was sitting under a tamarind tree at Ooghoo, where all the men of the village assemble, and was conversing with a few others about the massacre of the Europeans at Cawnpore; they said that the Nana ought not to have murdered the women and children, upon which Souracun Brahmin of Ooghoo stated that when the ladies and gentlemen were massacred, the Nana's Officials sent him to kill the ladies, that he struck one with his sword which bent, and he then felt pity and did not again strike; he showed us the sword which was bent. He said that there were two or three Mahomedans who killed all the ladies and children. The men assembled there saw the sword and heard this. It was also known all over the village. This is the only man of Ooghoo who assisted in the murdering of the Europeans.

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Q.—Give the names of those who heard Souracun make this statement.

A.—There were many assembled, I do not remember all their names, but those that I do remember I give; Thakoor and Bugtah, Aheers; Kuneeah, Gunga, Sewa, Chota and Ajoodeeah, Brahmins; Goolwah Chowkedar of Kaharah Deewar, all these were assembled. All the villagers heard that Souracun was one of the murderers, but since the British rule has been re-established, no one, from fright, speaks of it.

Q.—Will these men now give true evidence?

A.—Yes I think they will, though some from fright may not do so. If any of the Government Officials are sent to the village, I would get all the men to state the truth.

Q.—Where is Souracun now?

A.—I dont know where he is now; he left the village when the British rule was re-established.

Q.—Describe him.

A.—His name is Souracun, son of Chundee Deen a Brahmin, resident of Ooghoo, about 35 years of age, fair and tall, neither thin nor stout, long mustachios, with a beard, a flat face, black eyes, has a defect in one eye, and always carries a sword. I am not quite sure about his father's name.

Q.—Why did you not report this before?

A.—From fear he would be hung, and his death would be laid on my head, and for this reason no one else gave information.

Q.—When was Souracun entertained by the Nana?

A.—During the mutiny, but I don't remember the date.

Q.—Were your sons Bachoo and Mundun in the service of the Nana?

A.—I state the truth; my sons were never in the Nana's service, but when the Nana fled, the mutineers took Bachoo prisoner into the Nana's Camp for about 25 days. Besides this he never was in the Nana's service, and to clear my sons I state the truth.

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*No. 60.—Deposition of Kulloo Chuprassee, son of Panchoo, Aheer, resident of Cawnpore.*

Q.—State what you know, regarding the mutiny at Cawnpore.

A.—My brother Hurnam Sing was Kote Duffadar in the Cavalry under command of Major Gall, stationed at Lucknow; I was with him a year before the outbreak. The news of the mutiny of the troops at Cawnpore reached Lucknow and was talked of for a long time, when suddenly, all the native troops at that place also mutinied. I was at the time in Cantonments, and heard the reports of cannon all night. At 4 o'clock in the morning, on the advance of European troops, the mutineers, composed of three regiments, the numbers of which I do not recollect, fled. One of them was, I think the 71st. On the same day, all the European residents and troops removed their property to Muchee Bhawun and Huslee Kara. On the next day, about eleven in the night all the Europeans left Muchee Bhawun and came to Huslee Kara.

My brother Hurnam Sing accompanied his Captain to Huslee Kara, and I hid myself in the house of Ungnoo, Kotee of Munda Lall's village for 15 days, for fear of the mutineers, as they had issued orders to kill every one who was a servant of any European. The fight between the mutineers and European troops continued. After 15 days, when I saw that there was no safety in the place of my concealment, I left it, and made my way to Cawnpore. I had proceeded about a mile, when I met some troopers of the Cavalry above referred to, who recognising me, took me a prisoner, saying that I was the brother of Hurnam Sing, who had gone to Huslee Kara, and that I must have remained out to act as a spy against the mutineers, and that therefore I should be put to death; so three or four sepoys taking hold of me, took me away to a small room near Aga Meer's residence, and locked me in. There was a small window in this room with a door, which I carefully removed, and jumping out escaped to Imrutgunj, which is about 30 miles distance, and put up for the night at an inn. On the next day leaving this place, I reached about 12 o'clock the Custom's Ghat, on the banks of the Ganges at Cawnpore, and was about getting into a boat, when the man at the Ghat asked for four pice, and would not allow me to get on the boat without paying this, but turned me away. I there met a cloth merchant, whose name I do not know, who had paid the fee

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at the ghat and received a stamp on his hand, as a pass to cross over on the boat. By begging hard, I got this man to give me an impression on my arm, from the stamp-mark on his hand, by which means I crossed over and arrived about 4 o'clock near the assembly rooms where I saw a crowd of about 2,000 persons, whom I questioned regarding their assemblage; they informed me, that a number of ladies and children were confined in the bungalow, and were to be put to death on that day. Outside the compound of this bungalow, to the south was a Neem tree, under which I saw a person seated wearing a *pugree* covered with gold lace, who was represented to be the Nana Sahib; he was surrounded by a great number of sepoys and troopers, as well as other spectators. I was told that the Nana had given orders to put to death all the ladies and children confined in the bungalow, and I heard the sepoys warning the spectators to move out of the way, so as to be clear of the bullets, as they were going to fire; on hearing this the crowd fell back, and I did the same, then I saw about 25 sepoys advance to the doors of the room which contained the ladies and children, who firing a volley into it, retired when another party advanced, and did the same. I was at this time about 50 paces from the spot and could hear the cries of the inmates of the bungalow, after the discharge of each volley. After this I left the place, and went away to my house in the Buxee khanah, mohulla, which was within musket range of the spot. I left and heard firing till candle light. The next morning as I was standing on the road near my house, I saw a crowd proceeding towards the above mentioned bungalow, and heard some of them saying, that the ladies and children who escaped death last night would be killed now. One of the sepoys caught hold of me, and made me carry some brasen vessels for him, to the Theatre, adjoining the bungalow above referred to, and then let me go. When I passed close to this bungalow, seeing a crowd assembled there, I stood, and saw four or five men with drawn swords, who appeared to be sweepers, approach the bungalow, and I heard the people say that these men had come to put an end to those who may have escaped the musketry. I saw these men enter the house, and drag out the ladies about 15 in number, some of whom were wounded, and massacre them with their swords; after which dragging their corpses they threw them down a well in the compound. I saw a little child about 5 years old near one of the ladies who seeing her killed, tried to escape by running away, but was cut down by one of the men bearing swords, and the corpse thrown into the well; seeing this I left the spot, but the crowd was still there. On the same day, about 10 o'clock A. M. it was rumoured that the European troops were approaching Cawnpore, and were about 12 or 14 miles distant; hearing this the sepoys commenced preparing for a battle. About two o'clock, I heard the firing of cannon, which continued till three o'clock, when the news of the defeat of the sepoys reached, and all the mutineers and bad characters of the city were seen flying towards Bithoor. It was now rumoured that the European troops were advancing, and all the inhabitants would be put to death, which caused the people to fly from the city. I accompanied them. On reaching a village called Nowbusta, about 4 or 5 miles distant, I remained there for four days, when I heard that the inhabitants were invited to return to their homes, and I accordingly came back. After a month and a half, I took employment with Captain Bruce as a Chuprassee. A month after this, the mutineers from Gwalior came here, to meet whom, the European troops advanced, and a battle took place, which lasted the whole day. In the evening the troops returned to the entrenchments, and the mutineers advanced to the city and remained fighting for eleven days. I was employed in carrying provisions from the entrenchments to the different batteries, and was present with my master at the battle of Soorujpore, and am still in Government service.

*Q.* On the first day, when the sepoys were firing into the bungalow containing the ladies and children, were there any persons present with drawn swords?

*A.*—I did not see any person with swords on that day.

*Q.*—Can you give a description of the persons who entered on the second day, with drawn swords, the bungalow where the ladies and children were?

*A.*—I do not recollect their features, but one of them wore a beard, was of a dark complexion and of tall stature.

*Q.*—Were the ladies whom you saw, dressed or otherwise?

*A.*—They were all dressed. I did not see any otherwise.

*Q.*—Did you hear who the four or five men with drawn swords were, or of what tribe were they, and residents of which place?

*A.*—No I did not hear any thing regarding them.

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*Q.*—When the corpses were thrown down the well, had they clothes on them?

*A.*—Yes, with the exception of three.

*Q.*—Can you describe, or give any information regarding any one of the crowd that was present during the two days, when the massacre was being carried on?

*A.*—There were many persons, both of the city and of my neighbourhood, but they have all gone away, I do not know any of their names. There was a person with me named Suffree, whose whereabouts I do not know, he was with me when I went to Lucknow.

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*No. 61.—Deposition of Cheda, son of Koorah sweeper, age 40 years, residing in Ram Narain Bazar, Cawnpore.*

*Q.*—What have you to state?

*A.*—For the last ten or twelve years I have been employed with Mr. Thomas Greenway, a merchant residing at "Purmit Ghat" Cawnpore. When the outbreak occurred in that station, I accompanied my master to General Wheeler's barrack, my wife was employed as an Ayah with Mrs. Greenway; she and our child also accompanied us to the barrack. When the Europeans entered the boats, and were massacred at the ghat, and the ladies who had escaped the massacre were taken to the Savada house, I and my wife and child were also taken along with them and confined there. Two or three days after this, the ladies and children were removed to the house close to the Assembly rooms, and I and my wife and child were also taken there: a guard was placed over us all. The Nana had resided at the Hotel known as Noor Mahomed's, close to the Assembly rooms, and all the ladies together with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son named Stephen, were made over to Tanteea Topee. There were also two gentlemen from Furruckabad, confined along with the ladies; one of them was styled Major, and I do not know who the other was, he was wounded in the right thigh. Five or six days after, I heard the sepoys placed on guard over us, under command of Tanteea Topee, saying that the Europeans were close upon Cawnpore. The sepoys commenced arming themselves, and proceeding to the several batteries. During the night, Tanteea Topee and the Nana accompanied by about a hundred armed men, came into the compound of the house, and removed the four Europeans who were confined along with the ladies, and taking them to the corner of the Commissariat bungalow shot them. I saw Mr. Edward Greenway fall first, and then his son, after which the other two gentlemen were shot. At the time that these gentlemen were shot, Tanteea Topee and Baba Bhut were present at the spot, and I witnessed the former giving orders for the execution of the four Europeans. After which, they came to the ladies, accompanied by the armed sepoys for the purpose of massacring them and the children, hearing which, they all shrieked. I was standing at the time in the verandah, and heard Tanteea Topee and Baba Bhut order the sepoys to massacre the ladies and children, which order they carried out. Both these individuals had drawn swords, my wife and child were also killed with the ladies; seeing this I left the place, and climbing over the wall, escaped. Mitthoo and Booddhoo Sweepers, who were there, accompanied me; the latter's wife was also killed. I do not remember the date of the massacre, but it was on the very next morning the European Troops reached Cawnpore. I had often seen Tanteea Topee before, as he frequently visited my master's shop, I could therefore recognize him. I do not know the number of the regiment to which the sepoys belonged, who massacred the ladies. A Mussulman Darogah who was in the Nana's employ, had food prepared for the ladies, and a woman called Begum used to bring it to them. I do not know her name, she was of a fair complexion, and about 30 years of age. From the day that the ladies were brought to Mrs. Batten's house, up to the time of their massacre, I remained with them, and during this period, none of the ladies ever came outside of the house, as they were not permitted to do so. I did not hear of or see any lady being taken away from there. Besides the four gentlemen above alluded to, no others were in confinement with the ladies.

*Re-examination of Cheda.*

*Q.*—You have stated in your deposition that two gentlemen from Furruckabad, one of whom was known as a Major, were confined along with the ladies, but it has been ascertained that the gentlemen who had come from Furruckabad, were three in number, you are therefore requested to state what became of one of them?

*A.*—A number of gentlemen had come from Furruckabad, but out of those, only two were brought to the Beebee ghur.

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*Q.*—State whether before the massacre of the ladies, five Europeans were put to death, or only four, as stated by you.

*A.*—I well remember seeing only four gentlemen put to death.

*Q.*—Where are your two companions who escaped with you, *i. e.* Mitthoo and Boodhoo?

*A.*—They are in some station to the west, and as soon as I can find out where they are, I will give intimation.

*Q.*—State what occurrences you observed during the time you were in the entrenchments.

*A.*—I only remained for two days in the entrenchments, and therefore cannot relate what occurred there.

*Q.*—As you have been here throughout the disturbances, state who were the chief leaders, who accompanied the rebels to battle?

*A.*—I do not know all of them, but at the commencement of the outbreak, I saw the Nunhey Nawab, and Bakur Alee his brother, together with Nizamudoollah, accompanied by a number of sepoys and wearing arms, proceed daily to the batteries, and Nawab Doolah daily attended the Nana's court, he used to go in a palanquin. Food for the troops was daily sent by this person. Besides this, I know nothing further.

*Q.*—You have stated that when news reached of the European troops being close upon Cawnpore, Tanteea Topee and the Nana, accompanied by about a hundred armed men, came into the compound of the house where the ladies were confined, and that they removed the four Europeans to the corner of the Commissariat bungalow, and there shot them; after which Tanteea Topee and the Nana, accompanied by the armed men, came to the place where the ladies and children were confined, for the purpose of massacring them, and that in accordance with their orders, the sepoys massacred the ladies and children. But from other depositions it appears that when the sepoys refused to massacre the ladies, five other persons murdered them with swords, you are therefore desired to state whether you personally witnessed the massacre of the ladies?

*A.*—When I heard the order given for the massacre of the ladies, through fear I left the place, and therefore did not witness the massacre, but at the time I was making my escape from the place, I heard shots fired, and do not know if any others besides the sepoys, perpetrated the massacre after I had left. Tanteea Topee and Baba Bhut, when they gave the order for the massacre of the ladies, were in the compound of the house where the Nana lived, which was quite close to the Beebeeghur, where the ladies were confined.

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*No. 62.—Statement of Manuck, spy.*

I was sent by the Commissioner of Military Police, from Meerut to gain information of Nizam Ali Khan, Sowar, 5th Troop 2nd Light Cavalry, who was a resident of Rampore. On reaching that city and making enquires, I learnt that his house was situated in the Mohullah of Zearut Badsha, but could get no trace of him there, and I was recommended to apply to Gholam Hyder Khan, he was formerly in the Native Cavalry and was now in the service of the Nawab of Rampore as Jemadar of sowars. With some difficulty I got acquainted with Gholam Hyder Khan, and after conversation on other subjects made enquiries regarding Nizam Ali Khan; the Jemadar informed me that he had seen him at Rampore during the outbreak and that he had a young lady the daughter of a gentlemen with him, she was disguised in native clothes, and that he consequently did not like to have anything to say to him, that Nizam Ali Khan shortly after left Rampore, and he believed that he went to the rebel camp then at Toolseepore.

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*No. 63.—Deposition of Narain and Bhow Raie, residents of Bitthoor.*

We were sent as spies to gain information of Nizam Ali Khan, sowar of the 5th troop 2nd Light Cavalry, supposed to be in the rebel camp. On leaving Cawnpore, we passed through Lucknow and Ajoodeea to Toolseepore, where we found the British encamped, and went with them to Bhootwal, there the rebels made a show of opposition, but soon fled leaving four of their number wounded, and some 40 gave themselves up, who got passes to remain

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at Koondah. The next day Raja Maun Sing and Durbija Sing with Major Bruce went on to Sutteea, we accompanied them. The rebels fired a few shots and fled to the thick jungles: the British returned and we went to Kutra, a hill about 10 coss further on, where the Nana was encamped. Before we reached it, we overtook Gopal, a sepoy of the 42nd N. I., whom Narain knew at Bitthoor, and got into conversation with him. He asked why we had come to the jungles, we told him to seek service through a Eunuch named Narain in the Nana's employ, and then reminded Gopal that we had seen him at Bitthoor; he told us that we must be very careful as it was dangerous entering the camp, and that as we had come thus far he was to take us with him as residents of his village, which was near Benares. We were six days in the Nana's camp. and saw his brothers Bala and Baba Bhut, also the following individuals of his household, Thudaseo Punt, Odagur the treasurer, Abhadunk Paymaster, Dharee, the Eunuch Narain, Subadar Bajaba, Beharee Chobdar, Pachaie an old and favourite attendant of the Nana, Lutchmun the driver of the Nana's bullock carraige, Mahadeo the baker, Dunhee the gardener, Bukna the bath attendant, Cheitoo the sweeper, Lalla the boatman, Ramchurn and Pooloo, Hindoo wrestlers, Nujjeem the Mahomedan wrestler. These we recognized from having seen them at Bitthoor. We heard that the widows of Bajie Rao were in camp; they were the two called Mooneea Baie and See Baie, also a daughter of the Peishwa's named Beea: there was also the Nana's wife and Bala's wife, and another lady whose name I do not know.

*Q.*—Was she an European?

*A.*—No, a native lady, the wife of a Rao residing to the South, but we do not know the name.

*Q.*—Did you hear of any European ladies in camp?

*A.*—No.

*Q.*—Did you see the Nana?

*A.*—Yes, when he used to go down to the river to bathe, he was attended by Bala and his servants with an umbrella held over his head. A number of people used to assemble, to pay their respects to him as he passed. The Nana had shaved off his beard. Bala had the mark of a bullet wound on his right shoulder. We heard in camp that the Baies were very anxious to get away from the jungles.

*Q.*—Did you hear any thing of Nizam Ali Khan?

*A.*—We did not, for we were afraid to leave Gopal's protection, and be too particular in enquiries. There were a large number of people scattered about in the jungles, from 12,000 to 15,000, not all of them troops, many were budmashes and villagers. We saw 2 guns, about 100 horse, and six elephants, there were also 6 palkees for the Nana's ladies, and these were kept near two tents in which the Nana lived. Food was scarce and dear. Rice from 1 seer to $1\frac{1}{4}$ for the rupee, many were starving and had to plunder. The sepoys had no tents but lived under the trees, they were armed, but we heard that they were short of ammunition, and that they were much dissatisfied.

*Q.*—Did you see any of the 2nd Cavalry with the horsemen in camp?

*A.*—We cannot tell as they were without uniform and in a wretched condition. The Begum had her camp on the next range, she was with Munnoo Khan. Banee Madho with other Rajas had left for Kharie Ghur. Amongst the Hindoostanees of Bitthoor, we recognized Purun Sookh and Gungadeen; the jungles were very dense and there was no order in camp, but a strict search made after strangers.

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# ERRATA.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Page | 12 | Depn. | 2, | *line* | 4, | for *were* Sergeant Major | *read the* Sergeant Major *&c.*" |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 16, | „ William *Dwire* | „ William *Diddier.* |
| „ | 14 | „ | „ | „ | last | „ saw *not* mutineers, | „ saw *no* mutineers. |
| „ | 15 | „ | „ | „ | 4, | „ *Alopee Dial* | „ *Aoriet Paul.* |
| „ | „ | „ | 3, | „ | 11, | „ Sergeant Major | „ *the* Sergeant Major. |
| „ | „ | „ | 3, | „ | 12, | „ William *Dwire* | „ William *Diddier.* |
| „ | 17 | „ | „ | „ | 47, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | 18 | „ | „ | „ | 42, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 44, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 46, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 53, | „ Baboo Myrack and *Alopee Dial* | „ *Bugler* Myrack & *Aoriet Paul.* |
| „ | 19 | „ | 5, | „ | 8, | „ I did see General Wheeler | „ I did *not* see &c. |
| „ | „ | „ | 6, | „ | 2, | „ Elizabeth *Setts* | „ Elizabeth *Letts.* |
| „ | 21 | „ | 7, | „ | 1, | „ Mrs *Setts* | „ Mrs. *Letts.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 4, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | 22 | „ | „ | „ | 1, | „ Elizabeth *Setts* | „ Elizabeth *Letts.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 14, | „ Mrs. *Setts* | „ Mrs. *Letts.* |
| „ | „ | „ | 8, | „ | 19, | „ Beebee *Luke* | „ Beebee *Lake.* |
| „ | 23 | „ | 9, | „ | 8, | „ advised not to | „ advised *him* not to &c. |
| „ | 24 | „ | „ | „ | 12, | „ *Wall* | „ *Mall.* |
| „ | 27 | „ | 11, | „ | 44, | „ *another* | „ *an old.* |
| „ | 28 | „ | „ | „ | 47, | „ Mr. *Foss* | „ Mr. *Farnon.* |
| „ | 29 | „ | „ | „ | 20, | „ Colonel *Fane* | „ Colonel *Thain.* |
| „ | 30 | „ | 12, | „ | 4, | „ *Monalgung* | „ *Nawabgunge.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 40, | „ *he* said | „ *we* said. |
| „ | 32 | „ | 13, | „ | 6, | „ *too* | „ *two* |
| „ | 32 | „ | „ | „ | 9, | „ Major *Hilerson* | „ Major *Hilderson.* |
| „ | 37 | „ | 15, | „ | 8 &c | „ *Khan* Mahomed | „ *Jaun* Mahomed. |
| „ | 38 | „ | „ | „ | 26, | „ Captain *Holliday* | „ Captain *Halliday* |
| „ | 39 | „ | „ | „ | 18, | „ *Moorgeet* | „ *Mittergeet.* |
| „ | 40 | „ | 16, | „ | 16, | „ *Sheeba* Sing | „ *Teeka* Sing. |
| „ | 43 | „ | 18, | „ | 23, | „ Mr. *Christie* | „ *Mr Cox.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 26, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | 53 | „ | 22, | „ | 22, | „ 19 Sowars | „ 10 Sowars. |
| „ | 54 | „ | „ | „ | 8, | „ *Ujbon* Sing | „ *Urjoon* Sing. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 17, | „ Moodee *Tootee* | „ Moodee *Toolee.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 35, | „ *Lurkee* Mahil | „ *Sirkee* Mahil. |
| „ | „ | „ | 23, | „ | 2, | „ *Nowdega* | „ *Nowdea.* |
| „ | 56 | „ | „ | „ | 12, | „ do. | „ do. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 45, | „ *the* Bala | „ *Bala.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 47, | „ *Napara* | „ *Mampara.* |
| „ | 57 | „ | „ | „ | 3, | „ *Mummos* Khan | „ *Mummoo* Khan. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 4, | „ *Sulhen* | „ *Sultan.* |
| „ | 58 | „ | „ | „ | 36, | „ *Geda* Hossein | „ *Feda* Hossein. |
| „ | 59 | „ | „ | „ | 36, | „ *regiment* | „ *regimental.* |
| „ | 60 | „ | „ | „ | 36, | „ *Hoosein* Alie | „ *Nisam* Ali. |
| „ | 61 | „ | „ | „ | 16, | „ *Hunnee* | „ *Hunneef.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 17, | „ do. | „ do, |
| „ | 62 | „ | „ | „ | 11, | „ Gunga *Sali* | „ Gunga *Sahi.* |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 20, | „ I *was* | „ *I am* not |
| „ | 66 | „ | 25, | „ | 1, | „ Ram *Deen* | „ Ram *Dhun.* |
| „ | 67 | „ | „ | „ | 25, | „ *Istemeal* | „ *Ismael.* |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Page | 69 | Depn. | 28, | *line* | 17, | for *Ameer Ali* | read *Ali.* |
| „ | 70 | „ | 30, | „ | 8, | „ *Light* Infantry | „ *Native* Infantry. |
| „ | 75 | „ | 34, | „ | 10, | „ I *left* | „ *lived.* |
| „ | 76 | „ | „ | „ | 54, | „ Captain *Halliday* | „ Captain *Holliday.* |
| „ | 78 | „ | „ | „ | 42, | „ my *master's child* | „ the *quarter master's* &c. |
| „ | „ | „ | 35, | „ | 2, | „ *Choteypore* | „ *Chobeypore.* |
| „ | 79 | „ | „ | „ | | *Choteypore* | „ *Chobeypore* wherever the former occurs. |
| „ | 80 | „ | 38, | „ | 10, | „ *Mainta* Baee | „ *Maina* Baee. |
| „ | 81 | „ | 39, | „ | 55, | „ reached Rao | „ reached *the* Rao. |
| „ | 85 | „ | 42, | „ | 1, | „ *Gunsham* Sing | „ *Futteh* Sing. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 31, | „ Gungadeen *Shaith* | „ Gungadeen *Saith.* |
| „ | 86 | „ | 43, | „ | 44, | „ and *that* the | „ the Sowars &c. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 58, | „ *Mudaree* regiment | „ *Nudaree.* |
| „ | 93 | „ | 46, | „ | 31, | „ *Gola* Ghat | „ *Koela Ghat.* |
| „ | 96 | „ | 47, | „ | 30, | „ *three* followers | „ *their* followers. |
| „ | „ | „ | „ | „ | 43, | „ *Rhai Rawan* | „ *Aheerwan.* |

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# REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

## TAKEN AT CAWNPORE REGARDING THE REVOLT AT THAT STATION IN JUNE AND JULY 1857.

In February 1858, whilst at Cawnpore, I seized the opportunity thus afforded me for gaining reliable information from loyal soldiers of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry, respecting the fate of friends who perished in the outbreak at that station.

The evidence thus casually obtained, led me to doubt the statements then current regarding this most painful and obscure part of the revolt of 1857. I therefore sought for further information, and learning whilst at Allyghur, that John Fitchett, a bugler of the 6th N. I., then in the Military Police, had in conversation related certain circumstances as having attended the massacre of the 15th July at Cawnpore, which, if true, would prove him to have been an eye-witness of that frightful scene, I lost no time in recording his statement on oath, which I subsequently tested by taking him with me to Cawnpore and causing him to point out the different localities named by him at Allyghur. His statements were further verified by evidence previously taken, as also by other Drummers of the 6th N. I. (then in the Eurasian Regiment at Peshawur) who were with him at Cawnpore during the revolt, and who, as he stated they would, corroborated his deposition.

The evidence thus procured was submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy, who directed the investigations into the Cawnpore outbreak to be continued, and at their conclusion a report to be made thereon.

I was fully aware of the difficulty attending the task. Cawnpore was considered eminently disaffected, and the mass of its citizens as favorable to the rebel cause and inimical to the British rule. How improbable was it then that men implicated, either by a willing or forced servitude, with rebels, would voluntarily afford information that might tend eventually to criminate themselves. Yet the only hope of carrying out the views of the Governor General lay in inducing such men to give the required evidence, and moreover, as I speedily found, still further difficulties beset the path, *i. e.* the dread of men themselves implicated by covert or open acts of rebellion during the outbreak, who nevertheless had regained their influence with their former masters, fear of whom led many to conceal facts, the knowledge of which would lead to enquiry, whom no assurances would convince that their safest policy, as well as their duty to Government, was to come forward openly and denounce the guilty.

It hence became at once apparent that it was necessary to proceed with great caution; since most, if not all, were suspected of disloyalty, it was difficult to urge them to free and unreserved statements, when it was impossible to surmise how far they were, or were not themselves implicated in the revolt. I however felt convinced that some few there must be even in Cawnpore who had not willingly joined the rebel cause.

It was necessary first of all to gain information regarding the antecedents of a few of the most respectable and leading men of Cawnpore, especially so as to their movements during the revolt, for the discharge of which most delicate duty a native official, long employed in positions of trust and responsibility in the Department for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity, who had ever evinced great tact and judgment in tracing crime, was deputed—his loyalty was approved, and had been tested throughout the mutiny—from the date of the Meerut outbreak, he unreservedly cast in his lot with ours—was the first to gain information from the heart of the rebel city, Delhi, and continued to afford most valuable information throughout its protracted siege.

Through his assistance I soon became acquainted with the true state of affairs at Cawnpore; for many who hesitated giving evidence in Court, freely related facts to him that afforded clues whereby step by step information was gained, that eventually led to the recording of sixty-seven depositions on the subject. Ten of these are by Eurasians and Native Christians, ten by Mahomedans, and the remaining forty-seven by Hindoos.

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The evidence of Christians may naturally be considered the most important. I therefore proceed to analyse it first. The three Drummers of the 6th Native Infantry, whose Corps mutinied at Allahabad, state they were taken prisoners from thence to Cawnpore, and thus became eye-witnesses of the proceedings of the rebels and mutineers at that station. John Fitchett, the most intelligent of the party, gives his evidence fully and clearly, and is corroborated in the main facts by his two companions, Clarke and DeCruze, who, however, from the effects of fear and the use of intoxicating herbs and drinks, have but little intelligence left. They however prove that their imprisonment was but nominal, since they were permitted to wander at will, and thus had ample opportunities of observing all that occurred amongst the large bodies of rebels and mutineers collected at Cawnpore.

Elizabeth and Isabella Spiers come next on the list; they are daughters of a Drummer of the 53rd Native Infantry, and were carried off from the massacre of the Suttee Chowra Ghat by two troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, and unwillingly gave evidence of what took place at Cawnpore whilst held by the rebels.

Eliza Bradshaw and Elizabeth Letts, widows of Drummers of the 56th Native Infantry, who escaped from the massacre of the 27th June, and through the aid of natives were secreted with their four children until the advance of the British Force; when examined on oath, denied a previous statement made by them to a Missionary, and with difficulty could a connected and consistent account be drawn from them.

Thomas Farnon, attached at the time of the outbreak to the Railway Department, has given a true account of the little he saw whilst secreted by natives to save his life.

The depositions of Edward Williams, merchant, and William Maling, Native Christian, are, as respects main facts, truthful.

Of evidence given by the ten Mahomedans, that of seven is reliable, six of whom have suffered with us, and the seventh perilled his life in our cause; the remaining three have not stated all they know, but simply what they deemed expedient: their evidence, as far as it goes, is credible.

To thirty of the forty-seven depositions made by Hindoos no doubt can be attached; nine of whom are men of large property and considerable influence in the city and cantonment of Cawnpore, whilst fourteen of their number only have failed in stating all they know: the remaining three I consider doubtful.

The above is a brief account of the credibility or otherwise of the witnesses whose statements have been recorded; all of whom are agreed as to the main facts of the outbreak, its chief promoters and subsequent leaders. We have even traces of the hidden springs by which the whole machinery was worked, of the parties employed to tamper with the troops, and of decisions carried out in their most secret conclaves: these however, as received from third parties, being hence but hearsay evidence, must of course be received with caution, though reliance can be placed even on such when found reiterated in separate depositions by parties totally unconnected with each other. But in whatever light this may be viewed, the evidence recorded, whether true or false, is now submitted in a narrative form, as a synopsis. Errors there may—nay must be, in seeking to elucidate facts and throw light on this dark and most mysterious portion of the Indian Revolt, but no efforts have been spared to make it as clear as it is possible to do after the lapse of so long a period as two years, and the difficulty of reconciling dates and facts deposed to by natives.

The Synopsis giving a narrative of events as shown by the depositions, I have only to remark on a few of the facts therein stated.

The commencement of the outbreak at Cawnpore appears to bear much the same features of like events as elsewhere.

The first trace we have of discontent appears in the deposition of one of the residents of Cawnpore, who affirms that men proceeding on leave from the eastward gave out that they had had a dispute with Government about defiled cartridges. It was about the time named in the deposition that the disbanded men of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry from Barrackpore passed through Cawnpore.

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No further signs of ill feeling are met with until after the memorable 10th of May, when the intelligence received of the mutiny of the troops at Meerut appears to have lit the flame at Cawnpore, as well as at every other station it reached. So daring an act of mutiny with murder of their Officers in the presence of an overwhelming European force—the repetition of the same at Delhi—the seizure of that City with the proclamation of a rebel King, encouraged and strengthened the hands of the disaffected amongst the native troops and other classes in the station and neighbourhood.

The British community at Cawnpore in May 1857, besides the Civil and Military Officers of Government, were composed of a large number of Europeans and Eurasians of mixed classes, including many women and children.

The European and Native troops were as per margin, commanded by Major General Sir Hugh Wheeler, whose reputation as an Officer was deservedly high in the Indian Army.

| | *Rank and File.* |
|---|---|
| 1 Company 6th Battalion Artillery, - - - - - | 63 |
| Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, - - | 176 |
| Her Majesty's 84th Foot, - - | 47 |
| 1st Madras Fusiliers, - - - | 15 |

A company of Native Artillery.
2nd Regiment Light Cavalry.
1st Regiment Native Infantry.
53rd Regiment Native Infantry.
56th Regiment Native Infantry.

The city of Cawnpore contained about sixty thousand, and the military bazar forty thousand native residents; the latter, who had long previously borne an unenviable notoriety for disreputable livelihood, were to the last held in subjection by the energy of one of the ablest of our Cantonment Magistrates, the late Sir George Parker.

The evidence shows that as at Meerut so at Cawnpore, the same false and absurd rumours were widely disseminated, spreading doubt and alarm in the minds of the native public; the first and foremost grievance being the defiled cartridges, which was ever prominently brought forward. The alleged contamination of food by impure adulterations spread dismay—the distrust of Europeans, as evinced by the erection of a low mud wall by way of precaution—the escape from punishment of an officer for firing at a picquet of troopers;—and above all, the rumour that even thus early gained ground, to the effect that European Cavalry were to be employed in lieu of natives,—all tended to hasten on the impending catastrophe, as also the calling in to our aid at this juncture, Nana Dhoondoo Punt, the adopted son of the late Bajee Rao, who, whilst outwardly friendly, inwardly carried a bitter hatred to all who bore the name of British, and seized the favorable opportunity thus afforded him by his presence at Cawnpore, to tamper with and foment the discontent of the native troops.

Again, as at Meerut so in Cawnpore, we see the Cavalry taking the lead. The 1st Regiment Native Infantry appear soon to have given in their adhesion to the rebel cause; but the 53rd and 56th Regiments Native Infantry were, comparatively speaking, lukewarm; whilst even at this period when mutiny stalked abroad, and the country around was in open revolt, a semblance of discipline was maintained amongst the troops. A sepoy who had propagated false and alarming reports regarding the intentions of the British to disarm the native troops, and blow them from guns, was tried and convicted by his native brethren.

The native troops, on breaking out into open mutiny, do not appear to have offered violence to their European, but to their native officers, who attempted to oppose them. After plundering the civil treasury, and releasing the prisoners from jail, they marched the first stage to Delhi, whither Sir Hugh Wheeler surmised they would proceed, that being the general rendezvous for mutineers. They don't appear to have thought of opposition, or until the evil genius of the Nana again appearing upon the scene holding out the bribe of gold bangles and unlimited plunder, tempting baits to lawless men, by which they were brought back to attack the British in their miserable so-styled intrenchment. The siege has been well described by survivors. The evidence tends to show that the Nana was joined by a very large body of the insurgent population, and was aided by the Nadiree and Akhbaree Regiments, (the 4th and 5th Oude Local Corps); these two, under the Meer Nawab and Feeda Hoossein, took a prominent part in the siege, for with some exceptions the greater portion of the Cawnpore Regiments were more intent on plunder, and after acquiring wealth, sought every opportunity of deserting to their homes. The pensioners of the Artillery and Sappers and Miners were also called in to aid the rebel cause.

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The Mahomedans as usual took a leading part; and wherever they had the command of batteries, appear to have well and efficiently served them, causing the greatest damage to the intrenchment.

With overwhelming numbers, the enemy were enabled to harass the British by incessant attacks, which, though always failing, yet caused much loss of life; the intrenchments affording no protection against round shot and grape that swept through the barracks, frightfully mutilating and killing men, women and children; so that the defence made by this small band of British, may be well styled heroic.

The state of the city and surrounding district as described by eye-witnesses, gives the same features as elsewhere of rebel rule. Their leaders exhibiting no semblance of power or justice, anarchy appears to have reigned predominant.

The lawless seized the opportunity and revelled in rapine and plunder—each avenged his real or imaginary wrongs—every man's hand was against his fellow. Such was the case in Cawnpore and its neighbourhood, under the brief reign of the rebel Nana. Courts were formed, which seemed to mock at justice, wherein Baba Bhut, his elder brother, presided, seated on a billiard table, by whose decrees a Mahomedan butcher lost his hands for the crime of killing a cow, and as also a thief for plundering, whilst bad characters were paraded on donkeys throughout the city, and their houses levelled with the ground; from which instances, it would appear that the punishments inflicted by these so-called courts were such only as accorded with native ideas. The city was kept in continual alarm by reported intentions to plunder; and it is clearly proved from the evidence, that the sagacity of its Cotwal, Hoolas Singh, alone preserved it from this danger, threatened alike by mutineers in search of wealth, and insurgent zemindars or landholders thirsting to be avenged on the commercial classes who had bought their estates when sold by decrees of the Civil Courts.

Many respectable citizens kept aloof, whilst others willingly attended the rebel court, and some few there were who, by a forced or a reluctant attendance, hoped to save themselves. The majority however played a double game; for men acquainted with the power and resources of the British, and hence capable of discerning the folly and weakness of the Nana's cause, saw in it rapid seeds of dissension and decay, and bided their time—ready to return with the first ebb of the tide; and this temporizing in some few instances was doubtless imperative. A few however of the higher classes either did really believe, or forced themselves to credit the stability of the Nana's rule; whilst to the mass of the population, to the poor and illiterate who could only judge from outward circumstances, it naturally seemed that the might and power of their late rulers had in truth been swept away, as it were by one fierce blast, and to these Nana would reasonably appear the ruler of their land. We find moreover that the wards of the city banded themselves together to check the mutineers in their deeds of plunder, who even drove off a party of the 2nd Cavalry by means of brick-bats, in consequence of which the offenders received a warning to be more careful in future how they treat mutineers. As also the latter, when separated from their comrades, were disarmed and plundered by the insurgent population, so that it was only in large masses they dared to move through the country.

The Nana and his court possessed little or no authority over the rebel troops, who it is evident did just as they pleased—manned the attacking batteries, and joined in the assaults or not as they deemed fit—the greater portion taking their ease, lounging in the bazars and on the banks of the canal, and plundering the provisions as they were brought into the city. The distribution of the promised rewards and of pay occasioned much wrangling and bitter speeches against their nominal ruler, whom they even threatened to depose and replace with a Mahomedan noble.

There were evidently from the first two opposing factions amongst the mutineers. The Hindoos led by Teeka Singh, a Soobadar of the 2nd Cavalry, who, by his influence as General of the Division, supported by the Nana, was at first the most powerful and carried all before him; and the Mahomedans, composed chiefly of the 2nd Cavalry and leading men in the city, who surely and steadily gained ground, and who had selected an opponent to the Nana as ruler of Cawnpore. It is no mere surmise that, if the British had not so rapidly re-appeared upon the scene, the seeds of dissension would have ripened, producing in due time a complete disruption amongst the revolters.

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The Nana, cruel, cowardly and wavering—unscrupulous as he was in gaining his own ends, would eventually have fallen before men equally unscrupulous and cruel, and possessing more courage and decision; for the Nana was no liberal paymaster, but profuse in promises only, which he ever failed in carrying out, whilst seeking to extract money from the wealthy inhabitants of the city, whom he thereby rendered confirmed enemies to his cause; plunder and extortion was openly carried on by his officials; parties crossing at the ferries were charged a rupee a head, and if unable to pay were detained for days; even the mutineers from Benares, on their way to join the Nana's camp, were not allowed to escape payment for crossing at the Jaj Mhow Ferry.

I would now briefly allude to the parties who are supposed to have perished at Cawnpore; lists of names have been added of all those who were at the station when the outbreak commenced; with the fugitives who left Futtehghur on the 4th June and 4th July 1857. Of those retained in captivity and subsequently massacred, beyond the fact of their being kept in confinement, they do not appear to have been treated with indignity, nor with greater hardship than prisoners of any class or race under native rule.

The evidence proves that clothes recovered from the native washermen were distributed amongst the captives; chapaties or native bread, with dhal or pulse, (the usual native fare for the poor) was daily accorded them, prepared by cooks appointed for the purpose. On representation that such fare was to them unpalatable, it further appears that in lieu of dhal a portion of meat was allowed, and that the children received milk. A slave girl of the Nana's household, named Hooseinee Khanum, *alias* the Begum, was nominated to the supervision of the affairs of the ladies, and to the supplying their wants; but who, like all of her class, was not of reputable character, and eventually displayed an unwoman-like cruelty by taking, as it would appear, a prominent part in the proceedings shortly before the massacre, carrying orders from the Nana—her paramour Surwur Khan, a trooper in his service, being one of the chief murderers.

In conclusion, I have to remark on the patient endurance of privations, and firm reliance on GOD in trials, which were so strikingly displayed amongst the captives, and, from what natives have related to me, was noticed by them with wonder and admiration. We have repeated instances of these beautiful traits not only here, but throughout the revolt; and nowhere in the world have they been shown more conspicuously than in the women of England in this memorable year, in all places and periods.

If the Civil and Military Officers of India did their duty to Government as few men of other countries have ever done, and if to them is justly due the credit of having saved the country by the bold front they displayed, their wives, daughters, and sisters were not a whit behind in acts of daring and heroism in hours of peril; and of patient endurance, and firm trust in their Merciful GOD when called on to suffer captivity or a cruel death.

The Revolt, disastrous as it has been, causing sufferings to hundreds, has won for the Sons and Daughters of England,—a high and enduring Fame.

ALLAHABAD:
31*st December*, 1859.

G. WILLIAMS, LIEUT-COLONEL,
*Commissioner of Military Police,*
*North Western Provinces.*

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# SYNOPSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

OF THE

# CAWNPORE MUTINY.

In April 1857 disbanded sepoys of the 19th Native Infantry, when passing through Cawnpore, openly stated they had a difference with Government regarding the introduction of the new (and what they considered) defiled cartridges. In consequence, the receipt of the news of the Meerut outbreak, and the taking of Delhi, caused much excitement not only in the city, but amongst the native troops in special, who, already discontented, appear to have commented both freely and approvingly on the mutinous conduct of their brethren. Since about the middle of the month the officer commanding the station was informed that the son of a 2nd Cavalry trooper, attending the school of Teeka Ram, had stated to his companions that the troops at Cawnpore would follow the example of their comrades at Meerut. There was also a disturbance in the 2nd Cavalry caused by a sepoy of the 56th Native Infantry, named Jaun Mohomed, of the 8th company, inciting the men to rebel by stating that the native troops would all be blown away from guns; this propagator of evil reports was however confined and the disturbance quelled. General Wheeler at this time informed Sir Henry Lawrence by Telegram, that he thought the 2nd Cavalry disaffected, but hoped the Native Infantry regiments were true. The Civil police appear to have evinced zeal, for mutineers with plundered property from the north west were apprehended and sent in prisoners by the thannadar of Shewrajpore, and even the Cantonment Police, owing to the energy of Sir George Parker, behaved admirably, not a single case of theft occurring within Cantonments. The troops however daily showed an increasingly insubordinate spirit, and Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the 20th May, applied to Lucknow for aid, in consequence of which 50 of the 32nd Foot under Captain Lowe were despatched by dawk carriages. On the 22nd May, Nana Dhoondoo Punt (summoned from Bithoor to aid the Civil authorities in maintaining order) encamped at Nawabgunge with a force of 300 horse and foot and two brass guns.

Deposition No. 17.

Deposition Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20.

Deposition No. 18.

Deposition No. 14.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Native Journal.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

On the 23rd, General Wheeler telegraphed to Lucknow that it was almost certain the troops would mutiny that night. In consequence of which impression it appears that many ladies took refuge in St. John's Church, which had been appointed as a rendezvous in case of alarm. On the 26th November General Wheeler again telegraphed—"All well—very well—and likely to continue so, unless some startling event should occur; the police under Major Parker admirable; not a single case of theft in Cantonments." But notwithstanding this, precautions seem to have been taken, as the contractors were directed to send in supplies with the least possible delay. The magazine, admirably adapted for defence, was neglected, while a slight mud wall, barely four feet high, was thrown up around two buildings between St. John's Church and the unfinished European barracks.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Captain Thomson's Work.

On the 27th, two squadrons of Daly's and Gall's horse, who had come over from Lucknow, left Cawnpore to clear the Grand Trunk Road. Their subsequent mutiny at "Kerowlie" on the 1st June, with the murder of their European officers, (Lieut Carey alone escaping) is on record. This detachment was followed by another squadron of Gall's horse with two guns, but who, hearing of the mutiny of the first party, fell back on Cawnpore, and from thence returned to Lucknow. Lieutenant Ashe with his two guns was however detained by General Wheeler, and materially aided in the de-

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

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fence of the entrenchment. Captain Lowe with 50 men of the 32nd, and Captain O'Brien with 50 men of the 84th, were also ordered to Lucknow. Thus Sir Hugh Wheeler, to assist Sir Henry Lawrence in overawing a large and disaffected Mahomedan city, chivalrously weakened his own already inefficient force, at the very moment that he himself was on the brink of a volcano, about to burst and overwhelm in one common ruin all who bore the name of Christian.

Mr. Gubbins states they reached Lucknow on the 3rd and 4th June.

The Nana, called in to aid the British, was false and treacherous in heart, imagined himself injured by Government, hence hated those he was called on to support, and therefore seeing that the native troops, considered the mainstay of the empire, were notoriously disaffected, and in many stations in open mutiny, thought it a fitting time to turn against a Government from whom he had assuredly sustained no injustice, but on the contrary received kindness and consideration. It is difficult to specify the exact date on which he first commenced tampering with the troops, for it is impossible to get the evidence of any individuals who were directly implicated in these treasonable proceedings; we must therefore be contented with second-hand hearsay evidence, and when such is corroborated from other and various sources, also bearing the impress of truth, it may fairly be considered reliable; sufficient then to say that parties opposed to the Nana previous to the revolt, learning from public rumour his evil intentions and hatred to the Government, and naturally dreading his ascendancy, sought information of his proceedings from his personal attendants. It need scarcely be stated here, that most natives, especially those employed in a menial capacity, are open to bribery. Evidence of their secret meetings was thus obtained from a favourite attendant of the Nana, (now a rebel with his master) named Ramdeen. Whilst the 2nd Cavalry men do not appear to have attempted concealment of their treason, information regarding which was, as usual, obtained through abandoned women, a favorite courtezan of the troopers, named Azeezun, was told of a plot to raise the Nana to the throne, and related it to her particular friends.

Deposition No. 16.

Deposition No. 17.

Deposition No. 16.

No traces are visible of any conspiracy previous to the arrival of the Nana, but about that time it would seem that two sowars in his service, one named "Raheem Khan" of Bishenpoor, near Bithoor, and the other "Mudud Ali" of Banda, were employed to tamper with the troops. The 2nd Cavalry, already ripe for mutiny, needed but little persuasion. Subadar Teeka Singh, Havildar Major Gopal Singh, and sowars Shumshoodeen Khan, Sheikh Bolakie, Sirdar Beg, and Rai Singh, are said to have taken the lead amongst them. Meetings were held at the house of Shumshoodeen Khan, and sometimes at that of Teeka Singh. A Resaldar of the Nana's sowars, named Jowalla Pershad, was a constant visitor at the Havildar Major's, Gopal Singh. The Hindoo Subadar, Teeka Singh, was also admitted to interviews with the Nana and his brother Bala Rao, at one of which the Subadar is stated to have said, that the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the army had united as one for the defence of their respective religions, and to have asked how the Nana could side with the British by guarding their magazine and treasury; who is said to have replied, he was at the disposal of the army. A meeting is also stated to have been held at Sookha Mulla's Ghat, at which the Nana and his brother Bala, Azeemoollah, the two sowars, Raheem Khan and Mudud Ali, with the leading conspirators of the 2nd Cavalry, met in consultation for the purpose, as we may suppose, of fixing the day on which the troops should mutiny; since on the next day one of the conspirators, named Shumshoodeen, who was drinking in the house of Azeezun, the favourite courtezan of the 2nd Cavalry troopers, told her that in two or three days the Peshwa's rule would be proclaimed, and the Nana be paramount; and that then he would fill her house, not with silver, but with gold mohurs, which boastful speech was repeated by Azeezun and her servant Bukhtawur. The Magistrate appears to have been informed of these meetings being held, but the Nana plausibly accounted for them by stating their object to be the concerting of measures for pacifying the troops, who, it would however appear, though determined to mutiny, sought some pretext wherewith to justify their insubordinate proceedings, in addition to that of the then common cry, their religion being endangered by the compulsory use of defiled cartridges, and which General Wheeler sought in every and the most convincing manner to do away

Deposition No. 11.

Deposition No. 11.

Deposition No. 17.

Deposition No. 17.

Deposition No. 16.

Deposition Nos. 16, 17 & 18.

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Deposition No. 18. with, sending his son and A. D. C. to the native officers of his own regiment, the first native infantry, to reason with them on the folly and absurdity of the charge, even giving four cartridges to Lalla Budree Nath, the Commissariat gomashta, as proof of what he asserted. Hence the precaution of raising a slight wall as an entrenchment in case of necessity, was advanced as proof of want of confidence in the native troops by the Europeans; again the unfortunate incident of a cashiered officer, named Cox, firing on a patrol of the 2nd Cavalry on the night of the 2nd June, and his acquittal after trial on the following day, on the plea of being unconscious at the time from intoxication, caused great dissatisfaction, the mutinously inclined Cavalry declaring openly that perhaps their fire-arms might also be discharged by accident some day. The violent and insubordinate conduct of the troops, particularly of the Cavalry, though they still ostensibly took duty, caused many to take refuge in the entrenchments. The European officers however had tents pitched in the lines of their men, and with their families remained amongst them during the night, thus evincing, notwithstanding their alleged want of confidence in the men, a loyalty and devotion unsurpassed in history. On the 3rd June the unwonted sight of the corpses of a lady and gentleman, floating down the river, and arrested near the mouth of the canal, created much excitement, and doubtless tended to stir up the disaffected to evil, whilst filling the hearts of others with sad forebodings of the coming storm.

Deposition No. 18.

Deposition No. 18.

Deposition Nos. 18 & 19.

Deposition Nos. 14, 15 & 35.

Native Journal.

On Thursday 4th June, the 2nd Cavalry, having determined to mutiny, sent away their families to the city, and about half past one A. M. of the 5th, * Subadar Teeka Singh, who was on picquet duty with fifty sowars near the entrenchments, led off his party towards Nawabgunge. The discharge of pistols, and the bright light of the Quarter Master Sergeant's bungalow and horse litter set on fire by the troops, gave the alarm. The mutinous sowars, on demanding their colors, were opposed by Subadar Major Bhowanee Singh, who was severely wounded by one of them, named Dabee Singh.

Deposition No. 11.

Deposition No. 12.

Deposition Nos. 11 and 14.

The 1st Native Infantry being dilatory in their movements, a message was sent to the Havildar Major of the corps from Gopal Singh, Havildar Major of the 2nd Cavalry, enquiring the cause of the delay, on which the regiment marched and joined the mutineers, notwithstanding the remonstrances and earnest endeavours of Colonel Ewart and his officers to keep their misguided men true to their colors; they however seem not to have attempted any violence, but merely to have marched off and joined their mutinous comrades at Nawabgunge. The 56th regiment, on being joined by their officers, drew up on parade in an orderly manner, and, after remaining under arms from 2 A. M., and being at day-break dismissed, assisted in recovering the horses and arms abandoned by the troopers. Subadar Major Bhowanee Singh, who had evinced such noble devotion and fidelity, was removed into the entrenchments, where he subsequently perished during the siege, from wounds inflicted by a shell. Thus, though an alien both to our race and creed, he gave his life freely for the Government he had long and honorably served. The two corps of Native Infantry still remaining with their officers, though outwardly obedient, were evidently tainted by the plague spot of mutiny. The lines of the Light Company of the 53rd and those of the Grenadiers of the 56th adjoined each other: four or five men of the latter stole over to the former, and got into conversation with Havildar Binda Pandey and Madho Misser (Pailwan) of the Light Company. About this time, *i. e.* 9 A. M., a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry rode up to the lines of the 53rd Native Infantry, with a message from the Company of their corps that guarded the treasury, to the effect that they would not allow it to be plundered, until their corps joined; at this moment the above named Havildar and sepoy of the Light Company shouted out "Glory to the Great God, be prepared ye braves;" on which a rush was made to the Quarter Guard for

Deposition No. 19.

Deposition No. 19.

Deposition Nos. 14 and 15.

Deposition No. 14.

Deposition No. 12.

Deposition No. 14.

Deposition No. 12.

* Captain Thomson in his book says Saturday the 6th June, but he quotes extracts from Miss Blair's Bible and another document found at Cawnpore, which prove that the troops mutinied between 11 and 2 A. M. of Friday the 5th June, as stated in all the depositions.

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the colors and treasure chest. Subadar Bhowun was wounded in opposing the mutineers, and the uproar that ensued in both regiments became very

Deposition No. 12 great; two shots were fired from the entrenchments into the lines of the 53rd, and one into those of the 56th Native Infantry. A sepoy of the latter (Grenadier Company) named Gunga Rai, a bhat, shouted out they would all be killed, on which the en-

Deposition No. 14. tire corps dispersed and fled in disorder, but do not appear at that time to have dreamt of resistance, as even a Commissariat Serjeant, with Budree Nath the gomashta, getting rum from the Commissariat godowns, was warned by the guard, whilst deliberately loading their arms and divesting

Deposition No. 18. themselves of their uniform, to fly and save his life: many of the men also concealed themselves in the ravines close at hand, and readily joined on the sounding of the assembly by an officer of the 53rd. This corps appears to have

Deposition No. 12. been the least tainted, and we may charitably suppose that many even of those who deserted and joined their mutinous comrades, did so from fear of being implicated in the consequences of the revolt, notwithstanding the confidence in them evinced by their officers. As far as can be ascertained, the numbers that remained faithful, even after the return of the mutineers from Kullianpore, are as follows; but the list is not of course a complete one, and no depositions having been received from the 1st Native Infantry, their numbers are not known:—2nd Irregular Cavalry, 1 subadar, 2 havildars, 4

Deposition No. 11. sowars, 1 native doctor; 53rd Native Infantry, 6 subadars, 4 jemadars, 9 havildars, 6 naiks and 22 sepoys; 56th Native Infantry, 1 jemadar,

Deposition Nos. 12 and 13. 3 sepoys, 1 musician and 1 native doctor. All these performed good service on the day of the outbreak, bringing in arms and ammunition from the regimental magazines. The mutineers having

Deposition Nos. 14 and 15. fled without plundering the houses, the Europeans sent their servants to place all their property in the boats that had been kept in readiness at the ghats, for proceeding to Allahabad; coolies not be-

Deposition No. 35. ing procurable, some of the sepoys even, who afterwards joined the rebels, helped the servants on this occasion. It being confidently affirmed that the troops would, after mutinying, proceed direct to Delhi, some officers, and amongst them Sir George Parker, returned to their houses near the entrenchments.

On the 53rd and 56th joining the other two regiments at Nawabgunge, the treasury was

Deposition No. 20. plundered, the prisoners in the jail set free, and the houses in the vicinity rifled and fired; then the rebels marched to Kullianpore. Mr. Murphy, road overseer, was wounded by a party of troopers, but succeeded in escaping to the entrenchments. On the afternoon of this day the native artillery of the Oude Horse Battery, under Lieutenant Ashe, having shown signs of disaffection, were disarmed and turned out of the entrenchments, and at once joined the mutineers at Kullianpore. All houses now, west of the canal, were burnt and plundered. The Assistant Commissary, Mr. Rieley, had been directed to blow up the Magazine, but was unfortunately prevented by the sepoys on guard there. A deputation of native officers from the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Native Infantry (the two leading corps in the mutiny) are said to have waited on the Nana, and to have

Deposition No. 16. invited him in the following words to take the chief command, and lead on the rebels to Delhi:—"Maharaj, a kingdom awaits you if you join our cause, but death if you side with our enemies." The ready reply to which is said to have been,—"What have I to do with the British? I am altogether yours." And that then, laying his hands on the heads of the native officers, he swore to join them: when quite satisfied,

Deposition No. 16. they departed for Kullianpore. A consultation was then held by the Nana, his brothers and Azeemoollah, when the latter pointed out the folly of proceeding to Delhi, where their individual power and influence would cease, and recommended the Nana's recalling the mutineers, taking possession of Cawnpore, and extending his authority as far to the eastward as he could, adding that he was thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the British, that the number of Europeans in India was scarce one-fourth that of the native army, and that hence the latter having mutinied, the former were powerless. This advice being agreed to as of the soundest policy, it was accordingly carried

Deposition Nos. 16, 17 and 18. out. The Nana with Baba Bhut and Azeemoollah proceeded to Kullianpore, and by offers of unlimited plunder and a gold bangle to each sepoy, gained the ready consent of the troops to their proposed plans. The commands of their respective corps were assumed as

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Deposition Nos. 19, 20 and 21. follows: by Subadar Teeka Singh of the 2nd Cavalry, with title of General; by Jemadar Dulgunjun Singh of the 53rd Native Infantry; and Subadar Gunga Deen of the 56th Native Infantry; of the 1st Native Infantry no information has yet been obtained. The above names prove that in the rebel force at Cawnpore the Hindoo faction was dominant.

*Saturday, 6th June.**—The mutineers, headed by the rebel Nana Dhoondoo Punt, returned to Cawnpore. A number of guns with a large supply of ordnance stores intended for Roorkie, and lying in boats in the canal, were taken possession of by the mutineers, who, with the aid of the magazine classies and artificers, placed some heavy guns (in serviceable order) on carriages, and by means of the Government bullocks despatched them to the entrenchment. The first shot fired was from the Subadar's Tank, at about 8 A. M., against the house of Azeem Ali, who, together with his son, were brought in prisoners to the Nana, as were also Nizam-ood-dowlah and Bakur Ali, by the sowars. Shots were likewise fired against the house of the Nunhey Nawab, who was taken prisoner and his property plundered; from which it is evident the Mahomedan faction did not willingly amalgamate with the Hindoo.

Deposition Nos. 18 and 31.

Deposition No. 31.

The main body of mutineers then marched to the entrenchments. Sir George Parker and some officers who were residing in a house in the vicinity, had barely time to get in, and an old gentleman, supposed to be a merchant, with his wife and two children, one a boy of about 16, and the other a little girl, on being found secreted in a house near the Dak bungalow, were shot in front of the latter. Four office writers, living in a shop on the banks of the canal, finding retreat cut off, defended themselves bravely, beating back the assailants, but the house being set on fire, they were obliged to abandon it and were murdered as they fled. Another European, (unknown) found hid in a garden near the Subadar's Tank, was shot by the troopers, who being mounted were indefatigable in the search after Christians ordered by the Nana, proclamation being made to the effect that if Europeans, Eurasians, or any other Christians were sheltered and not given up, the houses in which they were found concealed would first be plundered and then razed to the ground. This gave the mutineers a pretext for searching and plundering many respectable houses in the city, and amongst them that of the Commissariat Gomashta, Lalla Budree Nath, who was accused of secreting Lady Wheeler and her daughters. The bridge of boats was also broken and some of the boats wantonly burnt.

Deposition No. 44.

Deposition No. 18.

Deposition No. 47.

Bapoo Datar, with 20 horse, was sent to Bithoor to proclaim the Nana's rule, and Chowdree Choonnee Singh, an old servant of the Nana's, was appointed thanadar. The Agent of the Peshwa's widows, named Goordeen, and his family were blown away from guns, and Bulwunt Rao, the Peshwa's brother-in-law, with eight other obnoxious individuals, were put in irons. Preparations were also made for the siege of the entrenchments, guns and ammunition being brought from the magazines for the projected batteries, whilst from the guns already at hand firing was at once commenced; the first shot fired (at about 10 A. M.) carrying off the leg of a kidmutgar, who died that afternoon.

Deposition Nos. 39 and 40.

Deposition No. 6.

The Nana now took up his residence in the house lately occupied by Mr. Duncan, situated north of the entrenchment, where a gun had already been placed, and now opened fire on the besieged. The mutineers were however more intent on plunder than on fighting in earnest.

*Sunday, 7th June*—The mutineers added to the number of their guns, some being of the largest size procurable. The 24-pounders did great damage to the buildings within the entrenchments.

Captain Thomson's Work.

Mr. Green, Superintendent of the bridge, who had been concealed in the contractor's house, obliged to leave his shelter, was murdered by the mutineers, as was also Mr. MacIntosh, a merchant, with his wife and child, who were found secreted under a bridge disguised in native clothes, and were killed by the insurgents during the afternoon on the road leading to the Custom's Ghat.

Native Journal.

Deposition No. 44.

* Captain Thomson says the mutineers returned and commenced the siege on Sunday the 7th June, but the extracts quoted in his Work fix the date on the 6th, as proved by the depositions.

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The Principal Sudder Ameen and Moulvie Salamut-oollah were taken by force to the Nana. Notices in Oordoo and Nagree, said to have been printed at the Press of Mustufah Khan by the Nana's orders, were issued, calling on all Hindoos and Mahomedans to unite in defence of their religion, and present themselves for service. Shah Ali, the Kotwal, who had been in a state of great alarm, having fled, Kazie Wasi-ood-deen was appointed city Kotwal.

Native Journal.

Deposition No. 26.

Deposition No. 24.

The residents of the butchers' ward raised the Mahomedan green flag and were joined by the scum of the population. Sir Hugh Wheeler applied to Lucknow for aid; the letter was received on the 9th, and the bearer of it, a subadar of the 1st Native Infantry, received a reward of Rs. 1,000. A detachment consisting of two troops of the 7th Cavalry and two Companies of the 48th Native Infantry, proceeding from Lucknow to Futtyghur, encamped at Chobeypore, 12 miles from Cawnpore.

Deposition No. 25.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Deposition No. 36.

*Monday, 8th June.*—The Nana removed from Mr. Duncan's house to a tent pitched for his accommodation in the south east corner of the Sovada house compound. Mr. St. George, a road overseer, who had been severely wounded and sent in with his wife and family from the Nawabgunge thannah to Sovada, were shot.

Deposition No. 44.

A party of mutineers sent to Nujjufghur for the capture of Mr. Greenway's family, met with determined opposition from Captain Holland, a cashiered officer, until his ammunition was exhausted, when he desired the enemy to put an end to his life, preferring death to being made a prisoner, and was consequently shot.

Deposition No. 20.

Mr. Edward Greenway, his wife and two children, with Miss Rosa Greenway, were brought in prisoners and confined in the Sovada house with the expectation of extorting a ransom, fixed at 2 lacs, for securing their lives.

The family of Zahourie, Abkary contractor, who was helping the British by sending them in supplies, were made prisoners on the plea of their being Christians, but released through the intercession of the city residents who proved that they were sweepers.

Deposition No. 31.

A Mohumdee Jhunda, or green flag, raised near the house of Moulvie Salamut-oollah, was from thence removed to the open square near the Moghul Seraie, accompanied by a large body of Mahomedans, the leading members of which faction are also said to have been present. Kazie Wasi-ood-deen, mounted and escorted by ten troopers of the mutinous 2nd Cavalry, Zain-ool-abdeen, Naib Buxee, with a body of 30 burkundazes and chowkeedars, and Azeezun, the favourite courtezan of the troopers, also appeared on horseback in male attire, armed with pistols and decorated with medals.

Deposition Nos. 23, 25, 26, and 28.

Deposition Nos. 23 and 28.

The Moulvie, seated by the flag absorbed in prayers and pious meditations, decided that the day was not propitious for an attack on the infidel host, which must therefore be deferred for the present. This prudent resolve was, it is affirmed, somewhat accelerated by a shot from the entrenchments that came bounding in amongst this valorous assemblage of true believers. The gun placed at the Moghul Seraie on the 6th, was moved nearer the entrenchments on the high road, and another posted in front of the 1st Native Infantry lines. A deputation from the detachment of Native troops encamped at Chobeypore, are said to have presented themselves, and offered their services to the Nana.

Native Journal.

*Tuesday, 9th June.*—Hajjee Khanum's son was appointed Kotwal. The Squadron of the 7th Cavalry under Captain Staples and Lieutenants Boulton and Martin, with the Quarter Master Sergeant (name unknown), and two companies of the 48th Native Infantry under Captain Burmester and Lieutenant Farquharson, encamped at Chobeypore, mutinied at about 2 P. M. Of all the officers Lieutenant Boulton alone escaped, three being

Deposition No. 24.

Deposition Nos 36, 37 and 38.

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overtaken and cut down by the sowars, assisted by insurgent villagers, and the remaining two having, it is said, fled towards the river and perished there. Mr. Joseph Carter, keeper of the Shewrajpore toll gate, and his wife were made prisoners by the above detachments, carried to Bithoor, and there presented, together with the heads of the three Europeans murdered by them, to Pandoo Rung Rao, the Nana's nephew, the captors demanding the lives of the captives; Mrs. Carter being however pregnant, was spared at the earnest entreaty of Bajee Rao's widows, who threatened to destroy themselves if the lady was in any way injured. She was therefore placed in the old residency, under a guard of the 7th Cavalry troopers, and her husband, with the three heads, were ordered to be sent in to the Nana on the following morning. A portion of the Futtygurh fugitives, in three boats, who had left that station on the morning of the 4th, managed late in the afternoon to pass Bithoor, though fired on from thence and repeatedly ordered to stop; but their progress being arrested some five miles below, they were brought up on a sand bank in the river, a little above Nawabgunge, and attempted to open communication with General Wheeler, but failed.

Deposition No. 36.

Deposition Nos. 39, 40 and 41.

*Wednesday, the* 10*th June.*—Lieutenant Boulton, of the 7th Cavalry, who escaped from the mutineers, contrived to enter the entrenchments, leaping his horse over the low mud wall. Mr. Carter and the three heads sent in from Bithoor were presented to the Nana, who ordered the heads to be thrown away and Mr. Carter to be shot.

Captain Thomson's Work.

Deposition No. 44.

The Nana's cutcherries were opened under the special charge of Baba Bhut and Ram Lall, Deputy Collector, and orders were issued for all Government officials to attend. Kalka Pershaud (Mr. Thomas Greenway's Moonshee) was sent to Sovada with orders to arrange with Mrs. Greenway for the payment of the two lacs of rupees demanded as ransom. An order on Calcutta for one lac was offered by Mrs. Greenway on condition of her being allowed to reside in her own house; this was however refused. The Moonshee notwithstanding being detained at the Nana's tents, in the hope of extorting money through him, took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded and supplied Mrs. Greenway with food, cooked by his master's khansamah and son, both of them old and faithful servants. Hoolass Singh, formerly city Kotwal, but who had lately been suspended from the thannah of Tohsur, and was at this time residing in the premises of the Nunhey Nawab's mother, was appointed city Kotwal, partly at the request of the city mahajuns, but more especially at the instigation of influential men, such as Shewpershaud, the present treasurer, Gungapershaud, tent-maker, Jogul Kishore, jeweller, and Buddee, pawn-seller; Moolla the blind, by caste a kulwar, was appointed chowdhree.

Deposition No. 44.

Deposition No. 20.

Deposition No. 20.

Deposition No. 24.

Deposition No. 24.

Native Journal.

*Thursday, the* 11*th June.*—The gun placed by the mutineers on the 8th in front of the 1st Native Infantry lines, was removed nearer the entrenchments. The firing by the British, which had hitherto replied briskly to that of the enemy, was now slackened, that the supply of ammunition might not be exhausted, and in consequence of their finding that very little damage was done to the rebels, who kept themselves but too well covered. Mr. Williams, a writer in one of the public offices, found secreted in Colonelgunge, was brought to Sovada and murdered. He was the last of those who had not taken refuge in the entrenchments.

Deposition No. 25.

Captain Thomson's Work.

Deposition No. 53.

The Futtygurh fugitives sought permission to pass on their way, but the only reply sent was a party of mutineers, with guns, by way of Nawabgunge to capture them. The guns suddenly opening fire caused them to take refuge in some high grass growing on the bank, but this being set on fire, two ladies and a child perished, and the rest rushing back to the river, were taken prisoners by a party of the 2nd Cavalry, who tied their hands behind them, attached them all to a long rope, and thus marched them off to the Subadar's tank, where they were obliged to halt for the night, the children being exhausted and the ladies being unable to proceed without shoes and stock-

Deposition No. 42.

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ings, and with cut and bleeding feet. They appear to have been treated with needless cruelty, no food whatever and only a small quantity of water being supplied them.

Deposition No. 42.

*Friday, the 12th June.*—The mutineers being in want of saltpetre, confined Juggun Nath, seller of that article, in order to extort the requisite supply. Shells were prepared by Emam Ali, son of Junglee, an invalid subadar of artillery, and shot were heated in the barrack near the Racket Court, for the Nunhey Nawab's battery. A desperate but unsuccessful assault was made on the entrenchments, the rebels being repulsed with loss. The Cavalry men appear to have been shy of exposing themselves, though on this occasion they did dismount and join in the assault, losing two of their number. The sepoys however suffered the most. The greater part of the sepoys were engaged in plundering, and but few attended the batteries regularly, which were guarded by zemindars and insurgent villagers. Munsub Ali, of Russoollabad, joined the Nana with a large band of followers. The Futtygurh fugitives having been furnished with hackeries, were taken before the Nana, to whom they pointed out the folly of murdering them, as he could not expect to exterminate all the Europeans in the country. He is said to have been inclined to mercy, to merely imprisoning them, but the evil counsels of his brother Bala prevailed, and he gave orders for their execution. They were taken to the plain west of the Sovada house, and at about 2 or 3 P. M. were killed by musquetry. Bala Rao, seated on a chubootra, is said to have witnessed this cruel massacre, which was perpetrated by men of the 2nd Cavalry and 1st and 56th Regiments Native Infantry (the 53rd are not mentioned.) The bodies of the slain were carried on carts to the river, and there cast into the stream. A list of those who left Futtygurh on the 4th June is annexed, from which it appears that most of the parties were non-combatants, from whose death, but for the insane idea of exterminating the race, nothing could have been supposed to have been gained. The party that first left Futtygurh was large, but being opposed by rebels at Khoosumpore, some sixteen ladies and gentlemen returned to Hurdeo Buksh, zemindar of Dhurmpore, and eventually to Futtygurh; the remainder, twenty-six gentlemen, thirty ladies and a number of children, continued their voyage after paying a ransom of Rs. 500, and successfully resisting an attack from some insurgent villagers, several of whom were killed, one only of their party, a Mr. Ives, being wounded by a matchlock ball in the thigh.

Deposition No. 52.

Native Journal.

Native Journal.

Deposition No. 42.

Deposition No. 44.

Deposition Nos. 44, 45 and 46.

Deposition No. 42.

*Saturday, the 13th June.*—The head of Mr. Duncan, son of the hotel-keeper, murdered by Ghunsham Singh, zemindar of Janan, was presented to the Nana. A reward of Rs. 10 was given to the murderer, and Rs. 2 to the man who carried the head. A mine was commenced by Ghunsham Singh, jemadar of the barrack department, aided by Subadar Dulla and Gunga Naik, with other invalided men of the Sappers and Miners.

Native Journal.

The thatched barrack in the entrenchment was set on fire by a ball from the Nunhey Nawab's battery fired by Reaz Ali, son of Kurrum Ali, the one-eyed, an invalid subadar of the artillery, for which he received a reward of Rs. 90, and a shawl. This incident caused great distress in the entrenchments, several of the sick and wounded perishing in the flames, there not being any men available for their removal, as all were standing to their arms at their respective posts, momentarily expecting an attack. Most of the medical stores and surgical instruments were also destroyed; so that many subsequently perished from want of proper treatment. Five men and one woman are said to have been killed in the preparation of live shells by an explosion in the barrack near the Nunhey Nawab's battery. Shah Ali, the late Kotwal, was appointed head of the intelligence department with the rank of Quarter-Master General.

Deposition No. 9.

Captain Thomson's Work.

*Sunday, the 14th June.*—The besieged made a sortie and beat back the enemy with loss. The intrepid daring of the British is spoken of with astonishment by all; they declare that if they had offered battle, the whole of the rebel army would have fled, for they were dispirited at their want of success, and though the Nana promised gold bangles and large rewards, on the taking of the entrenchments, yet the

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mutineers were chiefly intent on plundering, and were ready to combine with the zemindars and their followers in plundering the city; the troops for the sake of the wealth it contained, and the zemindars and villagers to revenge themselves on the mahajuns who held mortgages on their lands. Hoolass Singh, Kotwal, remonstrated, asking over whom the Nana was to rule if the city were plundered, and suggesting that the British would in all probability take advantage of the troops being scattered to make a successful attack on the batteries. General Wheeler about 2 P. M. wrote to Lucknow for help, stating that with 200 Europeans he could punish the rebels. This letter reached Lucknow, but no help could be afforded. Eleven men and two women, who had been employed by Zahoorie, Abkary Daroga, to take supplies of bread, eggs and milk into the entrenchment, were seized during the night.

Deposition No. 24.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Deposition No. 31.

*Monday*, 15*th June.*—Orders were sent to Narain and Jankie, bridge contractors, to prepare boats for the transit of two regiments with artillery, expected from Oude. The party seized the night before on leaving the entrenchments, viz., Kulloo, Lalloo, Ramdheen, Kidree, Boodhoo, Mohun, Ramzanie, Bachoo, Mugna, Peeroo, Muddoo, with Mereya and Kullooa, women, were blown away from guns. A baker who supplied bread to the British was also executed. Mrs. Carter, wife of the toll-bar keeper, was delivered of a daughter, and both she and her infant appear to have received every kindness from the Peshwa's widows, who ordered a Mahomedan nurse to attend on them.

Native Journal.

Deposition Nos. 39 and 40.

*Tuesday*, 16*th June.*—The Nadree Regiment (4th Oude Locals,) under command of the Meer Nawab, and the Akhtarie Regiment, (5th Oude Locals) commanded by Feeda Hoossein, with some horse and artillery, joined the rebels, and vauntingly said they would take the entrenchments in two days; they were consequently in great favor with the Nana, who directed them to be feasted with sweetmeats, and be treated with distinction and consideration. Zahoorie, Abkary Daroga, left for Allahabad, where he delivered in safety a ring and watch entrusted to him by Major Larkins, of the artillery.

Native Journal.

Deposition No. 31.

*Wednesday*, 17*th June.*—A Court composed of Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, Shah Ali, Jowalla Pershad and Ahmed Ali Khan, vakeel, was formed for the decision of criminal cases. Nunhey and others were paraded through the city on donkeys, and their houses razed to the ground for disreputable livelihood, and a man of the Bowrea caste had his hand cut off for theft.

Native Journal.

*Thursday*, 18*th June.*—A battery erected south of the entrenchments, and commanded by the Meer Nawab, caused great damage and inconvenience to the besieged, disabling their guns, making the drawing of water from the well a service of still greater danger, and altogether debarring access to the tank south east of the entrenchments, from which water used occasionally to be procured, but with great danger and difficulty. An attack was made on the entrenchments, in which the Nadree Regiment and its artillery took a prominent part; one of the British guns was disabled from the fire of the Nunhey Nawab's battery. The courage of the British was highly extolled, and the mutineers greatly depressed at their repeated failures; those of them who had already acquired wealth by plunder sought opportunities of slipping away to their houses, while such as had wives and families would not attend to the batteries, nor willingly join in the assaults made on the entrenchments, but by far the greater number, (the Nadree and Akhtarie Regiments excepted,) took their ease seated in the shops along the banks of the canal, plundering the supplies brought in, eagerly helping themselves to large quantities of sugar and drinking sherbet to their heart's content.

Native Journal.

Deposition No. 36.

Native Journal.

Captain Moore replied to Mr. Gubbins' letter of the 16th, in reply to General Wheeler's communication of the 14th, soliciting aid, in which the former states General Wheeler was prepared to hold out to the last.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

*Friday*, 19*th June.*—Sheo Pershaud, the present treasurer, and Futteh Ram mahajun were sent by Shah Ali to arrange Mrs. Greenway's ransom. After a long consultation at Sovada, the treasurer offered to advance Rs. 60,000 on a note of hand, and to make arrangements with Futteh Ram for Rs. 40,000 more, but two lacs being the amount demanded, the negociation failed. Sheo Pershaud took in fruit and

Deposition No. 25.

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Deposition No. 25. tobacco to Mrs. Greenway, but Baba Bhut ordered the sepoys to turn him out. Lyakut Ali, the Moulvie from Allahabad, presented himself to the Nana.

*Saturday, 20th June.*—News was received of the approach of the 17th Native Infantry with guns and treasure from Azimgurh. A consultation was held at the Nana's attended by Bala, Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, Shah Ali, Ahmud Ali Khan, Akbur Ali, Brigadier Jowalla Pershad, General Teeka Singh, and the Allahabad Moulvie, at which the use of stratagem to induce the Europeans to quit the entrenchments was suggested, as they might then be easily massacred: it being urged that fighting was inconvenient, as lives were thereby lost, and that all the Europeans must eventually perish. To this however some would not agree, and a division in consequence arising, another meeting was proposed.

Deposition Nos. 20 and 44.

*Sunday, 21st June.*—Proclamation was made by beat of drum, that the Peshwa's Government had been established at Poona in the name of the Nana, and that the rebels ruled the city of Lucknow. A number of Bengalee writers were released from confinement. A heavy fire was maintained against the entrenchments this afternoon. At mid-night Major Vibart, of the 2nd Cavalry, wrote to Sir H. Lawrence that "in three hours upwards of 30 shells had been thrown in, and that they were in want of nine-pounder ammunition. The enemy were strongest in Artillery, not numbering more than 4 or 500 Infantry."

Native Journal.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

*Monday, 22nd June.*—The mntineers decided on making a general assault, and stated that if the entrenchments were not evacuated in four days, they must be taken. The prisoners at Sovada were sounded as to the probability of a capitulation being effected.

Deposition Nos. 20 and 44.

*Tuesday, 23rd June.*—An assault was made on the entrenchments, which as usual failed, and the troops in consequence were dispirited. Azeemoollah, Brigadier Jowalla Pershad and Shah Ali held a consultation at Sovada with Mrs. Jacobi and the other prisoners. The former had been captured while attempting an escape to Lucknow disguised in native clothes, and had been confined in Sovada. She promised to get the entrenchments vacated. A messenger from Lucknow with a letter from Major Halford, 71st Native Infantry, to Major Wiggins, Deputy Judge Advocate General, reached the besieged safely. Sepoy Ghous Mahomed, of the 56th Native Infantry, ordered by General Wheeler to gain information, left the entrenchments at 8 P. M., and by crawling along the ground, thus avoiding the mutineer picquets and patrols, succeeded in reaching Colonelgunge.

Captain Thomson's Work.

Deposition Nos. 20 and 41.

Mr. Gubbins' Work.

Deposition No. 14.

*Wednesday, 24th June.*—An European of dark complexion, disguised as a native, was seized on leaving the entrenchments and taken to the Nana, who after questioning him ordered him to be confined. Mrs. Jacobi was taken to the Nana's tent and arrangements were made for sending her on the following day with a letter to the garrison.

Native Journal.

*Thursday, 25th June.*—Mrs. Jacobi* left Sovada at 9 A. M. for the entrenchments, and on her return had a long interview with the Nana, Azeemoollah, Brigadier Jowalla Pershad and Shah Ali, after which it was rumoured about that an agreement had been entered into with the British, who were to give up their guns and treasure and were in return to be provided with boats to convey them to Allahabad. The Nana directed Hoolass Singh, by perwannah, to provide boats for the transport of the British to that station. At sunset a consultation was held in the Nana's tent, at which Baba, Azeemoollah, Brigadier Jowalla Pershad, Shah Ali and Ahmed Ali, vakeel, were present, when it was decided that the British should be massacred at the Suttee Chowra Ghât. At half past 8 P M. Lieutenant G. Masters, of the 53rd Native Infantry, wrote to his father Colonel Masters, of the 7th Cavalry,

Deposition Nos. 20 and 41.

Deposition Nos. 20 and 44.

Mr. Gubbins' Work

* Capt. Thomson and Mr. Shepherd state that Mrs. Greenway brought the message. Moonshee Kalka Pershad, who had been many years in the employ of Mr. Greenway and was present with Mrs. Greenway at Sovada, deposes that Mrs. Jacobi was sent to offer terms from the rebel party.
Mary Ann, Ayah in the service of Mrs. Greenway, states in her deposition taken at Cawnpore on the 21st August 1857, that Mrs. Jacobi, after an interview with the Nana, proceeded to the entrenchments with a letter. The depositions corroborate this statement.

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at Lucknow, informing him of the capitulation. (This note reached Lucknow the evening of the 28th June.)

*Friday, 26th June*---The treaty was ratified and oaths taken on both sides to prevent treachery. Kasim Ali, General Wheeler's Mahout, was employed, together with a Christian woman supposed to be Mrs. Jacobi, to take a letter from the Nana to Sir Hugh Wheeler.

Deposition No. 54.

Twenty-four boats laying at the Customs Ghât were seized and every exertion made to prepare them for the reception of the British. Goordial and Lochun, ghât mangees, with Budhoo Commissariat boat-contractor, were engaged under the Kotwal, Hoolass Singh. Badul jemandar, an old servant of the Nana's, with Dabeedeen, chowdhree of boatmen, Ramdeen, Choonnee and Gareba, boatmen of Bithoor, with 400 men, were employed in expediting the work. The boats were moved down to the Suttee Chowra Ghât and there inspected by a Committee of three officers, who directed certain necessary alterations to be made. Kalka Pershad, on visiting his master Mr. Thomas Greenway in the entrenchments, and being told to procure Rs. 300 for the trip, informed him of the meditated treachery, stating all he had heard while waiting at the Nana's tent.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition No. 20.

The uninjured guns and treasure amounting to one lac and thirty thousand rupees were made over to the Nana.

Deposition No. 7.

In the evening Tantia Topee was closeted with the Nana, and on leaving issued orders for the troops to march to the Suttee Chowra Ghât two hours before day-break. The rebel zemindars with their followers were also warned to be in attendance at the ghât. Brigadier Jowalla Pershad remained during the night in the entrenchments as a hostage. A musquet accidentally discharged by a mutineer alarmed the whole rebel force, who immediately opened a heavy fire on the entrenchments, but ceased on receiving a message from Jowalla Pershad.

Deposition Nos. 20 and 44.

Deposition No. 50.

Captain Thomson's Work.

Deposition No. 1.

*Saturday, the 27th June.*—Orders having been issued the previous night, the arrrangements for the destruction of the doomed garrison were carried out as follows: at an early hour of the morning, when some 500 mutineers with two guns marched to the Suttee Chowra Ghât. One gun was placed with a party of sepoys in the ruins of the house lately occupied by Mr. Christie, and which being built on a height, commanded the whole line of boats. A body of mutineers were also placed in the Chore Ghât Nullah, running between the above-named house and the village of Suttee Chowra. Another party of 25 were secreted behind some timber, whilst a party of sowars were drawn up south of Hurdeen Mullah's (or the fisherman's) temple, at which the chief executors of the Nana's orders, the principal of whom was Tantia Topee, were seated, attended by an armed body of retainers. About a quarter of a mile below the first fisherman's temple, there is a second named after its founder, Bhugwan Dass, at which a gun with a company of mutineers was posted during the siege for protection to the ghât, but were withdrawn while the officers inspected the boats, lest suspicion be excited. This gun with a large band of rebels and insurgents re-occupied its former position on this occasion. About 800 paces below this again, at Koila Ghât, a third gun and its attendant party were placed. The two latter pieces commanded the river for some distance both above and below, and could thence rake the boats as they lay at the Suttee Chowra Ghât, as also any that might succeed in getting away and floating down stream.

Deposition Nos. 44, 45 and 46.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition Nos. 50, 51 and 52.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Still further precautions were taken on the opposite bank of the river, the 17th Native Infantry and 13th Irregular Cavalry with two guns being concealed there behind a sandy ridge, the former to intercept any fugitives attempting to escape towards Lucknow, and the latter to fire on any of

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their unhappy victims seeking shelter in the outer or river side of the boats. A party of horse and foot were also told off to follow the garrison, and on reaching the wooden bridge which commanded the Suttee Chowra Ghât, to form up there in line as a firing party. Thus every avenue of escape was guarded with fiendish acuteness, and the doomed band completely hemmed in by their blood-thirsty yet cowardly foes.

Deposition Nos. 50, 51 and 52.

These arrangements were carried out by Tantia Topee, with the assistance of General Teeka Singh, Brigadier Jowalla Pershad, and a Resaldar named Tukkee.

Deposition Nos. 47, 48, 50 and 51.

Carriage was sent to the entrenchments for the transport of the Europeans, and in any other circumstances would have been a delicate mark of respect, evinces in this instance a cool and revolting feature of gross treachery. The elephant generally used by Sir Hugh Wheeler, with its howda and driver Kasim Khan, was sent for the General's accommodation, and was occupied by Lady Wheeler and her two daughters. The evacuation of the entrenchments commenced at about or a little before 6 A. M. A truly sad spectacle must it have been to see that noble little band that had for twenty days, in the hottest season of the year, kept at bay their numerous blood-thirsty foes, defended simply by a low mud wall barely four feet high, with a shallow ditch, not worthy the name of entrenchments, and yielding at last only from compassion to the weak and helpless innocents, whose sole reliance was on their brave hearts and sturdy arms, in the vain hope of shortening their sufferings and securing their retreat. Sturdy men, delicate women who had never hitherto known an hour's privation, tenderly brought up children whose every want had been anticipated, sad indeed must it have been to see them, now reduced by privation, soiled with unremitting labour, and the absence of even the common necessaries of life, scorched by an Indian sun and the fierce simoon, tattered and torn, weak and wounded, hastening on with eager steps and beating hearts to the cruel fate awaiting them, all unconscious of the base treachery planned by their foes for their destruction! Anxious doubts and fears may however have troubled the minds of some, since the Nana had once already proved himself false, and now might well be doubted. It is said that Mr. Thomas Greenway's Moonshee informed his master of the impending treachery, and we have no reason to doubt the statement, though from no notice having been apparently taken of it, (nor can we tell if the information were passed on to others or not,) it would appear to have been discredited, as the British passed on their way in seeming confidence and trust, surrounded though they were by thousands of mutineers and rebel insurgents. That many who came to witness the evacuation of the intrenchment were aware of the sad fate hanging over its late gallant defenders we cannot doubt, for when it was rumoured that a capitulation had been effected, the ready suggestion to most minds was that the Nana and his myrmidons meditated treachery, yet we may in charity hope that all were not alike, but that some few, even amongst that cruel crowd, came with better and kinder feelings to see perhaps the last of those whom they had known in happier and more prosperous days, for evil though all men by nature are, and cruel in heart as too many showed themselves to be, yet there is proof that, even at Cawnpore, there were amongst that blood-thirsty set not wanting those who were willing to aid our (to them) alien race. We see a servant of the late Colonel Williams earnestly striving to appear before his mistress to enquire after the welfare of the family, and that moreover the said interview, obtained at length, was gained by urgent entreaties to mutineers themselves. Havildar Major Annundee Misser, though stating himself unable through shame to appear before the wife of his murdered Colonel, yet granted the pleader's request, who is then despatched by his mistress to procure the attendance of another faithful domestic, both of whom arrive in time only to witness the opening of that base tragedy of which can they for a moment be supposed to have been aware. Amongst the mutineers even some, as they met their officers, enquire the fate of missing ones, and whether in truth or base pretence, yet with strange inconsistency, express commiseration for their condition, as well as wonder at, and praise of, the noble defence made by the garrison. Kasim Khan, the driver of General Wheeler's elephant,

Deposition No. 54.

Deposition Nos. 6 and 14.

Deposition No. 53.

Native Journal.

Captain Thomson's Work.

Deposition No. 54.

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after taking Lady Wheeler and her two daughters to the first boat on the line, returned for the General, whom meeting on the way mounted on a galloway, he likewise conveyed to the boats. A Government Camel Sowar from Agra, who had faithfully brought and safely delivered a despatch from that station for General Wheeler the previous night, was told by Sir Hugh to wait at the boat side for a reply, and both Mahout and Camel Sowar remained till the firing commenced, which they would scarcely have done, to the peril of their lives, had they suspected treachery. The mutineers however unmasked their designs, ere yet the time for action had arrived, to many observant eyes amongst the thousands who followed in the rear of the ill-fated garrison, and witnessed the following acts of violence and bloodshed, while yet their victims were on the road to the place of execution.

Deposition No. 54.

Lady Wheeler's Ayah was at once deprived of a large sum of money bestowed upon her by her mistress, for her continued fidelity in the hour of trial. An event still more significant even of the mutineers' intentions than the above, which merely arose from the love of plunder, was the following. A Jemadar, three Sepoys and Native Doctor of the 56th Native Infantry, who with true devoted loyalty had remained with their officers throughout the siege, and had left the entrenchments in their company, preferring rather to share their fate than to be numbered amongst mutineers, were seized and carried off by their perjured comrades, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of their Adjutant, Lieutenant Goad. They were taken before Subadar Meer Buksh, then styled Major, and commanding a battery of five guns at the mess-house of their corps, who said these faithful men should not have been taken prisoners, having become Christians, but should at once have been slain!

Deposition No. 34.

Deposition Nos. 14 and 15.

But deliberate murder attended with revolting coolness, as related below, revealed still more clearly the intended treachery of the rebels. The gallant Colonel Ewart, borne in a litter by four coolies being severely wounded, and followed by his sorrowing wife on foot, falling into the rear, was, when passing St. John's Church, stopped by seven or eight Sepoys of his Regiment, the 1st Native Infantry, who ordering the litter to be placed on the ground, thus tauntingly addressed their late Commanding Officer:—"Is not this a fine parade, and is it not well dressed up?" Then by the swords of two of their party cut him to pieces, and turning to Mrs. Ewart, said:—"Go, we will not kill you, for you are a woman, but throw down all you have."

Deposition No. 19.

She took out a small packet concealed in her dress, containing perhaps some stored relics, valuable only to her, and threw them at the feet of the wretches, who, however, not desiring plunder only, but thirsting likewise for European blood, slew her also. Colonel Ewart had entertained throughout a presentiment that he would fall by the hands of his own men, and thus strangely lost his life by their hands instead of perishing in the indiscriminate slaughter at the Ghât. Two of these cowardly wretches are known to have been Bijanath Singh Thakoor and Ram Bhut Aheer, of No. 5 Company 1st Native Infantry.

The fiend who now held undisputed sway was meanwhile alone, (a few Mharattas and Ahmed Ali, vakeel, only being in attendance) whilst his compeers in blood and treachery, Bala, Azeemoollah and a host of Sirdars, who had mounted their horses on the Europeans moving out of the entrenchments, were then seated with Tantia Topee and his party at the fisherman's temple. How rarely do we see a native pacing up and down, particularly one of such obesity as the Nana, yet thus in anxious thought did this man of blood meditate on the results of his treachery to a noble and confiding enemy; his black heart longing eagerly for the first sound to tell him of the destruction of his hated foe! His victims having embarked, suddenly about 9 A. M. a. bugle (the signal for firing) was sounded by order of Bala and Azeemoollah; the first shots were discharged by some troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, and the parties concealed in the ruins, on the height and behind the timber, followed simultaneously, as by magic, by the roar of cannon along the bank, instantaneously taken up by the guns and 17th Native Infantry on the Oude side. Amidst this frightful scene and hideous din, the proverbial coolness and intrepidity of Englishmen did not fail them. The fire of their fell foe was at once returned from the fourth boat on the line, and every exertion made to get

Deposition No. 19.

Deposition Nos. 47, 48 and 49.

Deposition No. 48.

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themselves clear, but most of the boats were grounded in the shallow water, whilst few had boatmen provided, and even those who had were speedily deserted by their false crews, three of whom moreover, named Ram Deen, Choonea and Gureeba, procured from Bithoor and in the pay of the enemy, set fire, as previously directed, to the thatch of several of the boats, whereby many of the wounded, unable to move, were burnt to death! The others leaped into the river, seeking shelter from the fierce storm of grape and musquetry on the outer or river side of the boats, being unaware of the precaution taken as already stated to meet this contingency, on whom the guns and 17th Native Infantry, placed for the purpose, now played with murderous effect. As the numbers decreased from being slain and drowned, the fire slackened, and the troopers posted near Hurdeen's temple urged by Bala Rao and Tantea Topee, entering the river, massacred those still alive. The Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergymen are said to have been thus cut down by a 2nd Cavalry trooper; women and children were also mercilessly slain; one lady, spared by a sepoy, fell the next moment by the club of an insurgent villager, many of whom took an active part in the massacre. The Nadrie and Akhtaree regiments (4th and 5th Oude local Corps) from Lucknow also acted a prominent part, whilst the following individuals are named as having been conspicuous on the occasion:—Teeka Singh, Subadar 2nd Cavalry, Resaldar Tukkee, Hoolass Singh Kotwal, Sheikh Hunneef, formerly a coachman in Captain Nuthall's employ, and Akbur Ali, who was seen to kill an European by firing a pistol bullet into his breast.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 48.

Deposition Nos. 50 and 51.

Deposition Nos. 6 and 7.

Ditto.

Deposition No. 35.

Deposition Nos. 50, 51, 52 and 53.

Three boats floated clear of the Ghât, but two being crippled and drifting on to the Oude bank, their inmates were massacred by the 17th Native Infantry, with the exception of eighteen individuals sent in as prisoners to the Nana. The third boat got into the full force of the stream, and notwithstanding a shot from the gun placed at Koila Ghât, which struck the rudder, disabling the boat and spinning it round, it floated on. A party of the 2nd Cavalry under Jemadar Sadhoo Singh, was sent in pursuit, and overtook the boat in consequence of its striking on a sand bank near Nujjufgurh, those who resisted were massacred and the rest sent in prisoners to Cawnpore. From statements made by two troopers, named Tilluk Singh and Guffoor Khan, who we may suppose were with the pursuing party, it would appear that Sir Hugh Wheeler perished here. About an hour after the commencement of the massacre at the ghât, a sowar named Mukhun Singh, resident of Khandepore Jajmhow, brought a report to the Nana that his enemies were being exterminated, on which he was sent with orders for the women and children to be spared: in consequence some 120 or 130 poor sufferers, wounded and in sore distress, were brought out of the river, collected on the bank, seated on the ground, and guarded by their cruel enemies, who however had compassion enough to supply them with water. They were then escorted by the mutineers to the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in the Sovada house. Four ladies and three Eurasian women were carried off by some of the 2nd Cavalry troopers, but all, with one exception, were delivered up to the Nana and placed in confinement with the rest.

Deposition No. 47.

Deposition Nos. 47 and 54.

Deposition Nos. 44 and 45.

Deposition Nos. 6, 7, 44 and 47.

A woman named Hoosainee Khanum, one of the late Peshwa's slave girls, and at that time in attendance on Adala, a favourite courtezan of the Nana's, was directed to look to the wants of the prisoners, who were under the special charge of Tantia Topee, and over whom a guard from the 6th Native Infantry, under Jemadar Yousuf Khan, of the same corps, was placed. At 4 P. M. the sowars of the 13th Irregular Cavalry brought in 17 Europeans, who had escaped from the boats and reached the opposite or Oude bank; after being presented to the Nana, who ordered them to be killed, they were shot by sepoys and sowars on the plain west of Sovada; those amongst them who were merely wounded by the musquetry were cut to pieces by the city executioners.

Deposition Nos. 44 and 45.

*Sunday, 28th June.*—A review was held by the Nana and salutes fired in honor of his victory over the British. The Nana's force consisted of the following Regiments, greatly reduced however from their proper strength by desertions and men absent on leave:—2nd Light Cavalry, 13th Irregular Cavalry from Azimghur; 1st, 17th, 53rd and 56th Regiments

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Native Infantry with two Local corps, the 4th and 5th, from Oude; and No. 18 Light Field Battery from Nowgong, as also the following detachments of Regiments:—14th Irregular Cavalry, Squadron 7th Light Cavalry, 6th Native Infantry, wing of 12th Native Infantry, and detachments of native artillery at Cawnpore, with two companies of the 48th Native Infantry at Bithoor.

Deposition No. 47.

Tantia Topee paid Dabee Deen, Chowdhree of boatmen, Rs. 4,467 for the boats destroyed at the ghât, five of which with two or three boatmen attached belonged to residents of Cawnpore; the remainder having come from the upper and lower Provinces, had from three to five boatmen each; Rs. 500 were also distributed to those of the Bithoor boatmen who first set fire to the boats.

Deposition No. 45.

*Monday, 29th June*—A tall European, naked with the exception of a bit of sacking round his waist, who had been hiding in the ravines near Karoundea on the Oude bank, was taken to the zemindar of the village, and being famished, eagerly devoured some food offered; the better disposed of the community were inclined to further the poor fugitive's escape to Lucknow, whither he appeared anxious to go, but as he could not speak Hindoostanee, his wishes were not clearly ascertained. The more merciful party were however overruled by a zemindar named Chundee Singh, and the unfortunate man was escorted by a band of insurgent villagers to the Nana's tent, who sent them orders by Baba Bhut to murder their prisoner, but with strange inconsistency they refused to strike an unarmed foe, upon which a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry wounding him with his sword, he was soon cut to pieces by the attendant Jullads; a sad fate was his, escaping the dangers of the siege and subsequent massacre at the ghât, wandering about naked and hungry for the space of two days, even meeting with pity and kindness from some, doubtless thinking the bitterness of death was past, yet perishing at length by the hands of the cruel foe, whose clutches he had but evaded a little while.

Native Journal.

* *Tuesday, 30th June.*—At 10 A. M. Jemadar Sadhoo Singh, of the 2nd cavalry, and Husmut Ali, Thannadar of Sirsour, brought in from Nujjufghur the party of Europeans captured in the boat that had escaped thus far, the ladies and children of whom were sent into the Sovada house, with the exception of one lady, who refusing to leave her husband, was with her infant, about a year old, killed with the Europeans when they were shot by the Nana's orders.

Native Journal.

Orders were issued from Baba Bhut's Cutcherry for tehseeldars to send in revenue, for all individuals not delivering up concealed European property to be punished, for all houses suspected of having such secreted, in them to be searched; and finally for arrangements to be made for distributing rewards with gold bangles to the mutineers. The Nana and Bala left for Bithoor, having directed that Baba Bhut, Azeemoolla, Brigadiar Jowalla Pershad and Shah Ali should conduct affairs at Cawnpore.

Native Journal.

*Wednesday, 1st July.*—The Nana took his sent on the throne as Peshwa, the sacred mark was affixed to his forehead, salutes were fired and the city illuminated at night in honor of the occasion.

Rumours were prevalent that two or three Europeans who escaped the massacre, after drifting down the river, found refuge with Rajah Dirbijah Singh, of Morar Mhow.

Deposition No. 57.

Bala Rao returned alone to Cawnpore, the mutineers were dissatisfied at his being unaccompained by the Nana, who had promised to remain only one day at Bithoor. The prisoners were removed from Sovada to the house in the compound lately occupied by Sir George Parker, now known as the Beebeeghur, or slaughter house. Mittoo sweeper and his wife were ordered to attend on them.

*Thursday, 2nd July.*—The mutineers became clamourous for the distribution of pay and the rewards promised. Pay abstracts were consequently prepared in the Office of the Deputy Collector, Ram Lall, and a quantity of gold sent to the magazine to be converted into bangles.

* Mr. Shepherd in his memorandum states, that the captives were brought back from Nujjufghur on the 1st July—In Miss Blairs Bible the entries are as follows:—29th June taken out of the boats, 30th reached Sovada—Captain Thomson states, he left the boat on the 29th June.—The men who drove the carts states, they were only one night and a portion of the next day returning to Cawnpore with the captives. I therefore think the 30th June is the correct date.

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The mutineers feeling insecure of their plunder, invested it in gold mohurs, which commanded in the market 24 and 25 Rs. each.

Native Journal.

*Friday, 3rd July.*—Pay was distributed to the mutineers, who quarrelled over the division of their spoil, and openly expressed their dissatisfaction, complaining that the Nana had taken all the treasure and sought only his own ease at Bithoor, adding they were determined to make him feel the consequences of such deceit.

Native Journal.

The old feeling in favor of exalting the Nunhey Nawab as ruler in opposition to the Nana, gained ground amongst the Mahomedan troopers. The Hindoo faction however proved too strong, and the Nunhey Nawab sought safety in flight, but was arrested and brought back a prisoner by order of Subadar Teeka Singh. Shah Ali, the late Kotwal, now head of the intelligence department, appointed news-writers at different posts in the district, proceeding himself to Futtehpore for information.

Native Journal.

*Saturday, 4th July.*—Edoo, Goolharee and other cooks employed to provide food for the prisoners, representing that the ladies refused to eat the dhall and chuppaties daily supplied them, as much meat as was procurable for the same price as the dhall was henceforth furnished instead.

Rumours of the advance of a British force caused much uneasiness. Apadik Dhary was directed to watch the approaches to Cawnpore with strong detachments.

*Sunday, 5th July.*—Shah Ali returned from Futtehpore with news of the advance of the British from Allahabad. Two camel sowars were sent to gain correct information regarding their movements. Much excitement prevailed amongst the troops at the Nana's continued absence; they declared that if he did not immediately return, they would release the Nunhey Nawab and make him ruler. General Teeka Singh, of the 2nd Cavalry, with some of the 56th Native Infantry, proceeded to Bithoor to bring the Nana back to Cawnpore, in order that preparations might be made for opposing the advance of the British.

*Monday, 6th July.*—The Nana returned and occupied Noor Mahomed's hotel next to the house in which the prisoners were confined. Moona Lall, Sooknundun and others, who had plundered the treasure chest of the barrack department, were confined until they disgorged their spoil.

Preparations were made to check the approach of the British. A division commanded by Brigadier Jowalla Pershad, with 12 guns under Raghoo Put Apta and Bathoo Punt, officers of Artillery, were told off for this duty.

*Tuesday, 7th July.*—Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah and Jowalla Pershad were doing their utmost to provide carriage and supplies for the march of the mutineers.

Deposition No. 14.

A Native Christian Drummer, seized while escaping to Lucknow, was taken together with the loyal men of the 56th (who were captured on the 27th, when leaving the entrenchments) to the Nana at Noor Mahomed's; after a few enquiries the whole party were ordered to be shot. Azeemoollah however whispered to the Nana, that the Native Christian ought to be shot, but the remainder of the party (chiefly Mahomedans) should be sent to prison. They were consequently heavily ironed, and conveyed to the old jail, while the Drummer was taken to the next compound and there killed by the mutineers as directed.

Deposition No. 14.

*Wednesday, 8th July.*—Reports were received of the British force having left Allahabad, with European, Madras, and Sikh troops. The mutineers of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry held a mock and so called Brigade Court Martial on their loyal brethren, seized on the 27th June, when the latter were sentenced to the loss of their hands and noses, that thus they might serve as a warning to all who should venture to serve the British; execution was, however, delayed until their anticipated victorious return from Futtehpoor.

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*Thursday, 9th July.*—A portion of the Futtehgurh fugitives, who had evacuated the fort on the 4th July, were seized on passing Bithoor. Guns having been placed at Bundee Mahta and Shokul Deo's Ghât, for the purpose of obstructing the passage down the river of fugitives from other stations, the boat as it approached was fired on, both by the guns and by a party on the Oude bank under Jussa Singh, to which the fugitives at first feebly replied, but soon a white truce flag being waved by a gentleman, the firing ceased, and Jussa Singh's party crossing over, took the Europeans prisoners, and conveyed them to the Rao, whose palace they reached at 9 P. M., and who ordered their confinement for the night in the old Residency. Brigadier Jowalla Pershad marched to Jugpoor in command of the rebel army, consisting of the following corps and detachments: the 2nd Light and 13th Irregular Cavalry, Detachments of other Cavalry corps, a Regiment of undisciplined horse lately raised; five Companies of the 12th and 17th Native Infantry, the 1st, 53rd and 56th Regiments Native Infantry (these latter greatly reduced in numbers, but strengthened by mutineers from other corps,) the Nadree and Akhtarie Regiments, under Nawab Mooneer, and a battery of 12 guns, with a large body of attendant insurgents, who loudly boasted of the valorous deeds they would perform, and of their determination to exterminate the small advancing band of British.

Deposition Nos. 39, 40 and 41.

*Friday, 10th July.*—The rebel force arrived at Aong, where the news of the approach of the British was confirmed, and caused great excitement, it being reported that they hung every native they met with on their way. The Futtehgurh fugitives, captured at Bithoor, were forwarded at 3 P. M. in charge of Kossabha Keranie Gir, Baboo Kaunkuttu, Koondoo Pershaud and other Sirdars, escorted by rebel horse and foot. On reaching Cawnpore, the ladies and children were confined by the Nana's orders with the prisoners in the Beebeeghur, and the lives of 3 gentlemen, supposed to be Mr. Thornhill the Judge, and Colonels Goldie and Smith, were also spared on their promising to have the Fort of Allahabad evacuated as a ransom for their lives; the rest of the party were as usual massacred.

Native Journal.

Deposition Nos. 39, 40 and 41.

*Saturday, 11th July.*—The mutineers marched to Suktrapore. The British force was reported to have reached Sienee, to have restored the Telegraph as they passed up the road, and to have hung every native in whose possession the wire was found. The Nana's well-wishers and adherents confidently affirmed that he would prove victorious over the small British force opposed to him, but great consternation prevailed in the city and the neighbouring villages.

Native Journal.

*Sunday, 12th July.*—The rebel force occupied Futtehpoor, and on the arrival of the British were found drawn up in line on the Cawnpore side of the town, with their artillery at intervals along the road. Their Cavalry (the regulars in full uniform) first shewed themselves by galloping out and attempting to surround the British tents, but were speedily driven in by their guns and Enfield rifles. Some of the 13th Irregular Cavalry being present with the rebels on this occasion, their brethren on the side of the British refused to charge. The British force consisted of 9 guns, of both the Royal and Bengal artillery, detachments of H. M. 64th, 78th and 84th Regts., Madras Fusiliers and Ferozepore Regiment, Volunteers, and 13th Irregular Cavalry. General Havelock, though at first unwilling to bring on a fight without giving his troops breathing time after their march, on finding himself hard pressed, went at and speedily drove the enemy through Futtehpore. No lives were lost on his side, save those who sank from exposure to the sun. The enemy fled panic-stricken and in great disorder to Aong. Many who had acquired plunder, and hence were unwilling to fight, availed themselves of the opportunity to quietly retreat to their homes.

Captain Hudson's account.

Captain Hudson's account.

*Monday, 13th July.*—The British force halted at Futtehpore. The news of the defeat sustained by the mutineers at this place caused great dismay at Cawnpore. But all available troops were at once directed to march to the Pandoo Nuddee, and were ordered to hold that post to the last. Eight messengers, seized with English and Native letters for the British, were brought before the Nana, who ordered them all to be executed.

Native Journal.

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*Tuesday, 14th July.*—The British advanced to Kullianpore. Bala Rao with as many mutineers and insurgents as could be collected, strengthened the post held by the mutineers at Aong.

Deposition No. 1.

The three Europeans spared from amongst the Futtehghur party, were taken to Noor Mahomed's Hotel, and had an interview with the Nana, for the purpose, it is supposed, of making arrangements relative to giving up the Allahabad fort, and for arresting the advance of the British force.

*Wednesday, 15th July.*—The British came upon the enemy at Aong, whom they found in position on the road at about 9 A. M. They at once formed up, advanced to the

Capt. Hudson's statement.

attack covered by the Madras Fusiliers and the Enfield riflemen of the 64th and 78th, and drove the enemy from one position to another, over difficult and jungly ground, till they fell back on their defences at Pandoo Nuddee. After an hour's halt at noon, the British advanced to the bridge, which was defended, but being enfiladed by the British guns pouring in grape and round shot, was quickly vacated by the rebels and at once taken possession by the British. On Bala Rao's return to Cawnpore, wounded in the right shoulder by a musquet ball, a council was held at Noor Mahomed's Hotel, at which a large number are said to have assembled, and over which the Nana presided. Much dismay and vacillation prevailed on the occasion, some proposing an immediate retreat on Bithoor, others even more timid suggesting a flight to Furruckabad and juncture there with the force of the rebel Nawab Tuffuzool Hoosein, whilst others again less craven-hearted decided on making one more desperate attempt to oppose the victorious march of their foes, even proposing that the public buildings and the magazine should be mined, so that if all were lost, they might perish together with their enemies in one common ruin. The only building however that was mined was the magazine, and at length it was resolved to make the last great stand at Aheerwan, a few miles south of Cawnpore. Vacillating though the council were on other projects, they are said to have been unanimous in one fearful resolve, and that was the death of the unoffending women and innocent children, numbering upwards of a hundred, as also of the five Europeans spared till now ; three from Futtehghur and Mr. Edward Greenway and his son Thomas. The horrid suggestion is said to have first come from Subadar Teeka Singh, who enquired what was to be done with the prisoners. Two reasons were advanced in favor of this brutal resolve, the one that it would probably prevent the further approach of the British, who were said to be advancing solely for the purpose of releasing such of their people as were in confinement, and of avenging the blood of those who had been slain. The second reason alleged, and bearing more the stamp of probability, was that many rebels were now determining to forsake a losing cause and return to their allegiance, trusting to the complicity of their native brethren for their own impunity, and knowing full well that many amongst the unfortunate prisoners could recognize the leaders, and give important evidence against them ; that others, such as Mesdames Thomas and Edward Greenway, Jacobi and Kirke, were intimately acquainted with nearly all those implicated in rebel proceedings, two of whom had since the 8th June been confined in the Sovada house in close proximity to the Nana and his party, felt it was positively necessary to destroy all European evidence as the only chance of escaping the condign punishment their crimes so richly merited. Hence was the fate of these unhappy captives to be sealed in blood, and all were to perish in one common lot. The three gentlemen from Futtehghur, as before stated, with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son Thomas, were

Deposition No. 1.

told that the Nana required their attendance, and as they left the slaughter-house to meet their fate elsewhere, appear to have been perfectly composed, even though they surmised that death awaited them, (which, alas! to those thus situated must have been ever present,) for their lips moved as if in prayer. There is

Deposition Nos. 58, 61 and 62.

clear evidence of their having been shot by the mutineers, at about 5 P. M., near the wall of the Commissariat godown, Mr. Greenway being the last to fall.

I now approach the most painful and difficult portion of my task, over which I would gladly draw a veil, but that duty forbids my concealing aught of the real facts attending the closing of the Cawnpore tragedy. Regarding the numerous massacres that took place, the evidence, with the exception of some few discrepancies, is clearly and freely given, but on approaching the last and most terrible scene, all seem instinctively to shrink from confessing any knowledge of so foul and barbarous a crime as the indiscriminate slaughter of helpless women and innocent children. Evidence that runs clear and strong from the 15th of May to the 14th July, suddenly ceases on the fatal day of the 15th of that month. Every witness was questioned

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on this important subject, but almost all state they were not present, and only heard by report of the massacre, which it is notoriously well known was witnessed by thousands of spectators, any half-dozen of whom could give clear and undeniable evidence against the murderers. It is however said that but few of the respectable residents of the city were present. Consternation reigned throughout and every door was closed, rumours being prevalent, on the one hand, of the immediate arrival of a large and well appointed British Army, who would take fearful vengeance for the murder of their countrymen at the Suttee Chowra Ghât, and it being said on the other, that if the Nana were victorious, the city was to be given up to plunder, in revenge for the difficulty experienced in procuring supplies, and because the mahajun portion of the community had been accused of corresponding with the British. We have however statements made by eye-witnesses, three of whom were native Christian Drummers, from whom we will first quote, as being perhaps on the whole the most trustworthy, for though, like the generality of our Christian Drummers, merely nominal and unworthy professors of a pure creed, who did, perhaps from force of circumstances, outwardly join the rebel cause, yet their depositions enable us to compare the statements of others, and thus to test the reliability of the whole.

Deposition Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

The guard over the prisoners was commanded by a Jemadar of the 6th Native Infantry, named Yousuf Khan, some of whom were men of the same corps. The most intelligent of the Drummers states he was in confinement, but it may fairly be taken for granted that the restraint, if it existed, was merely nominal. All three depose on oath that the veritable murderers were five men armed with swords, who came from the adjacent compound in which the Nana then resided. Another individual is a Brahmin named Cherunjee, who, for the committal on the previous day of a trifling offence in the neighbourhood of the Beebeeghur, had been placed in confinement by the Sepoy guard, the authority of the mutineers being paramount. He was consequently an eye-witness of the massacre, and confirms the statement of the three Drummers. But we have other corroborative evidence also. The second or third day after the massacre a party of the Nana's followers passing through the village of Oonao, on their way to join his camp at Futtehpore Chowrassie, halted there a while, and the conversation turning on the late massacre, two of the party (Hindoos) boasted before a large number of men that they had murdered 21 of the prisoners, for which they had received a reward of Rs. 21. A man called Sewrakhun of Oogoo, likewise vaunted he had been engaged in the massacre and had entered upon the foul work of blood, when his sword, being a bad weapon, bent from the force of his blows and his heart failed him, pointing out at the same time to many of those present, the blood stains and the bend on the sword alluded to. On the restoration of the British power this man decamped, and is said to have joined the party of zemindar Mepal Singh, of Oude.

Deposition No. 1.

Deposition Nos. 59 and 60.

Those who state they heard of the massacre of the ladies, affirm that common report, with two or three exceptions, threw the odium upon the Nana's own followers; this is however contradicted by the depositions of two other eye-witnesses, who directly oppose the statements of the above named four individuals. Kulloo, a Government servant in the Abkarie Department, states he saw 25 mutineer Sepoys fire a volley through the doors of the building, and were then relieved by similar parties, thus volley after volley was maintained until candle light.

Deposition No. 61.

This man's whole statement, however, from the relation of his escape from Lucknow to the event now under consideration, is altogether improbable. But although enquiries were made regarding his character, nothing was elicited against him.

Cheda, sweeper in Mr. Greenway's employ, who happened to be at the Beebeeghur, first of all stated he saw the sepoys commit the massacre, but on being re-examined as to a discrepancy in his statement regarding the murder of the five gentlemen, declared he only heard the order given to the sepoys to fire, when he fled for his life.

Deposition No. 62.

Again, in corroboration of the former account, those who first entered the slaughter-house shortly after the massacre, state they saw but few bullet marks on the walls, and many sword cuts with hair embedded in them.

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The evidence of the Christian Drummers declares as follows :—After the five Europeans had been removed, the woman named Hoosainee Khanum, or the Begum, who had the superintendence of the ladies, told them the Nana had sent orders for their immediate destruction. An appeal was made by one of them to Yousuf Khan, the Jemadar of the Guard, and if the statement of these Drummers be correct, these men refused to carry out the Nana's orders. Debased and brutal as many of the sepoys had already become, and steeped though their hands were in Christian blood, they yet hesitated to carry out the fiendish order of one who was a still greater fiend than themselves. We know of a similar occurrence at Lucknow ; the sepoys over the ladies and children, when the Kaiser Bagh was bombarded, thought of getting rid of their charge by cruel murder, but all refused to strike the first blow, and thus the poor sufferers escaped. I mention this fact as it renders more probable the statements made by these deponents, that the sepoys refused to carry out the Nana's orders ; even this however only clears them from active participation in the deed, as they aided and abetted the transaction by their presence, instead rather of yielding up their lives in the cause of the innocent and defenceless.

Deposition Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Captain Hutchinson's Narrative.

The Begum, it is said, on their refusal, returned to Noor Mahomed's Hotel, and shortly re-appeared with five men, two Mahomedans and three Hindoos (others say 7) ; most of the witnesses implicate in particular one man of the Nana's guard, named Survur Khan (a lover of the Begum's) ; a volley is said to have been fired at random by a few sepoys, but the butchery of the women and children was committed by men sent from the Nana's compound, in executing which they were occupied from 6 P. M. until dark, when the doors of the building were closed for the night.

*Thursday*, 16*th July*.—An accumulation of horrors ends this frightful tragedy, one, if not the most, barbarous on record. Early in the morning the parties who had committed the massacre went to the house, attended by some three or four sweepers, to remove the bodies. On the door being opened, fearful to relate, some three or four ladies and two or three children were found still alive! Oh! who can describe or even picture the agonies they must have endured throughout that awful night, lying wounded on the floor saturated with the blood of their late friends and companions, and surrounded by their mangled bodies, surviving but to meet a still more horrible death than those murdered before their eyes the preceding evening! Scarcely credible is it that any could outlive the horrors of such a night and yet retain their reason, but only too truly would such seem to be the case.

Enviable must have they deemed the lot of their murdered companions when dragged forth together with the bodies of the slain, by the hands of their cruel executioners, they were cast into a dry well that lay close at hand, both living and dead buried in one common hideous sepulture ; and though thousands witnessed this frightful barbarity, not one of them all in pity lifted their hands or voice to stay the cruel deed, or even petition for a more prompt and merciful death for these poor quivering survivors and innocent babes, who, horrible to relate, kept circling round the well pursued by their demon executioners, until caught and cast alive into that yawning grave amongst the mass of dying and dead ! But one consolation (poor though it be) is afforded us in perusing the statements made regarding this period, when Satan may truly be said to have been let loose upon earth, in the conviction which I share in common with others who, like myself, have had to search into the events of this ever memorable mutiny ; the most searching and earnest enquiries totally disprove the unfounded assertion that was at first so frequently made, and so currently believed, that personal indignity and dishonor had been offered to our poor suffering countrywomen.

Deposition No. 1.

Deposition No. 1.

We now turn to their murderers, men who thought to have trodden out in blood the very name of Christian, who with sanguinary hands, and savagely exulting hearts, hastened to the battle field, some of them doubtless determined to do or die, but most as cruel men generally are, craven-hearted, chief of whom was their leader, the Nana, who now for the first time throughout his short and boastful reign, so far braved danger as to appear in the battle field, but vain were the attempts by murderers and perjured men to overcome the raging foe, who had justice and an avenging God on their side. Desperate though they were, knowing this to be their last hope for Cawnpore, the loss of which would shake the rebel

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cause to its base, and though fight they knew they must, and hence fight they did, yet the wrath of God and the curse of man—of the innocent and defenceless—was on their perjured and bloody cause, and speedily were they defeated—as speedily as thoroughly. The British force having advanced towards Cawnpore, came about 2 P. M. within a mile of the enemy's grand battery, situated where the Agra and Cawnpore road branches off. The rebels opened fire, but the British sweeping down on them soon gained possession of their batteries. On reaching the Grand Trunk Road they found the enemy had a battery near the Railway, which was taken by the 64th. The British now collected at a village on the road: the enemy's Cavalry were very bold, and the Infantry under cover of them formed in line. The enemy opened fire from a heavy gun. The 64th advanced and speedily captured it, thus the British remained in possession of the field.

Captain Hudson's Statement.

The cruel craven-hearted Nana lately belching forth pompous and impious edicts from his blood-stained throne, had now, on a horse lathered in foam, to seek safety by a precipitate flight to Bithoor, accompanied only by a few attendant sowars; his hurried passage through Cawnpore giving the lie to a proclamation but just made there by the public crier to the effect that the British had been exterminated, with the exception of 100 men, for whose heads a hundred rupees each would be awarded.

*Friday, 17th July.*—The magazine was blown up by the rebels at about six and a half A. M., and very shortly after the British force marched into Cawnpore, and taking possession of the Cavalry stables for the day, encamped opposite the entrenchments, exactly three weeks after the signing of the treacherous agreement by which the false Nana obtained the evacuation of the entrenchments.

The well-affected to the British Government remained, for whatever may be the generally received opinion, there were such: others again, though formerly disaffected, had been taught, by a fearful lesson, what rapine and lawless rule could effect, as without doubt thousands—aye, and innocent thousands too—suffered deeply as ourselves in the anarchy and rapine which prevailed during the revolt of 1857.

But whether truly loyal or not, many remained to welcome back their former masters, presenting themselves with presents of fruit and flowers and supplies, thus affording a marked contrast to the guilty, who precipitately fled on the approach of the British; even amongst the latter there may possibly have been some influenced by groundless fear alone. I know that terror stalked in grim array before the advancing foe, whose arm was known to be nerved to stern retribution for the enormities inflicted on their race and kindred; but with rare exceptions those who fled did so with a guilty conscience and afterwards slunk back to claim rewards for their asserted loyalty.

We must now proceed to Bithoor, where there still lingered in confinement a Christian woman and her babe, in the power, alas! of a cruel and remorseless foe! Mrs. Carter, the last of those doomed to suffer, had been kept prisoner under a guard of the 7th Cavalry in the old Residency of Bithoor. After passing the perils of child-birth, she seems to have been treated by the Peshwa's widows with consideration, and even with kindness, who possessed the softer and kindlier feelings of woman, kind especially towards a suffering and unfortunate member of their own sex. But to the Nana pity was unknown, revenge precious, even though expended on a weak and helpless woman and her unconscious babe, and though at first overlooking his poor captives whilst occupied in providing for the safety of his own wretched life and valueless property, (in which he was greatly assisted by his old and tried servant Choonnie Singh, placing his treasure, &c., on elephants, and from thence on boats, crossing them to the Oude side by the Teekapore Ghât) the craven-hearted accursed man of blood, remembering her at length as he fled from Bithoor in dread, directed her equally remorseless guard to murder their defenceless captives in cold blood, and forcibly taking with him their kind but powerless protectors and guardians, the Peshwa's widows, he was henceforth no longer seen within the halls of his adopted father.

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# LIST No. 1.

*Names of those who went into the Cawnpore Entrenchments.*

*Names and Rank.*

## A.

Alone, Mr.
Alone, Mrs., (and two children.)
Allen, Doctor.
Allen, Mrs.
Anderson, J. G. Mr., Railway Department.
Anderson, Mrs.
Angelo, F. C. Captain, 16th Native Infantry.
Andrews, Thomas, Quarter Master Sergeant, 1st Native Infantry.
Andrews, Elizabeth Mrs.
Andrews, E. A. Miss.
Andrews, A. Miss.
Ashe, St. G. Lieutenant, Artillery, killed on the 27th June.
Ashburner, Lieutenant, killed on the 6th June.
Armstrong, H. H. Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.

## B.

Baines, J. C. Mr., East India Railway Department.
Baines, Mrs.
Baines, Phillip.
Battine, C. Lieutenant, 14th Native Infantry.
Battine, Mrs.
Barlow, Mr.
Batavia, Martha Miss.
Balfour, M. Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry, supposed to have been killed on 30th June.
Bax, G. Lieutenant, 48th Native Infantry, wounded and died in the entrenchments.
Belson, H. Captain, 53rd Native Infantry.
Belson, Mrs., died of fever.
Belson, Miss.
Bell, Thomas, Serjeant Major, 56th Native Infantry.
Bell, Margaret Mrs., (and three children) killed 15th July.
Berrill, W. Conductor, Commissariat Department.
Berrill, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Berrill, Isabella Miss, killed 15th July.
Berrill, T. A. Mr., East India Railway Department.
Berrill, Henry, ditto.
Bennett, Eliza Miss, killed 15th July.
Beestal, Mrs.
Bisset, Miss.
Blair, Mr.
Blair, Mrs., supposed to have perished on the 15th July.
Blair, Miss, supposed to have been taken prisoner on the 29th June, and to have perished on the 15th July.
Blair, Bella Miss, died of fever in the entrenchments.
Bothwick, Mrs.
Boulton, A. T. Lieutenant, 7th Light Cavalry, killed on the 27th June.
Bowling, J. P. Assistant Surgeon, 56th Native Infantry.

*Names and Rank.*

Bowling, Mrs., (and two children.)
Boyes, W. R. Surgeon, 2nd Light Cavalry, supposed to have perished 30th June.
Boyes, Mrs., supposed to have perished 30th June.
Bridges, O. S. Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Brightman, Miss, died of fever in the entrenchments.
Brierley, Edwin Mr., Electric Telegraph Office.
Brett, Henry Master, killed 15th July.
Brooke, Sergeant, Overseer, Department Public Works.
Brooke, Mrs.
Burn, two Misses, killed 15th July.
Burney, F. W. Lieutenant, Artillery, killed by a round shot 27th June.
Bunny, Mr., Horse-breaker, killed on the 27th June.

## C.

Campbell, Mr.
Campbell, Miss.
Carroll, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Caley, two Masters, killed 15th July.
Carter, Mrs, killed 15th July.
Carmody, Sergeant.
Carmody, Mrs., Milliner.
Chandler, Emma Miss.
Cheeters, Mary, maid servant to Mrs. Prout, killed 15th July.
Chalmers, W. A. Lieutenant, 56th Native Infantry, killed in the entrenchments.
Chalwin, E. G., Vety. Surgeon, 2nd Light Cavalry, killed in the entrenchments.
Chalwin, Mrs., killed on 15th July.
Christie, Henry Mr., Firm of Bathgate and Co.
Christie, Mrs.
Christie, three Misses.
Conway, Miss, killed 15th July.
Cousins, James Master.
Collins, J. R. Mr., Inspector Post Offices.
Collins, J. Mrs.
Colonelly, Mrs.
Cockey, H. E. Reverend.
Collyer, N. Surgeon, 53rd Native Infantry, wounded and died in the entrenchments.
Colgan, Miss, killed 15th July.
Cook, R. B. Mr., Opium Department, Ghazeepoor.
Cook, Mrs., (and family.)
Cox, Mr., late of 1st Fusiliers, killed by a shell in the entrenchments.
Cooper, H. R. Mr., East India Railway Department.
Cooper, Mrs. (and family.) killed 15th July.
Copeman, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Copeland, W. Master.
Crabb, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Cripps, Sophia Eliza, Mrs.
Cummins, Mr., Railway Department, wounded in the entrenchments.
Currie, E. H. Captain, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.

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*Names and Rank.*

## D.

Dallas, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Daniell, M. G. Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry, supposed to have been killed on 30th June.
Darling, Mrs., (and infant.)
Dachey, Mrs., (and infant.)
Darby, Mrs., (and infant,) killed on the 27th June.
Daly, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Davis, Mr., (and four children.)
Dawson, A. Ensign, 53rd Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Delafosse, Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, escaped.
Dempster, C. Lieutenant, Artillery, shot whilst passing from the barracks to the entrenchments.
Dempster, Mrs., (and family.)
DeCruize, Miss.
DeRussett, Mr., Merchant.
DeRussett, Mrs., (and two children.)
Duncan, David Mr., Merchant.
Duncan, Mrs , (and four children.)
Dupton, Mrs., (and three children) killed 15th July.
Dundas, W. Master.
Duffey, Apothecary.

## E.

Eckford, J. A. H. Lieutenant, Artillery, killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Eckford, Mrs.
Elms, E. J. Captain, 1st Native Infantry.
Emmor, William, Apothecary Her Majesty's 32nd.
Emmor, Mrs.
Evans, Mrs., (and two children,) killed by a fall of masonry.
Ewart, John Colonel, 1st Native Infantry, killed on leaving the entrenchments, 27th June.
Ewart, Mrs., (and two children,) ditto ditto.
Ewart, J. H. Lieutenant, 12th Native Infantry.

## F.

Fagan, H. Lieutenant, 56th Native Infantry, killed by a round shot, 27th June.
Fagan, Mr.
Fagan, Mrs., (and family.)
Farmer, Mr., Electric Telegraph Department.
Fairburn, Mrs.
Fenn, Mrs.
Fitzgerald, John Mr.
Fitzgerald, Mary, Margaret, Thomas, and Ellen, killed 15th July.
Forman, J. W. Ensign, 53rd Native Infantry, wounded and supposed to have perished on 27th June.
Forsyth, W., Railway Department.
Fraser, Mrs., supposed to have been taken prisoner 29th June, and subsequently died of fever.
Freeman, Mr.
Frost, Mary Mrs.
Frost, Rebecca Mrs.
Frost, Amelia Miss.
Fulton, Sophia Miss.
Fulton, William Master.

## G.

Dr. C. Garbett, Superintending Surgeon, died of fever in the entrenchments.
Garrett, Mr., Engineer East India Railway.
Galway, Mr., Electric Telegraph Office.
Gee, W. Mr.
Gee, Rose Anne Mrs.
Gibson, Mrs.
Gibson, Miss.
Gill, Mr., School Master.
Gill, Mrs., (and four children) killed 15th July.
Gilpin, Mr.
Gilpin, Sarah Mrs., (and three children.)
Gladwin. H. Sergeant Major, 2nd Cavalry.
Glanville, G. J. Lieutenant, 2nd Fusiliers, killed by a round shot, 27th June.
Glasgow, two Misses.
Goad, C. R. Lieutenant, 56th Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Goodwin, Mr., Electric Telegraph Office.
Gordon, W., Quarter Master Sergeant, 53rd Native Infantry.
Gordon, Mrs., (and two children.)
Green, Pensioner.
Green, Mrs.
Green, Edward and Susan.
Grey, Sub-Engineer Department Public Works.
Grey, Mrs.
Greenway, Rose Anne Mrs.
Greenway, Edward Mr., Merchant.
Greenway, Mrs.
Greenway, Francis.
Greenway, Leah and Martha, killed 15th July.
Greenway, Louisa Miss.
Greenway, Henry.
Greenway, Jane, killed 15th July.
Greenway, Fred.
Greenway, Mary, killed 15th July.
Greenway, Samuel Mr., Merchant.
Greenway, Mrs., (and infant.)
Greenway, Anne and Rosaline.
Grinsey, Mrs.
Gum, Mr., East India Railway.
Guthrie, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Guthrie, Catherine Miss, killed 15th July.

## H.

Harrison, J. H. Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry, killed on 28th June.
Harris, P. H. Dr., Civil Surgeon, killed on the 27th June.
Harris, Mrs.
Hagan, Mrs.
Harkness, Mrs., (and child,) School Mistress.
Halliday, W. L. Captain, 56th Native Infantry, shot between the entrenchments and barracks.
Halliday Mrs., (and child) died of small pox.
Haycock, Revd. Mr., died in the entrenchments.
Haycock, Mrs.
Haycock, Mr., Watch-maker.
Haycock, Mrs.
Hay, J. D. Mr., Merchant.
Hay, Mrs., (and three children.)
Hanna, Mr., Assistant Engineer, East India Railway.
Hampton, Miss.
Hefferan, Assistant Apothecary, 1st Company 6th Battalion Artillery.
Heberden, M. C. Mr., wounded and supposed to have perished 27th June.
Heron, Serjeant Major, 1st Native Infantry.
Heron, Mrs., (and two children.)

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*Names and Rank.*

Henderson, J. W. Ensign, 56th Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Henderson, E. Mr., drowned on the 27th June.
Hillersdon, W. R. Major, 53rd Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Hillersdon, C. G., Magistrate and Collector, killed by a round shot.
Hillersdon, Mrs., (and two children,) died of fever.
Hillings, Sergeant.
Hillings, Lydia Mrs., (and a son.)
Hill, E. C. Ensign, H. M's. 32nd Regiment.
Hill, Mary Mrs., killed 15th July.
Holmes, Elizabeth Miss, killed 15th July.

**J.**

Jack, Alex., C. B., Brigadier, died of fever in the entrenchments.
Jack, Mr., killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Jackson, P. H. Lieutenant, 67th Native Infantry.
Jackson, Jane Amelia Mrs., supposed to have perished 15th July.
James, William Mr., Merchant.
James, Mrs.
Jacobie, Fred., Coach-builder.
Jacobie, Henry, Watch-maker, killed by a shell in the entrenchments.
Jacobie, Mrs. (and two children,) supposed to have been killed 15th July.
Jackford, Mrs.
Jellico, F. G. Captain, 53rd Native Infantry, killed 27th June.
Jellico, Mrs., (and two children,) died of fever in the entrenchments.
Jenkins, R. U. Captain, 2nd Light Cavalry, died from wounds in the entrenchments.
Jervis, S. C. Lieutenant, Engineers, shot whilst passing from the barracks to the entrenchments.
Jones, Mr.
Jones, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Johnstone, A. R. Mr., East India Railway Department.
Johnstone, Mrs., (and children) killed 15th July.

**K.**

Keeler, Mrs.
Kelly, Sergeant, Department Public Works.
Kelly, Mrs., (and child.)
Kempland, G. Captain, 56th Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Kempland, Mrs., (and three children,) ditto ditto ditto.
Kinleside, Mrs., (and two children,) killed 15th July.
Kight, Mrs., (and two children.)
Kirk, Mrs., Senior.
Kirk, John, Mr.
Kirk, Mrs., (and two children,) killed 15th July.
Kirkpatrick, Mr., Merchant.
Kirkpatrick, Mrs., (and infant.)

**L.**

Latouche, H. Mr., Assistant Engineer East India Railway.
Larkins, G. Major, Artillery.
Larkins, Mrs., (and two children).

*Names and Rank.*

Lake, Quarter Master Serjeant, 56th Native Infantry.
Lake, Mrs.
Lawrence, John Mr, East India Railway.
Lawrence, Mrs., (and three children.)
Leary, Mrs., (and two children).
Leath, Miss
Lewis, James, Master, killed 15th July.
Lindsay, W. Major, Assistant Adjutant General, died from wounds in the entrenchments on 18th June.
Lindsay, W. Mrs., died in the entrenchments 17th June.
Lindsay, Caroline Miss, killed 15th July.
Lindsay, Francis Miss, supposed to have perished 15th July.
Lindsay, Alice Miss, died in captivity on the 9th July.
Lindsay, G. Ensign, 1st Native Infantry, killed on the 27th June.
Lindsay, G. Mrs., died in captivity 12th July.
Little, Mr. Merchant
Lyell, Lucy Miss, killed 15th July.

**M.**

Mackillop, J. Mr., Civil Service, shot whilst drawing water at the well.
MacAuley, P., Assistant Surgeon, Artillery.
MacCullen, Master.
Maclanders, Sergeant Department Public Works.
Maclanders, Mrs., (and infant.)
MacMahon, Thos., Sergeant, Major, 53rd Native Infantry.
MacMahon, Ann Mrs., (and four children.)
Mackinnon, Mrs.
Macmoran, two Misses.
Master, G. A. Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, taken prisoner at Sheorajpoor on the 29th June, and supposed to have died that day.
Manderson, N. I. Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry, died in the entrenchments.
Martin, J. W. Lieutenant, Artillery.
Maxwell, Mr., Deputy Opium Agent.
Martindell, N. Miss.
Mark, Ellen Miss.
Manville, Conductor Ordnance Department.
Manville, Mrs., (and four children).
Miller, A. Mr., Engineer East India Railway.
Morfett, Jane Mrs., killed 15th July.
Moncrieff, E. T. R. Revd., killed 27th June.
Moncrieff, Mrs., (and child,) killed 27th June.
Moore, J. Captain, Her Majesty's 32nd, killed 27th June.
Moore, Mrs., (and children,) supposed to have perished 15th July.
Morris, W. L. G. Lieutenant, 56th Native Infantry.
Murphy, Mr., East India Railway, murdered on the 6th June.
Murray, Drum Major.

**N.**

Nelson, Mr.
Newenham, A. W. R., Surgeon, 1st Native Infantry.
Newenham, Mrs., died of fever in the entrenchments.
Newenham, Arthur and Charlotte, died in the entrenchments.

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*Names and Rank.*

North, W. Mr.
Norris, Mrs.

**O.**

O'Brien, James Mr.
O'Brien, Mrs.
O'Brien, Mrs. J. L. (and son) killed 15th July.
O'Connor, Miss, killed 15th July.
Ogle, Mr., Ganges Canal Department.
Ogle, Mrs., (and six children.)
Osburne, Mrs.

**P.**

Parker, G. Sir, Cantonment Joint Magistrate, died of sun-stroke in the entrenchments.
Palmer, Fred. Mr.
Palmer, Henry Mr.
Parker, Sergeant, Overseer of Roads.
Peake, C. Mr., Electric Telegraph Department.
Peel, Mrs., (and son.) killed 15th July.
Peters, Mr., Apothecary.
Peters, Mrs., (and her sister,) killed 15th July.
Pistol, Harriet Miss, killed 15th July.
Pogson, Mrs.
Prole, W. G. Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, wounded and died in the entrenchments.
Prout, W. R. Major, 56th Native Infantry, died of sun-stroke in the entrenchments.
Prout, Mrs., supposed to have perished on the 15th July.
Purcell, Mr., Merchant.
Purcell, Mrs., (and son.)
Price, Mr., Pensioner.
Probett, Mr.
Probett, Mrs., (and three children,) killed 15th July.

**Q.**

Quin, R. O. Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry, died of fever in the entrenchments.
Quin, C. W. ditto ditto, supposed to have been taken prisoner on the 29th June at Sheorajpoor, and killed on the 30th at Cawnpore.

**R.**

Ramsay, Mr., Electric Telegraph Department.
Redman, F. Lieutenant, 1st Native Infantry, killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Reilly, Conductor, Deputy Assistant Commissary of Ordnance.
Reilly, Mrs., (and children.)
Reilly, Mr., Overseer of Roads.
Reid, George Mr., Merchant.
Reid, G. Mrs., (and six children,) killed 15th July.
Reid, William Sergeant, Bazar Sergeant.
Reid, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Reid, Nixon Mr., Pensioner.
Reynolds, J. H. Captain, 53rd Native Infantry, killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Reynolds, Mrs. (and child) wounded and died of fever in the entrenchments.
Ricketts, Mr., East India Railway Department.
Roach, Mr., Post Master.
Robinson, Mr., East India Railway Department.
Roberts, Mrs.

*Names and Rank.*

Rooney, Joseph, the Revd., Roman Catholic Priest, supposed to have perished 27th June.
Russell, Mrs, killed 15th July.
Russell, Eliza Miss, ditto.
Ryan, Serjeant.
Ryan, Mrs., (and three children.)

**S.**

Satchwell, R. M. Lieutenant, 1st Native Infantry, died of wounds on 28th June.
Saunders, T. J. G. Lieutenant, H. M. 84th, supposed to have been killed on the 30th June.
Saunders, Mrs., (and son.) killed 15th July.
Seppings, E. J. Captain, 2nd Light Cavalry, wounded and taken prisoner on the 29th June at Sheorajpore, and supposed to have been killed on the 30th.
Seppings, Mrs., (and two children,) ditto ditto ditto, 15th July.
Scott, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Schorn, John Mr., Merchant.
Sherman, Mr., Merchant.
Shore, Mrs.
Sinclair, Mr., East India Railway Department.
Sinclair, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Simpson, Henry and William.
Shaw, Mr.
Sheridan, N. Mr., Merchant.
Sheridan, Mrs., (and two children,) killed 15th July.
Shepherd, Ellen Mrs., (and two children.)
Shepherd, Daniel Mr.
Slane, Mr., Assistant Apothecary.
Sliven, Mr.
Smith, H. S. Captain, 1st Native Infantry, killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Smith, Mr., East India Railway Department.
Spiers, David, Band Sergeant 53rd Native Infantry.
Stacey, W. H. Mr., Deputy Collector.
Stanley, Mr.
Stoke, Lucy and William.
Stowell, Margaret Miss.
Supple, J. C. Ensign, 1st Native Infantry, killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Swinton, Mrs. (and three children) killed by a round shot 27th June.
Swan, Sergeant, Ganges Canal Department.

**T.**

Tibbetts, Mrs., killed 15th July.
Thomson, M. Lieutenant, 56th Native Infantry, escaped.
Thomson, Apothecary H. M.'s 32nd.
Tomkins, Mrs., Milliner.
Tresham, Mrs.
Tritton, Mr.
Turner, A. Captain, 1st Native Infantry, killed on the 29th June.
Turner, Mrs. (and child.) died of fever.
Turnbull, A. M. Captain, 13th Native Infantry.
Twooney, Mr., Apothecary.
Twooney, Mrs., (and child.)
Tress, Francis, Quarter Master Serjeant 2nd Light Cavalry.
Tress, Elizabeth Mrs.

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*Names and Rank.*

**V.**

Vaughan, Mr., Merchant.
Vibart, Edward Major, 2nd Cavalry, wounded and taken prisoner on 29th June at Sheorajpore, supposed to have died that day.
Vibart, Mrs., (and children.)
Virgin, J. Mr., East India Railway Department.
Virgin, Mrs.
Vincent, T. M. Lieutenant, H. M.'s 8th Foot.
Viscarde, Mr., East India Railway Department.

**W.**

Warde, H. J. G. Lieutenant, 56th Native Infantry, killed on 27th June.

Wainwright, T. Lieutenant, H. M.'s 32nd.
Wainwright, Mrs.
Wainwright, Miss.
Wallet, Miss.
Warden, Geo. Mr., East India Railway Department.
Walsh, Mr., ditto.
Walsh, Mrs., (and children.)
Walsh, D. Mr., Riding Master 2nd Cavalry.
Walsh, Mrs. (and children.)
Warren, Sergeant, Pensioner.
Wade, Francis Leonora Mrs., H. M.'s 44th, died of fever in the entrenchments.
Walker, A. Mrs., (and son.)
Wells, Mr., Coach Builder.
Wells, Mrs., (and children.)
West, Elizabeth Mrs., (and two children,) killed 15th July.
Wheeler, Major General Sir Hugh, K. C. B.
Wheeler, Lady.
Wheeler, Miss.

*Names and Rank.*

Wheeler, E. Miss.
Wheeler, G. R. Lieutenant, 1st Native Infantry, killed by a round shot in the entrenchments.
Whitings, F. Captain, Engineers, killed on the 28th June.
White, Isabella Miss, killed 15th July.
Wheelan, Sergeant, Department Public Works.
Wheelan, Mrs., (and children.)
Widlep, Catherine, Jane and Thomas.
Wiggins, E. Lieutenant Colonel, 53rd Native Infantry, Deputy Judge Advocate General, killed on the 27th June.
Wiggins, Mrs., died on the 12th June.
Willis, Mrs., (and one child,) died on the 19th June.
Williams, Stephen Colonel, 56th Native Infantry, died from sun-stroke, 8th June.
Williams, M. Mrs., killed on 27th June.
Williams, Georgiana Miss, killed on the 27th June.
Williams, Mary Miss, killed in the entrenchments on the 15th June.
Williams, Fanny Miss, killed on the 15th July.
Williamson, W. Captain, Deputy Assistant Commissary General.
Williamson, Mrs., (and child.)
Wilkinson, Mr.
Wilkinson, Mrs., (and child.)
Wren, F. S. M. Lieutenant, 2nd Light Cavalry.
Wrixon, R. B. Mr.
Wrixon, Mrs., (and two children) killed 15th July.
Wrixon, Edward Bolton Master, ditto.

**Y.**

Yates, Mrs.

*Names of those who are supposed to have perished outside the Entrenchments.*

*Names and Rank.*

**A.**

Auchin, (Chinaman,) Shoemaker.

**C.**

Carter, J. Mr., Toll Collector of Sheorajpore, killed 10th June at Cawnpore.
Carter, Mrs., killed on the 17th July at Bithoor.

**D.**

DeGama, J. X. Mr., Merchant.
Duncan, John Mr., Superintendent of Roads, killed at Jana on the 10th June.

*Names and Rank.*

**G.**

Greenway, Thomas Mr., Merchant, killed 15th July.
Greenway, Mrs.

**H.**

Hollings, Captain, killed at Nujjufgurh on the 9th June.
Jacobi, Mrs.
Mackintosh, Charles Mr., Merchant, killed on the 6th June.
Mackintosh, Charlotte Mrs., ditto ditto.
Mackintosh, Joshua Alfred, Mr., ditto ditto.
Maloney, Pensioner.
Maling, G. W. Mr.
Maling, John Mr.
Marshall, William Mrs.
Williams, Edward Mrs.

*European Troops composing the English portion of the Cawnpore Garrison and who were killed between the 6th and 30th June* 1857.

*1st Company 6th Battalion Artillery.*

Bestal, Sergeant Major.
Caweult, Quarter Master Sergeant.
Murlow, Drill Sergeant.

Beatie, Sergeant.
Darvin, ditto.
Donoghue, ditto.
Dogherty, ditto.
Dunseeth, ditto.

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Edmundson, Sergeant.
Farrell, ditto.
Fallon, ditto.
Owen, ditto.
Connolly, Corporal.
Glenny, John, ditto.
Glenny, Joseph, ditto.
Lynch, ditto.
Ryans, Anthony, ditto.
Ryans, Patrick, ditto.
Scott, ditto.
Service, ditto.
Smith, ditto.
Burke, Bombardier.
Norris, ditto.
North, ditto.
Beezley, Gunner.
Burke, ditto.
Blake, ditto.
Bleenan, ditto.
Brozington, ditto.
Caruthers, ditto.
Clegy, ditto.
Corkill, ditto.
Cullen, ditto.
Gough, ditto.
Hutchinson, ditto.
Jackson, ditto.
Keane, ditto.
Kelly, ditto.
Kenny, ditto.
Mackinlay, ditto,
McConnel, ditto.
McGuire, ditto.
Maloney, ditto,
Mangain, ditto.
Mitchell, ditto.
Morrissy, ditto.
Morton, ditto.
O'Dwyer, ditto.
Pearce, ditto.
Porter, ditto.
Reiley, ditto.
Rogers, ditto.
Sullivans, James, ditto, escaped.
Sullivans, Fin, ditto.
Thompson, ditto.
Ward, ditto,
Whelan, ditto.
Webster, ditto.
Warrell, Bugler.

*Detachment of H. M. 32nd Regiment.*

*4th Company.*

Johnson, Color Sergeant.

*Grenadier Company.*

Coyle, Corporal.
Adcock, Private.
Ashton, ditto.
Carroll, ditto.
Clarke, ditto.
Corrigan, ditto.
Lyons, ditto.
Mulrae, ditto.

*1st Company.*

Hawkins, Private.
McGrarry, ditto.
McGoverin, ditto.
Murdough, ditto.
Noble, ditto.
Potter, ditto.
Sharpe, ditto.
Toms, ditto.
Brownley, Sergeant.

*2nd Company.*

Dowling, Private.
Keane, ditto.
Magee, ditto.
Overmars, ditto.
Payme, Vincent, ditto.
Payme, Patrick, ditto.
White, ditto.

*3rd Company.*

Lonnergan, Sergeant.
Bannister, Private.
Gom, ditto.
Lees, ditto.
Lovello, ditto.
Widdowson, ditto.

*4th Company.*

Maber, Sergeant.
Patterson, ditto.
Goldsmith, Corporal.
Moberly, ditto.
Wood, Drummer.
Dobson, Private.
Farrell, ditto.
Galway, ditto.
Green, ditto.
Hindes, ditto.
Holland, ditto.
Johnson, ditto.
Revin, ditto.
Prout, ditto.
Shammy, ditto.
Sommers, ditto.
Stokes, ditto.
Telleson, ditto.
Toole, ditto.
Turrell, ditto.
Wagstaff, ditto.
Woolley, ditto.

*5th Company.*

Maywood, Sergeant.
Price, Corporal,
Butler, Private.
Cagley, ditto,
Haggerty, ditto.

*6th Company.*

D'Oyley, Corporal.
Brogan, Private.
Cassey, ditto.
Connell, ditto.
Harper, ditto.
Kelly, ditto.
Reynolds, ditto.
Stoney, ditto.
Wellington, ditto.

*7th Company.*

Stacey, Sergeant.
Barrister, Private.
Brown, ditto.
Morgan, ditto.
Stillington, ditto.
Turner, ditto.

*8th Company.*

Hopkins, Private.
Lelland, ditto.
Lansdale, ditto.
Murphy, ditto.
Pestel, ditto.
Tritton, ditto.

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*Detachment of Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.*

| *Names and Rank.* | *Names and Rank.* |
|---|---|
| *Light Company.* | Geuld, Private. |
| Collins, Private. | Higgins, ditto. |
| Purdee, ditto. | Hallas, ditto. |
| Reddington, ditto. | Hunt, ditto. |
| Muloelut, Sergeant. | Jackson, ditto. |
| Gready, ditto. | Leonard, ditto. |
| Gilder, ditto. | Lynch, ditto. |
| O'Keefe, Corporal. | Loveday, ditto. |
| Henigan, ditto. | Athem, ditto. |
| Bentley, ditto. | Mace, ditto. |
| Brooke, Private. | Mallinson, ditto. |
| Dowal, ditto. | Martin, ditto. |
| Glynn, ditto. | Mahon, ditto. |
| Leaky, ditto. | McCalla, ditto. |
| McKamer, ditto. | McIntyre, ditto. |
| Cole, ditto. | McNavi, ditto. |
| Drum, ditto. | Murphy, ditto, escaped |
| Duggan, ditto. | Neeves, ditto. |
| Butter, ditto. | Norris, ditto. |
| Condry, ditto. | Ryan, ditto. |
| Dunn, ditto. | Scott, ditto. |
| Eaton, ditto. | Taylor, ditto. |
| Fish, ditto. | Reilly, John, ditto. |
| Faller, ditto. | Reilly, Lawrence ditto. |
| Gamon, ditto. | Woodsworth, ditto. |

*Detachment 1st Madras European Fusiliers.*

| *Names and Rank.* | *Names and Rank.* |
|---|---|
| McGrath, Sergeant. | Price, Private. |
| Bussey, Corporal. | Phillips, ditto. |
| Nolleth, Private. | Prescott, ditto. |
| Over, ditto. | Ready, ditto. |
| O'Brien, ditto. | Sullwan, ditto. |
| O'Neill, ditto. | Stewart, ditto. |
| Pike, ditto. | Walker, ditto. |
| Pike, 2nd, ditto. | |

*Names of women of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment and number of their Children.*

| *Names of Women.* | *No. of Children.* | *Names of Women.* | *No. of Children.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mary Carrol, | ... 1 | Susanna Pratchell, | ... |
| Mary Carrigan, | ... 1 | Mary Butter, | ... 1 |
| Sarah Coyle, | ... 1 | Eliza Magood, | ... 3 |
| Margareth Mulrai, | ... 1 | Elizabeth Pue, | ... 1 |
| Mary Noble, | ... 1 | Ellen Cogley, | ... |
| Diana Potter, | ... 1 | Maria Cassey, | ... 2 |
| Frances Brownley, | ... 2 | Ellen Connell, | ... 1 |
| Mary Keane, | ... 2 | Mary Kelly, | ... 1 |
| Martha Maggan, | ... 2 | Honor Stoney, | ... |
| Emma Payne, | ... 2 | Elizabeth Doyle, | ... 1 |
| Mary White, | ... 2 | Mary Burne, | ... 1 |
| Maria Payne, | ... 1 | Bridget Brown, | ... |
| Bridget Gomm, | ... 2 | Margarett Stacey, | ... 3 |
| Catherine Less, | ... 1 | Susanna Holloway, | ... |
| Anne Lovell, | ... 1 | Louisa Pestel, | ... 2 |
| Bridget Widdowson, | ... 1 | Catherine Lonsdale, | ... |
| Agnes Johnson, | ... 1 | Dorcass Fulton, | ... |
| Rosa Mahser, | ... | Margarett Collins, | ... |
| Harriet Patterson, | ... | Sarah Pinder, | ... 1 |
| Margarett Jool, | ... 1 | Catherine Reddington, | ... 2 |
| Jane Furrall, | ... | | |

Add orphans and other children, 18, whose fathers were at Lucknow.

*Musicians of Native Corps and their families, 1st Regiment Native Infantry.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Ballard, John, Drum Major. | Mendes, Henry, Drummer, escaped. |
| Hach, Benjamin, Fife Major. | Pariera, J., ditto. |
| Warcoat, J. C., Bugler. | Allen, W., ditto. |
| Ollenback, F. E., Drummer. | Allen, G., ditto. |
| Ollenback, John, ditto. | Hook, B., ditto. |
| Ollenback, Eliza, and four children. | Moore, J., ditto. |
| Ballard, T., Drummer. | William, A., ditto. |
| Ballard, John, ditto. | Toderick, W. A., ditto. |
| Morey, R. D., ditto. | Toderick, Jane. |
| Phillip, J., ditto. | Baptist, G., Drummer. |

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*53rd Regiment Native Infantry.*

Peters, Samuel, Drum Major.
Toone, Joseph, Fife Major.
Elliott, H., Drummer.
Elliott, C., ditto.
Elliott, W., ditto.
Elliott, L., ditto.
Spiers, J., Drummer.
Toone, J., ditto.
Peters S., ditto
Arthelene, P., ditto.
Sarges, C., ditto.
Names of women and children not known.

*56th Regiment Native Infantry.*

Alburke, Joseph, Drum Major.
Mearse, Alex. G., Fife Major.
Alburke, J., Drummer.
Alburke, H., ditto.
Bradshaw, Robert, ditto.
Bradshaw, Mrs., escaped.
Bradshaw, Emelia, ditto.
Bradshaw, John, Drummer.
Bradshaw, Mrs., wife to ditto.
Bradshaw, Ellen, escaped.
Bradshaw, Eliza.
Peters John, Drummer.
Murray, Benjamin, ditto, escaped.
Pekhoo, John, Drummer.
John, Benjamin, ditto.
Letts, John, ditto.
Letts, Elizabeth, escaped.
Letts, Eliza, ditto.
Letts, Caroline, ditto.
Letts, Rachel, ditto.
DeCruze, J., Drummer.
Pynah, R., ditto.
Massey, F., ditto.
Murray, John, Pensioned Drum Major.
Murray, Mrs., escaped.

NOTE.—I am indebted for the above Lists to Mr. Shepherd, one of the survivors of the Cawnpore Garrison. In it however some trifling corrections have been made from information afforded by the evidence collected.

## LIST No. 2.

*Names of those who left Futtehgurh on the 4th June 1857, and are supposed to have perished at Cawnpore, on the 12th of that month.*

*Names and Rank.*

Alexander, Mr.
Brierly, J. Mr., Clerk Collector's office.
Brierly, J. Mrs., (and two children.)
Brierly, R. Mr., Boat Agent.
Brierly, R. Mrs. (and one child.)
Brierly, E. Miss.
Brierly, F. Miss.
Billington, Mr. Clerk.
Campbell, D. E. Revd. American Mission.
Campbell, Mrs., (and two children.)
Catania, W. Mr , Inspector of Post Office.
Catania, A. Mrs., (and one child.)
Cawood, C. Mr., Clothing Agency.
Cawood, Mrs., (and two children.)
Elliot, Mr., Superintendent of Duleep Singh's Estate.
Elliot, Mrs., (and five children.)
Freeman, J. E. Revd. American Mission.
Freeman, Mrs.
Finlay, Mr., clothing Agency Depôt.
Finlay, Mrs., (and two children.)
Finlay, Miss.
Faulknor, Pensioner.
Guise, Mr., Indigo Planter.
Guise, Mrs.
Hammond, Sergeant Gun Agency Depot.
Hammond, Mrs., (and four children.)
Ives, J. Mr., Merchant, wounded by a matchlock ball at Koossarpore.
Ives, Mrs., killed by a cannon shot on the 11th June.
Ives, Miss.
Johnson, A. O. Revd., American Mission.

*Names and Rank.*

Johnson, Mrs.
Joyce, J. Mr., Merchant.
Joyce, Mrs., (and four children.)
Kew, J. B. Mr., Post Master.
Kew, Maria Mrs., (and two children.)
Kew, Miss.
McMullen, J. Revd., American Mission.
McMullen, Mrs.
Maclean, Mr.
Maclean, Mrs.
Macklin, Mr., Clerk Collector's Office.
Macklin, Mrs., (and eight children.)
Macdonald Mrs., (and three children.)
Madden, J. R. Mr., Clothing Agency Depôt.
Madden, Mrs., (and two children.)
Madden, Eliza Miss.
Madden, Amelia Miss.
Monckton, J. R. Lieutenant, Engineers.
Monckton, Mrs., (and one child.)
Palmer, J. Mr., Deputy Collector.
Palmer, Mrs., (and eight children.)
Ray, R. Miss.
Ray, E. Miss.
Sheils, Mr., School Master.
Sheils, Mrs., (and two children.)
Shepherd, E. Mrs., (and three children.)
Shepherd, Mary Miss.
Waresaw, Robert Mr.
The head Tailor of the Clothing Agency, (name unknown) with his wife and three children.

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# LIST No. 3.

At 2 A. M. of the 4th of July, three boats left Futtehgurh. The one in charge of Colonel G. Smith being disabled, the inmates were distributed in the two remaining boats. Whilst passing Singerampore, Major Robertson's boat grounded, its occupants were attacked and all killed or drowned with the exception of Major Robertson, (since deceased,) Messrs. D. Churcher and Jones. All those whose deaths are entered under date 4th July, at Singerampore, were in Major Robertson's boat. The remaining boat reached Bithoor on the 9th of July, the inmates were sent in to Cawnpore, and the gentlemen killed on the 10th or 11th with the exception of Colonels Goldie and Smith and Mr. Thornhill. Judge, who were spared with the ladies and children till the 15th July, when they perished in the massacre of that day. Those whose deaths are entered under date 10th and 15th July at Cawnpore, were in Colonel Smith's boat.

*Names of those who left Futtehgurh on the 4th July* 1857.

*Names and Rank.*

Churcher, D. Mr., Merchant, escaped.

Churcher, T. H. Mr., Merchant, killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Eckford, R. Ensign, 10th Native Infantry, ditto ditto.

Fisher, T. Revd., killed below Singerampore.

Fisher, Mrs. (and child,) drowned at Singerampore.

Fitzgerald, H. Lieutenant, 10th Native Infantry, killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Fitzgerald, Mrs. (and child,) ditto ditto.

Gibson, Mr., Road Overseer, ditto ditto.

Gibson, Mrs., (and three children,) ditto ditto.

Goldie, A. Colonel, Military Auditor General, killed at Cawnpore, 15th July

Goldie, Mrs., ditto ditto.

Goldie, Eliza Miss, ditto ditto.

Goldie, Mary Miss, ditto ditto.

Goldie, Emily Miss, killed on the way to Cawnpore.

Henderson, D. Ensign, 10th Native Infantry, killed at Cawnpore, 10th July.

Heathcote, T. G. Dr., 10th Native Infantry, ditto ditto.

Heathcote, Mrs., killed on the 15th July.

Jones, Mr. Junior, Merchant, escaped.

Knowles, Drummer, 10th Native Infantry, ditto.

Knowles, Mrs., (and three children,) killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Lowis, R. N. Mr., Joint Magistrate, ditto ditto.

Lowis, Mrs., (and two children,) ditto ditto.

Lang, Nancy Miss, killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

Munro, R. Major, 10th Native Infantry, ditto ditto 10th July.

Maltby, J. Dr., Civil Surgeon, ditto on the 10th July.

Maltby, Mrs., ditto on the 15th July.

Phillismore, W. Captain, 10th Native Infantry, killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Phillott, Brevet Major, 10th Native Infantry, killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

*Names and Rank.*

Robertson, A. Brevet Major, Artillery, died from wounds on the 19th September.

Robertson, Mrs. (and child,) drowned at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Redman, Serjeant Major, 10th Native Infantry, killed ditto ditto.

Redman, Mrs., (and two children,) ditto ditto.

Roach, Mr., Road Overseer, killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

Roach, Mrs., ditto, on the 15th July.

Roban, Mr., Gun-carriage Agency, killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

Roban, Mrs., ditto ditto 15th July.

Simpson, J. Lieutenant, 10th Native Infantry, killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Sutherland, Mr., Merchant, ditto ditto.

Sutherland, Mrs., taken prisoner at Singerampore and killed at Futtehgurh.

Sutherland, Miss, ditto ditto.

Sutherland, E. Miss, ditto ditto.

Sutherland, M. Miss, killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Sweetenham, C. W. Lieutenant, 10th Native Infantry, killed at Cawnpore on the 10th July.

Smith, G. A. Colonel, 10th Native Infantry, killed on the 15th July.

Smith, Mrs., (and one child,) ditto ditto.

Thomson, E. Miss, killed at Singerampore on the 4th July.

Thornhill, M. B. Mr., Judge, killed at Cawnpore on the 15th July.

Thornhill, Mrs., (and two children,) ditto ditto.

Tucker, Mrs., (and four children,) ditto ditto.

Vibart, E. C. Captain, 2nd Cavalry, ditto on the 10th July.

Wrixen, W. M. Musician, 10th Native Infantry, ditto ditto.

Woolgar, Mrs., (and three children,) killed on the 15th July.

O'Hern, Mr., Clothing Agency, killed on the 10th July.

O'Hern, Mrs., ditto 15th July.

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*Names of those who left Futtehgurh with the above, but whose fate is uncertain.*

Best, Mr.
Best, Mrs , (and two children.)
Bosco, Mr., Pensioner.
Donald, Mr., Senior.
Donald, Mr., Junior.
Jons, Mr., Civil Engineer.
Jons, Mrs. (and family.)
Jennings, Mr.
Jennings, Mrs., (and five children.)
Law, W. Brevet Captain, 10th Native Infantry.
Whish, E. Lieutenant, 10th Native Infantry.
Reade, Quarter Master Serjeant, 10th Native Infantry.
Reade, Mrs., (and three children.)

* NOTE.—I am indebted to Mr. D. Churcher, one of the survivors, for information respecting the two parties who left Futtehgurh on the 4th June and 4th July 1857.

## LIST No. 4.

*Names of individuals who entered the Entrenchment and ultimately escaped.*

| *Names and Rank.* | *Names and Rank.* |
|---|---|
| Thomson, M., Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, escaped to Morir Mhow, after the massacre of the 27th June. | Bradshaw, Amelia, ditto ditto. |
| Delafosse, H., Lieutenant, 53rd Native Infantry, ditto ditto. | Bradshaw, Ellen, ditto, (deceased 5th June 1858) ditto. |
| Murphy, Private, Her Majesty's 86th, ditto ditto. | Letts, Elizabeth, Mrs., ditto ditto. |
| Sullivan, Gunner, Artillery, ditto ditto. | Letts, Caroline, ditto ditto. |
| Mendes, W., Drummer, 1st Native Infantry, taken prisoner on the 15th June, and liberated 17th July. | Letts, Michael, ditto, (deceased 27th April 1859,) ditto. |
| Shepherd, W. Mr., Commissariat Department, ditto 24th June, ditto. | Mary Ann, Ayah, ditto, and remained secreted in the City. |
| Horne, Emma, ditto ditto, 27th June, since liberated. | Khoda Buksh, Jemadar, 56th Native Infantry, taken prisoner on the 27th June, and liberated 17th July. |
| Morrieson, Eliza, ditto ditto. | Elahee Buksh, Sepoy, ditto ditto. |
| Spiers, Hannah, ditto, liberated 17th July. | Gobind Singh, ditto ditto. |
| Spiers, Elizabeth, ditto ditto. | Mitter Jeet, ditto ditto. |
| Spiers, Isabella, ditto ditto. | Sahib Dad Khan, Native Doctor, ditto ditto. |
| Murray, Mrs., wounded on the 27th June and saved by natives. | Mahomed Gous, Sepoy, 56th Native Infantry, left the entrenchment on the 23rd June by order of General Wheeler, to gain information, and remained secreted in the City till 17th July. |
| Bradshaw, Eliza, Mrs., escaped unhurt on the 27th June, and saved by Natives. | |

## LIST No. 5.

*Residents of Cawnpore who did not enter the Entrenchment and yet escaped by the aid of Natives.*

| *Names and Rank.* | *Names and Rank.* |
|---|---|
| Abel, G., Pensioner. | Jones, Stephen, Mr. |
| Abel, Mrs., (and two children.) | Jones, Mrs. |
| Buttress, Thomas, Pensioner. | Jacobi, Isabella Mrs. |
| Buttress, Mrs. | Lowther, Eliza. |
| Brown, Margaret Mrs., (and child.) | Maling, Thomas. |
| Ambrose, Farnon Mrs. | Maling, Margaret. |
| Forrester, William, Pensioner. | Macmullen, Mrs., (and child.) |
| Greenway, Charles Mrs. | Waterfield, Mrs., (and child.) |
| Ireland, J., Pensioner. | Williams, E. Mr. |
| Ireland, Mrs. | |

NOTE.—The parties named above have been traced and prove that many more escaped than was generally supposed to have been the case, and though the greater number are Eurasians, yet the fact of their being Christians would alone have sufficed to peril the lives of their protectors.

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# TRANSLATION

OF A

# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT CAWNPORE.

The composer of this narrative, an humble but loyal subject of the State, Nanukchund by name, is an inhabitant of Cawnpore, and in testimony of his attachment to the Government, he has recorded the following account of the disturbances, taken part in by traitors, in the hope that the authorities will be gratified by its perusal. The writer has been a well-wisher of the Government from the commencement, and has received at its hands much kindness and distinction. When Bajee Rao, Peishwa, died, and the Nana, budmash, placed the Peishwa's widows in confinement, the agents of the said widows came to the writer for assistance, and he, in the first instance, induced the said agents to file a regular complaint on behalf of those ladies. These men fought out the case with the local Government and the authorities in England, for a considerable period. The correctness of this statement will be manifest from a proceeding recorded by the Lieutenant Governor, which is still in the writer's possession. Meanwhile, the Nana, of hateful memory, caused the elder daughter of the Baee Sahib, a widow of Bajee Rao, to be married to a son of one Putpurdhun, but refused to let her join her husband, and indeed put her to death, by means which cannot with decency be recorded. The agents, who used to visit the writer, complained about her death, but owing to Mr. M., then Magistrate and Officiating Commissioner of Bithoor, they obtained no redress, that officer having been on friendly terms with the Nana. Complaints regarding these occurrences were carried forward as far as England, and the agents, who were employed in doing so, are still in existence. Shortly after, Chunnajee Rao, eldest son of Chunnajee Rao, senior, brother of Bajee Rao, came and assured the writer, that he was rightful proprietor of one-half of all the real and personal property of Bajee Rao, and afterwards Bulwunt Rao, Athoroli, father-in-law of Bajee Rao, came and stated that he feared the Nana would put to death the younger daughter of Bajee Rao likewise, as he was anxious to get her married in opposition to the rules of the family. Consultations on thes topics went on for a considerable time, at the end of which Chimna Apa, junr., pledged his word to pay all expenses attending the prosecution of the suit, and also monies paid on his own individual account, adding that, even in the event of the suit not succeeding, he was about to receive possession of property valued at nearly two lacs of rupees, as his own personal property, as he had just attained his majority, the said property being then under the management of the Magistrate of the district. He, at the same time, mortgaged the property in question by a formal deed, and on this understanding a suit was filed against the Nana, valued at three crores, four lacs, and seventy thousand, six hundred and fifty-three rupees, eleven annas and five pie, in the Court of the Principal Sudder Ameen; but in consequence of that officer's colluding with the defendant, it was dismissed. An appeal from the order of dismissal was duly filed, the Sudder Court being well aware of the hostility existing between the Nana and our party. But the following are the actual facts of the case. Some of the servants of the Nana, budmash, being fond of having their palms greased, would come over and communicate information regarding their master to Chimna Apa, and occasionally made similar communications to the writer. When appearances showed the certainty of an approaching insurrection, and the former Magistrate of Cawnpore entrusted important duties to the Nana, his immediate attendants, who used to bring the writer news, assured the writer that the Nana was instigated by Baba Bhut and Joala Pershad, Risaldar, and Bala, brother of the Nana, and Ehmudoollah, tehseeldar, and Mohomed Ishaq, formerly thanadar, to turn traitor; and the attendants of the ladies Meina Baee and Sutie Baee also informed me that the Nana was in the habit of saying at home, that he had secured the co-operation of the soldiery, and would have his revenge, and would rule over that territory. The writer mentioned all this to the Magistrate, but as that gentleman had a high opinion of the Nana, he took no notice. Though helpless, the writer was convinced in his own mind that the Nana was an insignificant person, and that if he did create any disturbances, the British Government would root him out in a few days; and that it was impossible for the great empire of the British to be destroyed by the revolt of such miserable traitors, but rather it was certain that they would hereafter be punished as they deserved.

These reflections led to the writer's keeping the following journal, from the 15th May 1857, the preparation of which cost him a good deal of time and labor; and he hopes, that while it may prove of service to the Government, it may also ensure him a place among those who have been rewarded for their fidelity.

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From the date on which the mutiny (at Cawnpore) broke out, to the 10th June, the writer kept himself concealed in the city, and perused this journal. When the wicked Nana ordered him to be apprehended, and he could not find place to stay in, he had no alternative but to cross the Ganges and put up in a place named Budruka, in the house of a Kayeth, named Dhurum Dass. While there he entertained ten men to bring him intelligence of passing events. These were trustworthy men and loyal subjects, and they brought news of what transpired every minute in the Nana's office, and in the entrenchments of the Sahib-log, and among the zemindars. News of events passing in the city was obtained through Joogul Kishore, the patron of the writer, assisted by Kunhye Lall Deechut, and Kalka Pershad, a Moonshi, employed by Mr. Thomas Greenway, who was present there, and by Ramjee Suhai, Kayeth. News of what happened among the zemindars, was supplied by Futteh Singh and others, (zemindars) who were of the writer's party. News of Ilaqa Ukburpore was supplied by Yar Ali, naib serishtadar of the Magistrate's Court, and that of the disturbances caused by the villagers in Bithoor, was furnished by the mududgar of Chowkee Aroul, who was faithful to Government. So also news of the occurrences at Bithoor proper was supplied by Apa Shastree, a respectable citizen, and by Apageepunt Thakoori, and Lalla Ram, mootsuddie, and by Basdeo Shastree, and other people belonging to Chimna Apa, who were in confinement by order of the Nana. Lastly, news of the widows of Bajee Rao, *i. e.* of Meina Baee and Sutie Baee, who always received intelligence of what was going on, and are still in confinement with the Nana, duly came in, and other news was brought in by the hurkaras, specially appointed by the writer for that purpose.

With the assistance of the above-named persons the writer was enabled to keep up this journal, in which the events of the day are accurately set down. When the authority of the British Government was re-established, the writer waited upon Mr. I. W. Sherer, the Magistrate and Collector, and also upon Mr. Burrows, and made mention of this journal, remarking that it had not been called for by any body. In conformity to Mr. Sherer's instructions, he continued in attendance upon the Superintendent of Police, and performed numerous services of importance. One of these was the discovering of nearly 20 lacs of treasure, which the Nana had thrown into a well before running away, and which was a portion of the amount for which the writer had brought a civil action against the said Nana. That money was recovered and deposited in the Government Treasury. He also continued to obtain and communicate intelligence of the movements of the rebels to the authorities with the aid of his hurkaras, and by other means; and in compliance with the wishes of Mr. Burrows, he continued with the Camp of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for ten months, and promptly and zealously carried out every order confided to him. In doing so, the writer paid out of his own pocket all expenses of conveyance, and salaries of chuprassies, &c. &c. amounting to nearly Rs. 4,000. Eventually the services of all loyal subjects were brought to the notice of Government, save and except the services of the writer of this journal.

It is proper to mention, that the guilty ones well knew that the writer would faithfully record all their acts, as his loyalty was equally well known to them, and they accordingly combined to prevent him from describing them in their true colors, and thus it happened that rebels were regarded as well-wishers, and really loyal subjects passed over in silence.

*On the 15th May* 1857, *(corresponding with Jet budi Sumbut* 1922,*) on Friday,* I went to the Collector's office to purchase two stamps, one of Rs. 2,000 and the other of Rs. 250 value, required for the appeal then about to be made in the case of Nana Dhoondoo Punt, defendant. I perceived that the office establishment were conversing in a tone of alarm. I did not see the Deputy Collector Mr. William H. Stacey on that occasion, and consequently returned home. On entering the city, I joined people looking out for the distribution of cartridges, and noticed that the infantry and cavalry were arranging to mutiny. After taking my dinner at 4 P. M., I went to the Civil Court and there learnt that Abdool Rehman Khan, the Principal Sudder Ameen, had repaired to Mr. Hillersdon, the Magistrate and Collector of Cawnpore, to consult with him about the best means of suppressing disturbances. Towards evening I met Mr. Stacey, who had come to Baboo Esree Pershad's bungalow to play at billiards, and learnt that much anxiety was felt for the future. I then fully resolved to record the events of each day, confident that the narrative would come of use hereafter, and that it might possibly be regarded as evidence of my fidelity to Government.

*16th May* 1857, *(corresponding to 7th Jet budee,) Saturday.*—I again went to the Kutcheree to-day to purchase stamps; Mr. Stacey told me that he had no stamp of the value of Rs. 2,000, but could give me stamps of lesser value to the full amount. I perceived that the authorities were much disturbed in mind, and heard that the Magistrate had directed the Nana to come with troops and artillery from Bithoor, and the people of the city began to form evil conjectures. I also heard that Baba Bhut had proceeded by buggy to the cavalry regiment, and there was a general feeling of alarm prevalent in the kutcheree; but what was in each man's heart could not be known. They spoke of the outbreak at Delhi and Meerut. After hearing this, I went to Ramdhun khuzanchi in the treasury. I there heard a soobadar and jemadar of the guard, uttering traitorous language, and the sepoys refused to obey each other's

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orders. They began quarrelling with people who went into the Treasury on business. They also detained parties who came out bearing money or stamp papers and would not release them, t ll ordered to do so by the soobadar. It began to be evident that no body had any authority but the soobadar and the sepoys.

*The 17th May 1857, Sunday.*—This day Golab Singh, thanadar of Sheorajpoor, captured two of the sepoys (with money on them) who had mutinied and plundered the Allygurh Treasury and were making their escape. The thanadar sent the prisoners on to the Magistrate. I also learnt that villagers were flocking into the city in great numbers and that, Deep Singh, wrestler, a resident of Rumeepoor, had taken the Nana's permission and gone to Rumeepoor in the evening.

*The 18th May, Monday.*—The Magistrate this day issued an order to the kotwal to desire the bankers (of the city) to employ armed men for their own defence. On hearing this, people became more alarmed and all sorts of things were uttered. I was also told, that some of the budmashes at Lucknow, who created disturbances, were hanged. This news caused serious discussion among the sepoy regiments, and the order of the Magistrate above mentioned, led the badmashes of the villages to make other prudential arrangements.

*The 19th May, Tuesday.*—I was told that the rebels had created disturbances on the roads leading to Agra, Furruckabad and Cawnpore; and the marriage processions which were about to proceed in those directions, postponed their departure.

*The 20th May, Wednesday.*—I learnt to-day that the men of the infantry and cavalry regiments declare, that beyond defraying the expenses of those regiments, they do not mean to give any of the treasure to other people.

*The 21st May, Thursday.*—To-day Baboo Esree Pershad and the other bankers of the city waited on the Magistrate and obtained his permission to employ 500 matchlockmen. The baboo observed that he was prepared to pay them if the kotwal would entertain them, as he (the baboo) could not prevail on them to serve. This was agreed to, and in the evening I called on the kotwal Shah Alee, to hear of the arrangements that had been decided upon for the defence of the city. Inayut Hossein, thanadar of Sheorajpoor, who had been sent for by the Magistrate to assist Shah Alee kotwal, was seated there at the time, and matchlockmen were being enlisted. The kotwal was anxious to enlist some of the sowars of the collectorate for the protection of the city.

*The 22nd May, Friday.*—To-day the agent of Chimna Apa, the plaintiff in the suit against the Nana, came to me. I was conducting the case in court on his behalf. He stated to me with reference to the 500 Rs. that I had given him for court costs; that as Apa Sahib and Gunesh Shastree were going along in an ekka, they encountered the troops of the Nana, with artillery, coming from the opposite direction, having been sent for by the Magistrate. That these men ran up to assault Apa Sahib, and that as it was night time, Gunesh Shastree and Chimna got off the conveyance, and ran into a ravine. That the assailants carried off a valuable sword with the 500 Rs. and Chimna Apa had saved his life, but his men were beaten, and that the Nana's men openly declared, that the British Rule would only last a few days longer. On hearing this, I was much alarmed and determined to make it known to the Magistrate. Friends advised me not to do so, on the ground that the Magistrate had sent for the Nana for purposes of his own and would favor the Nana at such a crisis, and that my complaint had no chance of being listened to. However I came to the resolution, that whether it was listened to or not, I should certainly inform the Magistrate of what I had learnt.

*The 23rd May, Saturday.*—To-day I waited on the Magistrate, and told him all about the encounter with the Nana's troops, and of Chimna Apa being plundering. He made no reply. In the evening I received intelligence, that the Bala was holding traitorous conversation with the sowars, and Goredhun, agent of the widow ladies, who came from Bithoor, assured me, that he had heard from the immediate attendants of the Nana, on the night previous, that the cavalry and infantry had joined the Nana's party, and that the latter were only keeping up appearances; and that they followed this policy, *i. e.*, if the soldiery ran away, then the Nana's party would receive credit, and the way for recovering his pension would be proved; while on the other hand, if the soldiery were victorious, and the British Rule extinguished, they would get possession of the country. This statement of Goredhun's appears to be well founded, as he attends upon the father of the Baees. Other particulars must be known to the parties themselves.

*The 24th May, Sunday.*—Heard to-day, that the Magistrate issued an order, that the men entertained for the defence of the city, should be distributed all over at the Nakehbundies. The kotwal has accordingly commenced stationing the men of the new levy. I also heard, that the sowars of the 2nd regiment of cavalry, with Teeka Singh, soobadar, went to the Nana last night, to hold a consultation. People say, that the Nana has come in to assist Government, while the agent of the Baees brings intelligence, that the Nana is planning to win over the soldiery to his side. I am confident, that those who keep his mischievous company, will cause disturbances.

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*The 25th May, Monday.*—I heard to-day, that the Magistrate instructed the Nana to entertain men, and promised to give them money for their expenses, and also ordered Serh Mull, nazir of the collectorate, to furnish supplies, and remain in attendance. Towards evening I returned from kutcheree, and perceived several troopers and sepoys in the garden, in company with the Nana's force. What I observe, seems the opposite of what the collector believes. Had the Nana a clear heart, he would not associate with the troops in secret. I observed, that the chowdree and zemindars of Bithoor were with him, and these men are great budmashes. I should not wonder if they instigated the zemindars to rebellion.

*The 26th May, Tuesday.*—To-day I wrote a full account of the Nana's doings, on plain paper, and filed it as a petition, so as to warn the Magistrate, and induce him to speak to the General, so as to avoid falling into error; but the Magistrate gave no heed to my petition, and got so vexed with me, that I cannot describe his anger. He said to me, "You have all along been speaking ill of the Nana, and filing suits against him in the civil courts; I cannot pay attention to any representation from a person so hostile to the Nana." I replied, those affairs had no connection with the present question; that the Nana had long harboured enmity to the Government, and a great number of budmashes belonged to his party. That he (the Magistrate) would hereafter remember my caution, and that I had obtained *certain* intelligence, as the men of the Nana's household communicated it to Chimna Apa, my client. The Magistrate would listen to nothing. In despair, I did nothing farther than keep a copy of the petition in my book. It is a hopeless case. Let us see what will be the end of all this neglect. The Principal Sudder Ameen too has undertaken the entire responsibility of keeping the troopers quiet. This too is a serious inconvenience, and another instance of negligence. We shall see what happens.

*The 27th May, Wednesday.*—Heard to-day, that the mahajuns of the city waited in a body on the General, and asked him what they were to do. He desired them to be alarmed at nothing; as an European force would quickly come in from the East, and they were only to be on their guard, as the Magistrate was making every arrangement for their safety. Orders were issued to the contractors, to send in quickly sugar, rice, gram, soojee, flour, &c. &c. One of the zemindars informed me, that Chowdree Goordut Singh, of Ilaqa Futtehpoor, and Bhowani Singh, Debee Singh, Madho Singh, and the Chowhaniwallahs, appeared to have joined the rebels. I went and mentioned this to Shah Ali, kotwal, who replied, that he would immediately go and inform the sahib, but I cannot say whether he did so or not. In the evening I met Messrs. Mullens and Stacey, and another gentleman belonging to the 2nd cavalry, who was with them, and informed them of what I had heard. They replied, "What can we do; if these people kill us, England will not be depopulated, more than 60,000 European troops are on their way from England. You will see what will happen." Some carriages containing Sahiblogs, are expected to-day from Lucknow. I heard; that the regiment of native cavalry and guns that came from Lucknow, will return thither. I perceive that the feeling of anxiety has increased.

*The 28th May, Thursday.*—I heard to-day, that the Nana has returned to Bithoor, to arrange for the entertainment of armed men, and that he has applied for men through Jye Singh and Munsub Ali, Chowdree of Rusoolabad, who came to Bithoor to see the Nana, and were friends of the latter; and that men from across the Ganges, to the number of nearly 600, have already been enlisted, and further enlistment is in progress. At 10 o'clock, I went to the Collector's Treasury, and being unable to obtain one stamp of Rs. 2,500 value, I purchased others of less value, making up the full amount which were required for both suits. One of them was the case suit of Bulwunt Rao, guardian of Bya Sahib, daughter and heiress of Maharaj Bajee Rao, and the paper was purchased for Chimnajee Rao, Junior, and the claim laid at Rs. 3,470,653-11-5. The other suit was for Rs. 10,000. I took these stamps, after purchasing them, to our vakeels, Shadi Lall, Durgahi Lall, and Moozuffur Hoossein, in the Civil Court. The vakeels filed the requisite petition. The Principal Sudder Ameen got in a great rage, and observed, "The period of appeal from the decision passed on the 16th April, terminated on the 27th instant." The vakeels replied, that the 16th April ended at 4 P. M., and that the appeal was within time to-day. At last the Principal Sudder Ameen allowed the appeal to be filed, and directed that it should be sent up to the Sudder Court, with a copy of the record.

*The 29th May, Friday.*—I heard to-day, that there was an unusual gathering of zemindars near pergunnah Bithoor. These men have always been budmashes. It would seem that the Raja of Tehtia is associated with them, and that disturbances have commenced in that quarter, and that there was some dispute about removing the magazine. An European guard has been stationed there. I heard that they have commenced raising an entrenchment near the hospital, and that Ghunsham Aheer, the jemadar, will superintend the work on behalf of the Barrack Master, and that the Magistrate has passed an order to the effect that he has no leisure, and that consequently all the omlah of the Collectory and Foujdary offices shall conform to the orders of the Deputy Collector Ram Lall.

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*The 30th May, Saturday.*—I discovered that the Sahib-log have taken out the Government guns and magazines for removal into the entrenchment, and that arrangements are made to convey supplies into it, and that the people of the city are much alarmed; also that troopers and sepoys are wandering about the city, and that a picket of 50 sowars has been stationed at the Sirsa Ghât Naka on the part of Government. It is most strange that all these men, whose hearts are estranged from the Government, continue to do duty under it.

*The 31st May, Sunday.*—I heard to-day, that the Magistrate called upon Col. Abbot and inspected the report. Also that a petition was received from the Tehseeldar of Bithoor, stating that Motee Singh, zemindar of Nanamow, had collected together nearly 800 men, orders were passed on it, requesting the Tehseeldar to inform the crowd that they were not to make a disturbance, and that hanging would be the penalty if they did, and that the Tehseeldar should keep himself on the alert. Intelligence also came in from the westward that plundering, &c. was going on along the roads. The troopers and sepoys too commenced making wild speeches.

*The 1st June, Monday.*—I heard that the Nana with his force was approaching, and that Chimna Apa and his attendants had run away from Bithoor, and taken up his quarters in Lalla Esree Pershaud's small huvelee. I heard from him that all the three brothers and their nephews were of one mind, and declared that they were now gainers in every way, as the native army was under their orders, and their efforts to keep up appearance with the Government were also successful. Chimna Apa expressed deep regret at all this, and pressed me to go and inform the Magistrate. I replied, that on a former occasion, when I volunteered intelligence, the Magistrate was greatly enraged with me, and I felt afraid to repeat the experiment, as that gentleman had unbounded confidence on the Nana, and I further feared, lest I should be put in confinement in return for such acts of devotion. In short I could not muster the courage to inform the Magistrate. I see that more men are being enlisted daily, but the Bala is a man of execrable temper, and I dread to think of what he may do. I subsequently heard that about a lac of Rupees was taken into the entrenchment from the Collectorate Treasury.

*The 2nd June, Tuesday.*—I heard to-day, that about 60,000 or 65,000 Rs. more were taken into the entrenchment, and that the Nana too had come in, and was putting up in the bungalow opposite to the Civil Court. I also heard that before the Magistrate's perwanah could reach the tehseeldar of Bithoor, the zemindar, Motee Singh, of Nanamow, had broken into rebellion and burnt down the village of Gudna belonging to the Koormees, and put to death the men and children in it, and had also begun plundering the dak bungalows and the carriages of travellers, and carried off dak horses. It would not be surprising if they proceeded to attack the European superintendents of roads and to murder them. The sowars that came from Lucknow joined the rabble soldiery of this place, and the Bala and Baba Bhut again went away among the cavalry men. Let us see what they consult upon doing next. The third matter I discovered was, that the magazine, which the Sahib-log wished to destroy could not be blown up, and that the sepoys and sowars, openly spoke treason, and began boasting that none but they could take the magazine. The Magistrate too who was proceeding to the kutcheree armed, appeared to be in great anxiety, and the Principal Sudder Ameen also left at 4 P. M. to-day, and went among the sowars, but effected nothing. I can see nothing good in all this. Serh Mull, nazir of the Collector's office told me that he had informed the Magistrate that he had seen the troopers with the Nana, and having private conversation with Baba Bhut, the Magistrate replied that the Nana was remonstrating with them on the part of Government, and that Azeem-oollah, Mahomed Ishak, and Ukbur Ally mookhtar were with him.

*The 3rd June, Wednesday.*—I learnt to-day that the Nana, Bala, Baba Bhut, Azeem-ool-lah, Mahomed Ishak, the Chowdree zemindar of Bithoor, and the soobadars of the cavalry and infantry regiments, in all five or seven persons, were holding a consultation in the garden, but I cannot discover what they were consulting about. I perceive also, that there are a greater number of sepoys and troopers prowling about the city, and I observed the families of sepoys in such numbers I had never seen before. The city people too are more alarmed than usual. They give out that the cavalry and infantry are on the point of mutinying. I see a larger number of villagers here than usual, and have learnt that Moonshi Behari Lall is the Nana's secretary. At this moment, a servant of the widows Meina Bace and Sutie Bace, came up and told me that Baces are in great alarm, and cannot see how they are to escape, as the opposite party have made up their minds to take their revenge out of every one of their enemies as soon as they got possession of the country, and all those who were likely to give evil advice, have joined their party, and that I must immediately make arrangements to save Chimna Apa. I also perceived this evening, that the Sahib-logs were in a great state of alarm. Shortly after I met Mr. Stacey the Deputy Collector, and Mr. Coffer of the Railway Department, and Mr. Lindsay, Adjutant General, and mentioned the above circumstances to them. They listened, but made no reply. I think the rebellion took a more aggravated form in consequence of one of the sahibs having fired upon a sepoy. The corpses of a lady and gentleman were seen floating down from some other station, found their way into the canal, and were observed by a great many people.

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*The 4th June, Tuesday.*—I heard to-day, that the trial of the person who fired upon the sepoy, ended thus, *i. e.*, the troopers were informed that the gentleman was intoxicated at the time, and that the musket went off under a mistake; to which the sepoys replied, that possibly their muskets might go off by mistake in the same way. These sepoys make very harsh speeches. The second disturbance arose thus. An order was issued for the distribution of pay, and they were told to lay down their arms fore receiving it. This created a doubt in their minds, and thus the mutiny commenced. The sepoys declared, that they had heard of what occurred in other stations with regiments that had been disarmed, and it remained to be seen what would happen here. At noon to-day, Narain trooper, a Bhât by race, and inhabitant of Humeepoor, who belonged to the 2nd cavalry, and was brother-in-law of Hindo Rao, who lives near the kotwalee, declared publicly that it had been settled among his companions, that they should mutiny to-day, and that there was no doubt of their doing so. The people of the city commenced closing their windows and doors, and there was great alarm throughout the city. A little before the kotwal having heard of all this, went to inform the Magistrate. I cannot say what measures were decided on. Baba Bhut and Azeem-oollah went away towards the mutineers. Some say they have gone to dissuade the soldiery; others, that they have joined them. I can record nothing certain on this point, till I see the fact. It is now evening. Even those who kept up dealings with the troopers and sowars, declare in great alarm that something dreadful is about to happen. Every heart beats with anxiety. It is now night, or rather near 1 A. M. Suddenly there is a fire in the cavalry lines, and the sound of musketry is heard. At first, one troop marched away, and then a second troop. It appeared that they had set fire to their own camp. Then Gillis's regiment also marched out. They proceeded along the road outside the city, and up to that moment the magazine was left empty. Not a man then entered it. The sowars went along discharging their carbines here and there. The people of the city observing the fire, and hearing the noise and commotion, woke up, and still greater anxiety and alarm prevailed.

*The 5th June, Friday.*—Early this morning, Lambourne's and Garstin's regiments marched out; at this time one or two reports of guns fired from the entrenchment were heard. The sepoys murdered a Mr. Murphy, of the Canal Department, at the lake; but another gentleman who was with him, managed to escape into the entrenchment. The regiments are proceeding towards Newabgunge. I find that they have gone to plunder the treasury. The sowars went to the Feelkhana, and carried off the elephants and Government bullocks, and impressed carts from the city. At this moment I sent off a man to get news from Newabgunge. When Shah Ali, kotwal, saw the rebel sowars passing under the window of the kotwalee this morning, his face turned pale, and he exclaimed: "The rebellion has begun in earnest." Inayut Hossein, thanadar of Sheorajpoor, who had come in to protect the kotwalee, tried to rally the kotwal, and advised him not to despair. Those men whom the Magistrate caused to be enlisted through the kotwal for the protection of the people, now clamoured for their pay, and were bent on acting like traitors. At last, being perplexed on all sides, Lalla Esree Pershad sent a sum of money to the kotwal, according to his instructions, through Gobhur Singh, and the men alluded to, received their pay up to that date, and then came away, and thus not a man was left for the protection of the city. Even the kotwal came away. The man whom I dispatched to Newabgunge for news, now returned and said that he had heard two reports of guns fired by the Nana's party, and that apparently the troopers of the 2nd cavalry and the sepoys had joined the Nana, with the object of attacking the entrenchment. The Nana, Bala, Baba Bhut, and Azeem-oollah joined them, and they are halted at the door of the treasury, and are having the doors unlocked. Sowars have arrived at the house of Ramdhun, treasurer, and induced him by threats to give up the keys of the treasury, which they took with them. The second person, whom I afterwards sent off for news, now returned and reported that the rebels were filling their carts with treasure, and causing houses to be plundered by rioters and other bad characters from the suburbs of the city, also that the Rajpoots of Beisa Mow, with Pragdut, and other brahmins, and Chootta, budmash, and the zemindars of Kakadeo, with other budmashes from the suburbs, were plundering in all directions, and that a flag borne on an elephant, with Lalpooree Gooshain, and a large number of attendants, reached Meghruttun at 8 o'clock, and took possession of it, also that the sowars had cut away the anchor ropes which held the bridge of boats, and several boats floated away. A little after I heard, that red coats were coming up from across the river, which made the people run away. After plundering the treasury, they set fire to the magistrate's office, and civil court buildings, and burnt all the records, and after noon, they went away to Kullianpoor, intending to proceed to Delhie. Subsequently I heard that the Nana and Baba Bhut were against going to Delhi, and were of opinion that the rebels should first conquer Cawnpore, and slay their enemies, and then go on to Delhi. On hearing this, I sent off a person who lived in Bithoor, and knew every body there, to learn particulars. I then heard that some sowars and tindals of the rebel force were going about setting fire to bungalows, and to the cantonments, and that there was a great conflagration, and that they killed every merchant they came across, and that the employees of the barrack department had plundered the barrack master's treasury. I also heard, that one of the camel drivers was sent off

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immediately from among the plunderers of the treasury, to go and raise the flag at Bithoor, that coolies and kunjurs were going about with the sowars, who compelled them to plunder all the property found in the bungalows, and that the sowars cut down every man who refused to plunder at their bidding, also that two persons were killed in this manner, and that villagers and inhabitants of the city and suburbs were to be seen in every lane, carrying away furniture, plate, clothes, and other valuables. This I saw with my own eyes. I cannot describe the distress of mind I am suffering. I am afraid I shall lose my life, and see no way of escape. The man whom I have been prosecuting in various courts, for numerous sums, during the last eight years, is now the supreme ruler. How far can I escape from him. It is equally difficult for Chimna Apa and his attendants, and for the agents and vakeels, &c. &c. of the widows to escape with their lives. It is impossible for Lalla Esree Pershad and myself to escape, unless by the interposition of Providence. Debee Pershad, mohurrir, attached to the bridge, went to the Magistrate in the entrenchment to give information. He was told in reply, to keep the bridge safe and in order, as the rebels would depart after taking the treasure, and the Europeans would re-occupy the station to-morrow. The kotwal was sent for by the Magistrate, and accordingly went into the entrenchment, but I cannot say what conversation passed. Villagers from every direction have crowded into the city, but to this moment it has remained safe from depredation and bloodshed. In the evening the kotwal entered the kotwalee, but he was not in his senses, and great uproar and fear of being plundered prevailed in every ward of the city. The three persons whom I sent out for particulars, returned, and related minutely all that had transpired, but his narrative is a very long one, and I am overpowered by terror and anxiety; so I shall put down this man's story in to-morrow's memorandum. The same person also informed me, that the rebels would return next morning, and cause disturbances in the city.

*The 6th June, Saturday.*—News arrived in the city, that the rebels had set fire to the boats supporting the bridge. On hearing this, I concealed myself in my house, and owing to the rebels, there was no road safe to escape by. At noon to-day, the rebel force marched into the city, and at 11 A. M., they came upon the residence of the Nunneh Nuwab, and fired into it with guns; five reports were heard. Then I heard that the gates were thrown open. The troopers and sepoys rushed in and broke all the glass-ware to pieces, and plundered all the materials of *tazeeahdaree*, and clothes and plate, &c. &c. On hearing this, the people of the city trembled with fear. I heard that sowars surrounded the house of Azim Ali Khan also, and having seized him, put him on a tonjon, and brought him away. Subsequently I was told, that they fired two round shots into his house, and that sowars had gone to seize Bakur Ali Khan and Nizam-ood-dowlah, but I did not learn that they had been brought away. It is now 1 P. M., or thereabouts. The rebels have placed guns in position to fire upon the entrenchment, firing has commenced, and sowars are pacing to and fro in every lane; they fire off their muskets at every door, and by threats of violence, extort money from the inmates. They surrounded the house of Buddree Dass, Ugurwala, and were about to take his life. They snatched away a gold bangle worn round his son's arm. There is a great crowd at this moment around the house of Buddree Nath, the commissariat contractor. The rebels have besieged it, and are desirous of seizing him. The house of Buldeo Suhai, farmer, is also surrounded by troopers, who are breaking open the gates. They declare that he has Christians concealed in his house. These rebels go and surround every respectable man's house, and on the pretext of their concealing Christians, plunder their property, and treat them with insult. They have set on fire the houses of every merchant, and all the bungalows in cantonments, and they compel low caste men to plunder the property contained in them. I heard that several gentlemen of the road department have been murdered, and three or four other killed in the guddikhana, some say that the son of one Mr. Williams, who was a merchant, has been murdered, and that troopers have run on ahead to kill others. They plundered a cart laden with silver and other articles belonging to some mahajun, which came in from Lucknow. The Mahomedan troopers and Hindoo sepoys are having a dispute. The former say, they will have the Nunneh Nuwab for their master, and the Hindoos declare, that they will keep the Nana on. Ehmud Ali Khan, vakeel, who had great influence with the Nana, came between, and had the Nunneh Nuwab sent to his own residence under an escort of sowars, but a guard of sowars was left at the house to prevent the Nuwab's escaping. The attendants of the Nana are his immediate servants; Hindoos of Hindoostan and Mahomedans are among them, indiscriminately. It has just occurred to me, that there is another bit of news, which should have been recorded before, *i. e.*, sowars and goendahs found their way into Mr. Thomas Greenway's compound, and having dug the earth in the spot were treasure had been buried, they carried it away, a portion of it was previously taken away by people acquainted with the secret. So also the property of Mr. Brandon, the merchant, which was left for sale, and in which some articles belonging to the King of Oude were probably included, as the King had great confidence in Mr. Brandon, was plundered, as also a cart, containing nearly 40,000 Rs. belonging to a mahajun, which had arrived at the post-office was rifled of its contents, *i. e.* one box containing ten or twelve thousand rupees was brought away by some agent or other man of business, and the rest of the money was carried away deliberately by the low caste

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men of Putkapoor and Kursowan. The rebels also carried off the telegraph wires. The sepoys have assembled in great numbers. They carry away their plunder and then return for more. In the Chowk, the sowars broke open the locks of the houses of cloth merchants and money-changers and plundered all their goods. They also looted the residence of Yar Ally, as also the houses of two or three of his neighbours. Low caste Mahomedans, such as sykulgurs (sword polishers), and bangle makers and cotton spinners go about with the sowars, and the inhabitants of the lanes declare that the sowars have murdered certain Christians. It appears that three Christians were concealed in the shops, outside the Moghul-ki-serai, and one was concealed in the shops along the canal. On the first attack, these three fired upon the rebels, who fled, thinking that there were a great number inside, but afterwards, on learning that there were only a few of them, the rebels returned and set fire to the house. They caught and brought away an old gentleman, with a boy of 16 years of age, and a lady and a little girl from the canal and killed them near the dak bungalow in the Nana's presence. The rebels ran about the lanes, hunting for Sahiblog ; and the troopers murdered an European in a garden close to the Soobadar's tank. The following is a list of the names of the personal attendants of the Nana, who came along with him, as far as I have been informed, viz. :—

Nana Dhoondoo Punt, Bala, Baba Bhut, Bapoo Datar, Azeemoollah, Huree Chhota, Huree Bura, the wrestler, Gunoo Chowbey, son of the jemadar, Narain Mirth, brahmin, Krishna Mirth, Tantia Topee, Huree Punt, Bhao and Sree Newas Rao, (sons of Ram Chunder Punt, soobadar), Apa Topee, brother of the said Tantia Topee, Krishna Rao, Udhit Jalamgeer, Anund Rao, son-in-law of Oodgeer, Moroopunt Dhoree, Lall Singh, havildar of artillery, Narain Motee, Binayutt Truns, Nana Goklee, Abha Goklee, Bhaskur Goklee, Pandojee Shastree, Bamun Goklee, Bamun Josee, Mahadeo Nana, Kesho Bhut Beheng, Mahadeo Patuk, Narain Bhawee, Untoo Patuk, Sookhram Sussyea, Choonni Singh, Keshoree Singh, Choudri Munnee Singh, Choudri Balajosee, Tantoo Punt, Ragho Punt, Uptyee, Kasa Bhagani-gir, Ukburally mookhtear, Mahomed Ishaq, Ehmud Ali Khan vakeel, Ehmud-oollah tehseeldar, Baboo Singh zemindar, Deep Singh, wrestler, Lalpoory Goshaeen, Bapookan Kuttee, Rama Choundhee, Babajee Mungir, Sookkha Ram Khutree, Nursoojee Sindhyee, Gobinda Mulhoo, Poolo, wrestler, Narain Duggee, Gunga, the keeper of the feelkhana, Thuvan Jugnab, Babajee Purkulla, Goonhoojra, Kunnoo Tathye, Goonnoo Bede, Gunnoo Dhundheree, Ram Chund Puntputdurdhun, Bulwunt Rao Joglee Gir, Bulwunt Rao Joge, Krishna Jadowe, Raghojee naick, Tokharam Dhoobar, and Shumshere Singh jemadar.

The zemindars of Bithoor, who joined in the plunder of the treasury are present at the enemy's batteries, and other zemindars are coming. Kobeer Singh of Gunga Gunj, with a large body of attendants, has commenced causing disturbances in the suburbs and neighbouring towns. There is a great crowd. It is impossible to record the names of all at such a time.

*The 7th June, Sunday.*—This day I remained in the house of Lalta Pershad Kayeth. There I heard that under the Nana budmash's orders, notices in Oordoo and Nagree had been printed at the printing office and circulated to the following effect, viz., that all Hindoos and Mahomedans, who respected their creeds, should present themselves. These notices were stuck up along the main roads. On hearing of this every body trembled with fear and made preparations to raise the Jhunda (green flag). The Qazee of the city, gives the people leave to enter into a Jehad (war of extermination) with Christians, while Moulvie Salamut-oollah stoutly denies that a Jehad can be proclaimed in such matters. Ehmud-oollah, tehseeldar of Bithoor, has resolved upon creating disturbances. He is instigating every body to violence. He is the primary agitator of these disturbances, and Rehum Khan, native doctor, a Mewatee, and all the men of the butcher-khana are with him, but the respectable Mahomedans of the city, such as Meer Shujayut Ally and all the members of his family, and Meer Yar Ally, naib sirishtadar, and other sons of Moonshi Mahomed Hussun, and other parties, have concealed themselves to avoid being mixed up in such proceedings. Indeed not one of the respectable residents joined the Jehad. Ehmud Ali Khan vakeel, however, armed with a sword, is going about in company with Baba Bhut. Sowars went down and surrounded the house of the Principal Sudder Ameen and made him a prisoner. Azeem-oollah also came down. The Principal Sudder Ameen prayed much to be excused, but they forcibly brought him away. In like manner, they carried off Moulvie Sulamut oollah in a palanquin. My men have seen these events, and those who went there to see the fun, say the same, and add that they have resolved upon proclaiming the green standard. The person whom I sent off to Khereesur for news returned, and reported that the convicts of the jail had gone towards Sheorajpoor and Poorah, and that disturbances had commenced in Sheorajpoor, and that the people of Raja Suti Pershad destroyed the telegraph wires and fought with Goolab Singh thanadar, and made him prisoner. A third messenger brought the news that the rebels murdered Goordeen, agent of the Baees, who belonged to my party at Runeil, and slew the people of his house, and blew up his house with guns. The other agent, Apajugtab, ran away, and the attendants of Chimna Apa, named below, were all put in chains, and I hear that they will be put to death, their hands and noses being first cut off. They are the Lalla Mootsuddi, Basdeo Shastree, Ram Bhao, Apa Thakoori, Dada Deechut, Jugurnath

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Deechut, Bulwunt Rao, (father-in-law of Bajee Rao, Peishwa,) Nana Rijbur, (the other father-in-law,) Chintamun Bhut, Muhadeo Bhut, Narain Rao Ghosla, and Bapoo Atholee, and others. On hearing this, I advised the vakeels, who were conducting suits for me, viz., Sheikh Moozuffer Hoossein, Lalla Durgahi Lall, and Lalla Shadi Lall, to run away, as otherwise they would certainly be killed. Mr. Crump, the merchant, who lived in the bungalow, had buried all his valuables and money and goldmohurs, to the value of about two lacs of rupees, in the presence of Buladeen Chowdree and Beinee Singh, jemadar, in his compound, and went away, and his son took refuge in the entrenchment on the 5th instant. These very servants now dug up those valuables, and carried them away. At this moment I heard that Mr. Green, the Superintendent of the Bridge, whom the present contractor had concealed in his house, has now been turned adrift, and was consequently murdered; also, that Mr. McIntosh, merchant, with his family were massacred by rebels, but his mother, by some means, managed to escape. I hear that the great guns of the magazine, with round shots, powder, &c., are being taken to the batteries to-day, and that the treasure plundered from the Government treasury, was lying in carts in the magazine, and that the special attendants of the Nana and mutineers of the Lambourne's and Gillis's regiments, and some troopers, were guarding the carts. Also that Government guns are being forwarded to Bithoor, and ammunition from the magazine intended for Bithoor, being laden in carts. The budmashes holding flags declare that they are preparing for an attack, &c. In the old bazar of General Gunj, the rebels broke open the shop of Purma Nund, on the plea of requiring cloth to make bags of. The budmashes have pointed out the dwelling of Sheo Churn, cloth merchant, to the sowars, who have taken away his merchandize. Those who go to see the fun are impressed and made to carry about round shot. Guns are being fired on both sides. One of the lookers-on was killed by a ball from the entrenchment. Now I hear that the zemindars also have come in. I am anxious to find a man who could be present at the consultations of the Nana, and be faithful to the Government, and could identify the zemindars. I have appointed a person in whom I have confidence, but I will not put his name on paper now, for fear of his losing his life. This man reports, that the following zemindars, viz., Oothum Chund, Ponton Hurdeen, Dhoukul Singh, Hemunchul Singh, Imrut Singh, Phukur Singh rajpoot, Nungooa, Bukhtoora, Lalla Bunwary, Ruttoo, Dewan Zelee, Munrakhun, Bijoul, Anund Singh, Narain Singh, Gopaul Singh, Gunga Deechut, Jugut Singh, Cheetee Singh, Sunwul Singh, Adhar Singh and Zalim Singh, and others of pergunnah Bithoor, with their attendants all armed, presented themselves at the rebel batteries, but Chowdree Khoman Singh, son of Prag Singh, ran away from Bithoor for fear of the Nana, who has been his enemy for years. Bechoo Singh, Phunkur Singh, Hurchund Singh, Jeychund Singh, Des Singh, Rughbur Singh, Keerut Singh, Ghunsya Singh and others, zemindars of Kakadeo, pergunnah Jajamow, also presented themselves. Similarly, Rao Pehulwan Singh and his band, with Mol Singh, Sheodeen Singh, Buryar Singh, sirdar, and accompanied by certain persons of mouza Oodeypoor, viz., Zore Singh, Roop Singh, Hookum Singh, Dila Singh, Nundeh Singh, Jung Singh, Murdun Singh, Ghunsham Singh, Luchmun Singh, Indul Singh and Unopee Singh, &c. &c., with a body of 200 matchlockmen and men from mouza Jamoun, viz., Rambuksh and Bhoje Singh, ringleaders, with a body of 400 armed men, also Debee Singh and 400 men of mouza Khursa, also Peshwa Singh and other budmashes of mouza Seidhoree; also the old and notorious budmash Bhowany Singh and a body of 1,200 matchlockmen, of mouza Sowanchpoor; also Ooseyree Singh, Bishun Singh, Dhoukul Singh, Muthra Singh, Gopaul Singh, Suteerun Singh, Bheekum Singh, and Mehurban Singh, &c. &c., with 400 matchlockmen; also Raja Kishoree Singh and Deep Singh Pehulwan, with a body of 800 armed men, of mouza Rumipoor; also Rambux and Hunooman Pershad, of mouza Sedhyee; also Nurund Singh and Kewur Singh, of mouza Burkula, and also Guja Misr, agent of Joala Pershad, brigadier, and Gopaul, his brother-in-law, both of mouza Sungwan, made their appearance, as Joala Pershad's wife's family live in that locality, and he holds a two-anna interest in the property. There were appointments, &c. attached to the kutcheree of the budmash Nana. Thus Babu Bhut held the post of sudder duftur, Joalapershad, that of brigadier; Teeka Singh, that of soobadar general; Azeemoollah, that of collector, and Adhadeek Dharee, that of collector. They also brought away the son of Azim Ally Khan. Ghunsham Aheer, jemadar of the barrack master's department, also presented himself. The zemindars are extremely bold. They don't reflect that the Europeans are observing them from the entrenchment, and what will be their fate when the budmashes are defeated. Mr. Edward Greenway, son of Mr. Thomas Greenway, was brought here a prisoner from Nujufgurh, with his family, and confined in the Savada-ki-kothee. They require two lacs of rupees as hostage money. Captain Hollings, who was formerly dismissed from the service, had a desperate fight with the rebels at Nujufgurh, and only lost his life when his powder and shot were exhausted. Shortly after I was told, that Tilokie Singh and others, the ancient zemindars of mouza Augun, ilaqa Bithoor, had gone with a large party, and plundered the house of Mr. Peter Maxwell, and carried off four brahmin women, and that they attacked, &c., the police officers of Chowki Aroul.

*The 8th June, Monday.*—This day I saw no hope of saving my life, and therefore resolved to run away. On the road, I found the Nana's men hovering about in every

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direction. I got through Hulwa-ki-gullee, and concealed myself in the house of Baboo Esree Pershad, it being vacant at the time; only Saligram gomashta was in it, and he supplied me with food. I was there one day, and saw what follows; but I will first mention what I heard. I heard that the Mewatees had murdered Luchmun Pershad, tehseeldar of Ukurpoor. When this news reached the Nana, he appointed Akbur Ali in room of the deceased. I then saw, that people with drums, and a great army, were proceeding viâ the butcher-khana and Muchlee bazar, to the batteries of the enemy, and people gave out that an attack would positively be made to-day. One of my men reported, that Mr. Senijob (?) a superintendent of roads, who had voluntarily entrusted his property to the zemindars of Bhontyle, had been wounded by Kobeer Singh, zemindar of Punkee Kuttra, and had further caused several gentlemen of the canal department to be murdered. That he had a great army with him, plundering and destroying the district, that the gentlemen and ladies and children were all put into carts and sent to Newabgunge, to the thana. One of the ladies begged that they might not be killed, and were ready to work, but some villain refused to listen to her, and so they were taken to the Nana. I am afraid he will murder them. The second fact is this, that Ujub Singh, Redhawala, and a brother of his, both presented themselves to the Nana. They plundered and carried off some property from the bungalows, and English guns, and an Arab horse, the property of some gentleman. They plundered every body they met on the road, and have promised to bring in European prisoners. Another piece of fresh news is this, that Dwarka, khuthri, a bad character, and his sons, Doorga and Setul Pershad, presented themselves to the Nana. This Dwarka had been in prison seven years at Benares, and was expelled the district. By some fraud he concealed his faults, and got service with Binayuk Rao, of Tirwai, and did business with the Mahrattas. After the death of Benayuk Rao, he intrigued with Kashi Raee, and caused a feud in the family, when Mr. Palmer, the merchant, interposed, and the case was settled in another way. It was proved, that this man was at the bottom of all the mischief. They thought of putting him in prison, when he fled to Cawnpore, and hired a house belonging to Sheo Pershad Sunker, son of Tantee Mull, and resided in the city. This very man is now instigating an impression on the Nana, that he should take a large sum of money from the Tirhwanwalas, *i. e.*, from Narain Rao and Madho Rao, and make them join his party. This suggestion has led to correspondence between the Nana and those people. It appears, that the Nana has written to them to seize Chimna Apa, who has run away there. This news has been brought me by an intimate friend, and highly loyal servant of the State. This very Dwarka went and threatened Jugun Pershad, khuthri, representing that he had full powers, and the English were all destroyed, and his rule was in force. I also heard, that Hindoo sowars had seized the Nunneh Nuwab, and taken him to the Nana. I hear that the Mahomedan sowars wish to join the Nuwab, and create a quarrel with the Nana. The Hindoos were on the side of the Nana, owing to the good offices of Teeka Singh, general. They therefore carried off the Nuwab. The Nana had other views at the time. Ahmed Ali Khan, vakeel, who had great influence with the Nana, explained matters to the Nana, and having sent for Buldeo Singh, zemindar of Seesa Mow, made them stand security for the Nunneh Nuwab. The Rajpoots of mouza Maloun, and the zemindars, are commiting highway robbery. They plundered the present lumberdar, and turned him out of his house. To show their attachment to the Nana, they even fired shots into the entrenchment; this has been remarked by a great many. They also brought supplies to the rebels. Their names are Sochun Singh, dewan, Toolsi, Punchum, Meneakhun, Bijoul, Esree and Oujagir, with other attendants. I also heard, that one or two troops of the 7th irregular cavalry, and 2 companies of sepoys, and 3 Europeans, who are with them, came to inform the Nana, that they wish to join his standard. The Nana replied, by directing the heads of the Europeans to be cut off. The troopers, &c. promptly refused to do so, and said they had taken their oath not to kill them, but only to keep them under surveillance. Next I heard, that the Nuwab Doolha, armed with a number of followers, had come in, and joined the Nana's standard, and given shurbut to the troops to drink, and also feasted them. It would be impossible to mention the names of all evil-minded men, who joined that standard. They consisted of kulyeghurs, tumkheras, chooriwallahs, the butchers and others, all of the lowest caste. The men there assembled, must have numbered above 5,000. After putting down all this correct intelligence, I left my house at candle-light, and came to the dwelling of Heera, Gungapooter, at Sirseea ghât. He pointed out to me a room to stay in. There I heard, that the present contractors of the bridge, *i. e.* Narain, Jankee and others, are all present with the Nana's party; and that Bakur Ali Khan and Nizam-ood-Dowlah have been brought in as prisoners. Subsequently I heard, that the Nuwab Doolha did not himself go to the rendezvous, but merely feasted the sepoys.

*The 9th June, Tuesday.*—To-day I was told, that Hoolas Singh, kotwal, was induced by the plausible representations of Ehmud-oollah, tehseeldar, to leave the Khoord Mehal, where he was staying. The kotwal at first refused to come, but was so completely won over to rebellion, that he consented to take office in the kotwalee. Moula Chowdree, the blind, a kulwar by caste, and a notorious bad character, volunteered to find supplies, on his being recognised as chowdree, and was appointed accordingly at 10 A. M.. A noise like the report of a gun, from the direction of Newabgunge, was

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suddenly heard. I asked Gungapooter what it could be. He replied, that the Sahib-log had entered the Kuttra. I remember the Magistrate's issuing an order, that as soon as the boats, containing Europeans from Futtehgurh, should arrive, they should open the lock of the bridge; so it might be the arrival of those boats. I also heard that Jowahir Singh, a resident of Newabgunge, and zemindar of Khera and Seorabad, had gone to capture the boats, and with reference to the Europeans, who were with the cavalry, encamped on Chowbipoor-ki-purao, certain sepoys had again proceeded to Bithoor, to tell Pandrung Rao, that they would not kill those Europeans. They were all ready for action, but I could learn no particulars. I have therefore sent off another man for news, the battle is still going on. Akbur Ali mookhtar has been ordered to take up the tehseeldarship of Akburpoor.

*The 10th June, Wednesday.*—Ghunsham, the jemadar of the barack master's department, has pointed out the path for the mine, and miners have been sent for. Reports of guns are again heard to-day from the same quarter. At a little after 12, two dead bodies of Europeans were seen floating down the Ganges, and sepoys were seen in a boat coming down behind those corpses, and firing off their muskets as they came. Shortly after I heard, that all those Sahib-log who were expected from Furruckabad, had been made prisoners, and that some of them had been left behind. Jowahir Singh also, to show his loyalty, presented himself with them before the Nana. My servant, Thân Singh, saw this particular event at the ghât with his own eyes. I hear, that those gentlemen are imprisoned in the barrack; I wonder how they will save their lives. At night I heard of the fate of the Europeans, who were encamped with the troopers at Chowbeypoor; *i. e.*, the sepoys joined the Nana on the 8th June, and at 5 P. M. the bugle was sounded. Those gentlemen asked to know, by whose order the "assembly" had been sounded. They replied, that it was by order of the Nana. On this the Europeans took to their horses and fled, but were pursued by sowars firing into them. Oojagir, Eesree, Bijoul, Lochun Singh, Dewan Singh, Toolsie Singh, Punchum and Munrakhun, formerly zemindar of mouza Malouni, joined in the pursuit. They surrounded the Europeans, and the troopers cut them down. One of them was killed at Umbala, and the others were despatched before they got up to the well of Oodey Chund. They cut off the heads of all the three Europeans, put them into a basket, and brought them to the wicked Rao. One lady and a gentleman were however taken alive to the Mehsoolghur. The lady was with child, which I learnt from Choonni Lall, banker. I also heard, that the unpricipled Dwarka khuthri placed a guard over the house of Esree Pershad, and that the two gomashtas, who were placed there for its protection, were made prisoners. Afterwards Gungapooter observed to me that people had discovered that I was staying in his house, and that I should quit it, for fear of his house being plundered, and myself put to death. I deeply regretted this, because I saw that it would now be difficult to get intelligence. It occurred to me, that I must get hold of a zemindar, who would attend the Durbar like all the other zemindars, and also of a mahajun, who could also have access to the Durbar and other places. Accordingly I selected two persons, a zemindar, and a mootsuddi, who was also a plaintiff, and could go to the Durbar with the other zemindars. They promised to bring minute intelligence to the best of their power. At midnight, *i. e.* at 3 A. M., my servant brought the news that the Rao budmash, before whom the heads of the Europeans had been taken, ordered them to be taken to the arch-murderer, the Nana, and that when Meina Baee and Sutie Baee saw the lady, they declared, that if she were put up to death, they would destroy themselves, and hence orders were given for that lady and gentleman to be kept in confinement in Mr. Murray's house. The servant also reported, that when the Europeans were killed, Makhun Pandey, zemindar of Choubeypoor, heard of it, and prepared to fight; on which several sepoys entered the village, and one of the sepoys was killed by the party of Makhun Pandey, near his own door. The sepoys then made a great disturbance, and declared to the Rao, that they would not rest until he caused Makhun Pandey to be delivered to them. Makhun however ran away. I also heard, that the people of the other side of the Ganges, viz., great and influential zemindars and gooshaeens had come in with strong bodies of men. I perceived, that it was not advisable to stay here any longer, as my life was in jeopardy, for orders had already been given to seize all the omlah of the kutcheree; it was issued to Azeem-oollah; being quite helpless, I left this place at 4 in the morning, having impressed on my gomashta, Joogul Kishore, to send for intelligence daily, and communicate the sameto me punctually at Jajamow.

*The 11th June, Thursday.*—I reached Jajamow this day, before sunrise. I perceived corpses of gentlemen and ladies on my way, lying along the banks of the Ganges. I cannot describe the grief I felt at this sight. The corpses could not float down from the shallowness of the river. The brother of Moonshi Narain Dass had put up with Kampta Pershad Pandey. I did the same. I saw at Jajamow, on the banks of the river at the ghât, three boats and a budgrow, which had been burnt by the rebels. I questioned the people of the place, and learnt that wines and other articles of merchandize were in the boats, but the boatmen had plundered the liquors, and when drunk, cut down the gentlemen, and that the neighbouring zemindars of mouzas Palee, Janan, Mudarpoor, Mocea and Nujufgurh, joined in the plunder, and in the murder of some of the gentlemen; also that troopers of the 2nd cavalry were in the habit of proceeding to and from Nujufgurh to Cawnpore, and a company of

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sepoys was stationed at the Naka of Jajamow for its protection. I also observed a bungalow of the Railway department, newly burnt down, and learnt that Pohup Singh, zemindar of Moeea, had plundered and burnt it. Shortly after, some sepoys crossed over from the other bank. I found on enquiry, that some more infantry and cavalry had come in, and were proceeding to the Nana to join his standard. I further learnt, that these were the very Sikhs and sepoys who had run away from Benares, and that they had brought plundered horses on which the sepoys were mounted. At 11 at night, news came in by letter, conveyed by Narain peon, which was to the effect, that the following zemindars had this day presented themselves to the Nana; viz., Bhowany Singh, Gotum, Hindoo Singh, Chowhan, of Rusoolabad, who entered five horses in the Nana's service, and Lulmer Singh, Sheobux Singh, and Heera Singh, of Gujnere, together with Guneshi, of mouza Pyasee, and Kunhere Singh, of Khanpoor, and Eesree Singh, commandant of Kutheitee. I heard further, that all the influential Chowhans were rebels, and ready to aid the Nana, and that those leaders had come with strong bodies of attendants with about 4,000 matchlockmen. Luchmun Singh, Ryye Singh and Oojagur Singh, of Palee, had about 700 matchlockmen; Goolab Singh, Thân Singh, Doulut Singh and Lal Singh, of Sheolee, had about 300 matchlockmen; Boondelahs of Jeitpoor, in this zillah, to the number of 500; with the Rana of Tiktoulee and Sekhreej, there were 1,500 matchlockmen; the Rana was in a palki, and there were drums and standards, and a great crowd of attendants; and Gopaul and others, relatives of the brigadier Joala Pershad, also came in from Sungwan. I also heard, that Kalundurgir budmash, who was hostile to the Raj Ranee, was presented at the batteries, in company with the Rusdahanwalla budmashes, and that the following men were with him, viz., Goolab Singh, Zor Singh and Gowri Lall, of Jubbulpore; Hoolas Singh, Kunree Singh, Kheb Singh, Sookha Singh, and Oomrao Singh, all of Ali Nugur; also Eesree Pundahun, Lala brahmin, Gyadeen brahmin, and Heera Koormi of Purnida; also Nonee Singh, Makhun Singh and Nund of Muhadewa; also Thakoori Singh, Lall Singh, Doorjun Singh, Rotum Singh, Rutun Lall Singh, and Zalim Singh, of Garhewa; also Munohur Singh, and Mudaree Singh, of Belapoor; also Muhadeo Aheer, Sanwul Aheer, and Kunhya Lall Kayeth, of Amurhera; also Sheodeen brahmin, Bhorey Singh, Debee Gir, Roopunder Gir, Gungapoory, Himmut Gir, Jye Singh Thakoor, Lokenath, Debee Pershad, Gunga Gir, Hurchurn Gir, Jowahir Singh, Dhunput Singh, Gungadeen Gir, Hunwunt Gir, and Anund Singh, all of Rusdhan. All the above budmashes keep Kalindhur Gir's company, and peasants from the villages, all armed, are present with him. shortly after my servant Jhain Singh came and informed me that the Europeans, arrived from Furruckabad, had been tied together and slaughtered, and that the troopers of the 2nd cavalry and sepoys of Lambourne's and Gillis's regiments were shooting them down, in which atrocity they were assisted by the inhabitants of mouzas Palee and Soorunjpoor. The gentlemen remonstrated at the time, and said they should not be put to death as they were ready to do any sort of work. This my servant related as what he had heard. Azeem-oollah and Dwarka Dass khuthri, joined them, and had the horses of the troopers tied in the inner rooms of Baboo Esree Pershad's house, over which they also placed a guard. They apprehended Chotey Lall and Saligram, gomashta, and kept them in the kotwalee. In the evening, I perceived a bright light, and found that the rebels had fired a gun; some three hours after I learnt from the people of Jajamow, on their return, that the Nunneh Nuwab had struck the roof of the veranda of the barrack with a round shot, and set it on fire. Then news came in that a person riding on a camel was made to proclaim on behalf of the King of Delhi, that the King had sent a firman, declaring that this part of the country had been conferred on the Nana, and Arjun Singh, vakeel, was sent for. A few hours had elapsed after nightfall, when Roostum, resident of the Fort of Jajamow, was seen on horseback riding as hard as he could towards the ghât, declaring that some Europeans had arrived and he was going to capture them. It turned out that he had friends among the troopers, and was hastening to the Nana. I was also told, that Maharaj Buxsh, tehseeldar of Sada Huseempoor, had joined the Nana's party, that Nuthey Singh and Chundee Singh, residents of the other side of the Ganges, had colluded with Umbikapoor, and had, presented himself with 500 matchlockmen. Nurain and the other contractors of the bridge are using their utmost efforts to convey the rebels over. Kalka qanoongoe, of Hurha, with nearly 800 armed men, landed at the ghât to-day in my presence, with some money plundered from the treasury. Luchmun Pershad tehseeldar presented himself, and said the reports of his having been killed were false.

*The 12th June, Friday.*—I am told that Munsub Ally, Chowdree of Rusoolabad, and along with him Punah Ally of Doolha, and Meer Buksh Ally, resident of Sufeepoor, have come in with a large force. Punah Ally's zemindaree is in Bithoor. These men have come in in a body of full 3,000. I was also told, that the rebels attempted to take the entrenchment to-day, and made great efforts to do so, that an obstinate fight took, in which some of the people of the entrenchment were killed and wounded. Apparently some of the budmashes on the rebel side with two sowars and a number of sepoys, were killed with ball and shot. The sowars have escaped with their lives, and are going to plunder the city, but some sepoys of Lambourne's and Gillis's regiments kept their batteries. At this moment, however, the work is being done by the zemindars

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and their ryots. Certain budmashes from among the men of Palee and Chowhans are boasting about the precision of their fire. A prostitute, Oula by name, is with the Nana. She has taken from him a great quantity of property and jewellery and precious stones, belonging to the widows of the Peishwa. She is seated in a tent, and from behind the screen is enjoying the sight of the European ladies and gentlemen being put to death. A moment ago, I saw with my own eyes, the sepoys and Sikhs, who escaped from Benares, crossing over at this ghât by order of the wicked Nana, with a view to join the rest of his force. Some of these sepoys were on horseback, and they paid one rupee each for crossing. I also heard the following correct intelligence; *i. e.*, that the Rajpoots of Gungagunj, with Raja Koobeer Singh and a strong force, presented themselves to the Nana. This Raja committed great atrocities in the district, and plundered the ryots. As regards Ghunsham jemadar, he was most energetic in the cause of the rebels. He is planning to run a mine under the entrenchment, and has sent for sappers and miners. Again Azeem-oollah, counsellor of the Nana, and Ehmud-oollah, tehseeldar of Bithoor, went with a number of troopers and brought away Deputy Collector Ramloll, near the Savada-ki-kothee. Orders have been issued to seize the omlah of the Courts. Some there who lived with their families in Newabgunge, were seized and brought up, and search is being made for the others who have concealed themselves. It is arranged, that the Nana's kutcheree shall be held in the Tilaq Muhul. The battery of the Nunneh Nuwab is located near the ball alley well. This was told to me by the villagers, and was not communicated by my own servants.

*The 13th June, Saturday.*—News was brought to-day, that Akbur Singh, zemindar of Chandunpoor, and his brother, plundered the boats of buparees, and killed some European, whose name I could not discover. Next I learnt, that Ghunsham Singh, zemindar of mouza Janan, joined the rebel cause, and murdered the son of Mr. John J. Duncan, and having cut off his head, put it on the shoulders of a porter, and carried it as a trophy to the Nana, for which he received a reward of 10 Rs, while the porter received 2 Rs. At about 8 A. M., some of the omlahs of the collectory and foujdary courts were forcibly brought up, though a few of them were not in attendance. News was then brought in from the camp, that the Chowhan Rajpoots had swore to the Nana, that they could send him armed men from all the 26 villages of which they were owners, and aid him to the best of their power. Of the force called Ali Ghoul, newly enlisted at Bithoor, 2,000 men were sent for, and more men were applied for from the Nuwabi districts, through Kalka qanoongoe. It was through this same Kalka that orders were circulated in Oude regarding the settlement and collection of the revenue, and armed men were called for through him. This man began enlisting matchlockmen on the other side of the Ganges.

I had just recorded the above, when suddenly a thakoor named Gungapooter, with a body of troopers from the Nana, came up to seize me, and surrounded the house of Kampta Pandey. But God Almighty was pleased to save my life on that occasion. For Ram Deen Gungapooter secured me, and made me run away behind a ravine. I ran along the road leading to Madarpoor, but was plundered by the cultivators of mouza Pywundi, or perhaps by the peasants of Moyah. A servant Madho, who followed me, managed to apprehend some of the plunderers. But owing to the kindness of the zemindars of Pywundi, I was saved from the hands of those ruffians, and kept in concealment in Joogul Kishore's garden, behind Sedh Nath. There I remained all day under a burning sun, without food or water. At nightfall, Sheo Deen, the gardener, sent four men with me, independently of four kahars who had previously joined me, and thus I managed to reach the shore. It was however my fate not to find a boat at the ghât; I resolved to drown myself in the river, as I thought it better to die than to fall into the hands of so cruel a foe. After midnight, at about 2 A. M., I left the garden. The first ford I came to, had water up to the waist only, and it was moonlight night, so I waded across and reached the Kuttra; there I saw the corpses of the Europeans, whom the boatmen had slain when drunk. These drunken boatmen were armed, some with clubs, others with weapons, and they were running about the woods like wild men. I cannot describe the terror that seized me at that moment. How I sighed for the British rule. I was trembling with fear, and knew not where I was going. The ghât was close at hand when daylight appeared. People of low caste commenced stripping the corpses of the ladies, gentlemen and children, lying near the shore, and carrying off their clothes. Portions of property, books, papers, &c., belonging to the plundered boats were also strewn about the shores. At last a zemindar came over in a boat, and I met a brahmin, who also belonged to the other side of the river, whom I had formerly met. I at once accompanied this man, and got into the boat, which took us across the river. On reaching the opposite bank, I was senseless for four hours. When I recovered, I found that Budruka was three miles, and reached that place at 10 A. M.

*The 14th June, Sunday.*—To-day I sent off men to inform my friends, that I was staying in Budruka, in the house of Dhurum Dass Kayeth. News of events will probably reach me by the evening, when the same shall be recorded. My men did not come with news in the evening, so I merely put down what I witnessed at Budruka.

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Chundee Singh, Hetee Singh of Bunehtur, and also the nephew of Ambika Pershad Doobey, (though not openly) are enlisting matchlockmen for the Nana, and have sent for villagers likewise. Further, my servants have seen with their own eyes 4 dâk horses, and 2 buggies belonging to Europeans, standing at their door. These are the goods they plundered and brought away from Cawnpore, or Ounam. They have also introduced the collection of revenue under the Nana's government. Other property plundered from Ounam, is stored up in their houses. The budmash Kalka, of mouza Hurha, has sent for matchlockmen to every quarter, and has forwarded some of the new levies to the Nana, who are now crossing the river. This man put the whole of the records into a cart, and carried them to his own house.

*The 15th June, Monday, (Budruka.)*—News of Cawnpore, events of yesterday, reached me to-day at 10 A. M. The first is, that the gentlemen and ladies of Furruckabad, who were left behind, to the number of 40, more or less, were apprehended by Jussa Singh, budmash, the Chowdree of Futtehpore chowrasie-walla, and sent down to Bithoor; that the Rao Sahib, budmash, had detained them at Bithoor, and sent word to the great budmash the Nana, and that the Nana had summoned the prisoners to his presence. I wonder what fate awaits them. The other piece of intelligence is, that the Nadiree regiment and another corps, the name of which I cannot tell, both from the Oude territory, have come in with some cavalry and artillery men and guns, and Meer Nuwab is the commandant of the Nadiree regiment, and that they are desirous of coming into Cawnpore. The facts are these:—Sahib Begum is a female, that resides in Bhogneepore and Rusoolabad, and holds several villages in mortgage. This Meer Nuwab, the commandant, is her brother, and has come in at her request. This Sahib Begum is herself a warm supporter of the Nana. But all these disturbances, to which Sahib Begum is a party, are due to the machinations of Mirza Inayut Hossein. All the Government treasure plundered and brought down this way by the troops, is safely deposited in Bithoor. The Nana has made a promise to the rebel troops, that he will reward them with money and gold bangles, when they have defeated the British troops. The rebel force was resolved upon plundering the city, but the kotwal, Hoolas Singh, remonstrated and asked them, over whom they would exercise rule, if they gave the city up to plunder, adding that the fight with the British would be damaged, if all the troops were occupied in looting the city. The zemindars too are anxious to loot the city, as the mahajuns hold the villages of those zemindars in mortgage, and to kill the mahajuns. Baba Bhut, Azeemoolla, and the kotwal, are coming with them. Reheem Khan, Mewatee, and the native doctor, sent for Shah Ali, kotwal, from Bhojipoora, and presented him on the 13th instant, and also made over the news department to him. Firing on both sides was kept up as usual. The newsman also mentioned, that a few of the European soldiers rushed out of the entrenchment, and spiked the guns of the rebels, and turned them over, and the crowd declare, that if the Europeans were all to come out and attack the rebels, the whole of the budmashes would run away; but the zemindars and ryots, and the armed men with them, have surrounded the entrenchment on every side. An unfortunate baker, who supplied the Europeans with bread, was a kid-mutgar, or something like it; he was apprehended and killed. A bheestie has also escaped from the entrenchment. I am told, that some of the Europeans inside have been wounded, and others killed, and that they are in great distress for want of provisions. It is unnecessary to write all that is reported. It is highly creditable to the intrepid daring of the European troops, that they come to the tank to take water into the entrenchment. At 5 P. M., news was brought to me, that the rebels had placed batteries all round the entrenchment, and that the Nadiree and other regiments are to take it by storm. Sheikh Panchoo has promised to form a cavalry regiment, and has already enlisted five troopers. They have determined on plundering the house of Lalla Eesree Dial. His gomashtas are in prison, and they are told to confess where Eesree Dial is concealed. Narain and others, contractors of the bridge, have been ordered to keep boats in readiness to convey troops expected in from the other side of the river, which they have promised to do. A man of the Bouria caste had his hands cut off at the kotwalee. I am told that they expect certain European refugees coming along the Agra road, and have sent on troopers and camel sowars to apprehend them. But this news seems to have no foundation. It has been proclaimed by beat of drum, that parties who have property of Europeans concealed in their houses, must convey the same to the Nana. A reward of Rs. 1,000 has also been proclaimed for the capture of myself.

*The 16th June, Tuesday, (Budruka.)*—My servant, Mudaree, brought a letter, containing news of Cawnpore, this evening. Narain Uguroola, and Jankee his brother, whose shop was carried on in the name of Sobha Ram, Nanuk Chund and Co., and who had purchased the bridge from Behari, contractor, consented to exert themselves in the Nana's cause. They very artfully conveyed over the Nadiree regiment, as well as the other regiment which came with them, and all their artillery and troopers, but not till they had obtained a large sum in tolls and taxes, and they expect to be rewarded by the Nana for this. They were accompanied by Debee Pershaud, mohurrir, and Nyaz Mahomed, news-writer. The other piece of news is this: Duriao Singh, Raja of Nar, of the race of Goorthuree Rajpoots, came in riding in a bamboo palanquin, with

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drums and standards, to have an interview with the Nana. Ahmud Ally Khan, vakeel and Shah Ally, and Azeemoollah spoke in his behalf, and induced the Nana to give him a seat and to accept his nuzzur, and also to present him with a robe of honor. This same Raja voluntarily executed an agreement, pledging himself to keep in readiness a force of 15,000 men, who would be always near him, adding that he had 12 villages belonging to four thakoors, under his control, and that 1,500 matchlockmen were with him at that very moment. Thus, this insane Raja became the well-wisher of rebels. The Nana then gave orders, saying,—"You are at full liberty to take possession of all your old zemindary villages, and to collect revenue therefrom." Orders were also issued to the Nadiree regiment to the effect, that hulooa-pooree (sweet dishes) should be served out to the entire regiment, and that they should have the same fare every day, till they had taken the entrenchment. They on their side promised to capture the place to-morrow. As regards the European ladies and gentlemen, who were apprehended by Jussa Singh, those unfortunate people have now come into the rebel camp, where an evil fate awaits them. One Kunhere Singh, a Gour by tribe, and a ringleader of rebels, has applied for and received one gun, which he has taken into his ilaqa, with powder and shot, which he also received. I have written for a list of the zemindars of pergunnah Dera Mungulpore, who have come in with a large force to fight the British. I shall put their names down on a future day. Ambika Pershad, nephew of Thakoor Pershad Doobé, sent down a party of armed men belonging to Bhulley Singh and Chundey Singh, to apprehend me. Sheo Churun, their special officer, accompanied the assaulting party to my house. They seized me in mouza Bunthur, and wished to send me in to the Nana; eventually they compelled me to give them a promissory note for 175 Rs. on the security of Buns Gopaul Doobé, and did not release me till evening. The amount of the note was paid at Cawnpore by my gomastah Joogul Kishore.

*The 17th June, Wednesday, (Budruka.)*—The first piece of news relating specially to Budruka is this; *i. e.*, at this moment five sowars and two havildars have come into the village to arrange for supplies. They state, that the villagers must make immediate arrangements for supplies, as troops are expected in. I sent a man into the village to make enquiries, and found that two regiments, and artillery, and 22 elephants, laden with treasure, have come as far as Runjeetpoorwa, and that some camels and carts with the magazine and six guns are with them, and that they will encamp at Hurba to-morrow, being on their way to the Nana. At this moment Hutti Singh and Chundi Singh, of Hunthur, and Kalka, the qanoongoe's people, all well armed and accoutred, have crossed over at the Jajamow ghât, bound for the opposite bank. Mahomed Syud, a superintendent, appointed by the Nana, has charge of the Jajamow ghât, and is directed to convey over all the budmashes, while Morad Khan has charge of the Janan ghât, At 5 P. M. to-day, my servant brought a letter from Cawnpore. The Nadiree and other regiments that came in from Lucknow, are treated with the greatest favor and indulgence. They have solemnly promised to conquer the entrenchment in four hours. The wicked Nana has determined upon summoning all parties, and all the zemindars who signed the agreement, owners of the 26 villages of Chowhans, Chundeils, Tarvalee, Gotum, and other tribes, are desirous of presenting themselves. On learning this, I sent off a messenger to bring intelligence quickly, and let me know what zemindars, leaders of rebels, and what budmashes of these villages, are coming on to aid the Nana. I learnt also from the people of this village, that a person named Nuthey and another, were placed on donkeys and paraded in the streets, and their houses dug up, and that Ahmud Ally Khan, vakeel, Shah Ally, Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, and Joalapershad, were appointed a committee to decide budmashee cases; also that the fighting at Cawnpore continued as usual, and that the person who had the farm of the bridge was delighted with the income he derived, in collecting customs duties, in making intizam, and in conveying rebels over.

*The 18th June, Thursday, (Budruka.)*—The regiment with artillery, &c. which were yesterday encamped at Runjeetpoorwa, arrived at Burha to-day, and will proceed to Ounam to-morrow. Kalka, budmash, has issued perwanahs in this part of the country from the office of the (Nana) budmash, and the people of this place are looking out for the settlement of affairs. At about 7 in the evening, my servant Sham Singh brought me a letter. It states that Kalka Pershad, moonshi of Mr. Thomas Greenway, had been apprehended, and that Mr. Edward, his son and his wife, &c. were in prison in his house at Savada. Joala Pershad and Shah Ally went to them there, and explained to Mr. Greenway's mother, the necessity of their paying up two lacs of rupees, warning her that she would be killed if she did not produce the sum. She replied, that she was ready to give a hoondi on Calcutta, and they could release her, when the hoondi was paid; they agreed to this. The rebels went and intimidated the gomashtas in Lalla Eesree Pershad's kotee, who were in confinement, and extorted 70,000 Rs. from them, of which 2,000 Rs. were taken by Dwarka khuthri, the budmash, of which mention has been already made. He addressed them, saying, "They all assisted the Bace Sahibs, and helped Chimna Apa to fight in court, and by paying court expenses, wished to bring me into disgrace by getting my property attached. Tell me where they are, or else I shall have the kotee razed to the ground." As for the zemindars who have come in to assist the Nana, they are numberless, and my informant says, it is impossible to ascertain all their names. I have

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set down all that I could discover, and think them more than sufficient. Their names cannot be concealed, as they are well known characters; all the Chowhan zemindars and Chundelas and certain Boondelahs, and those of the Gore, Gotum and Bese Powar tribes, living in the ilaqa of the banks of the Jumna, *i. e.* Bhoogteypoor and pergunnah Jajamow, and Dera Mungulpore and Rusoolabad, and Palee and Ghatumpore, &c. assisted in the attack on the entrenchment. I shall mention their names hereafter, as far as I can ascertain them. The Nadiree regiment and the artillery men belonging to it fought with desperation, and rushed right up to the entrenchment. They fought well, and overturned one of the guns of the entrenchment; but when the Europeans made a rush and attacked them with grape, the budmashes could not keep their ground; some of them were killed. The courage of the English in such circumstances is astonishing. If they could be relieved by even 200 Europeans from outside, all the rebels would flee before them on one charge. For the rebel troops are quite dispirited, every rebel sepoy and trooper had a quantity of money by him, as his share of plunder, but some of them had deposited their money with their families, and returned to fight. Some sepoys had their wives with them, and these would not join the batteries for fear of losing their money, but would go about the city plundering, and others are comfortably seated in the shops along the canal and enjoying the provisions brought in as russud; they take quantities of sugar to make shurbut, which they drink to their hearts' content. If the faithless zemindars and their dependent tenants had not assisted the rebels, it is most likely the rebel force would have turned and fled. None but the troops arrived from Lucknow, and the zemindars, show hostility to the Government, and aid the enemy they assist them with provisions. The enemy are much disheartened by to-day's defeat. It is a pity that no force comes to aid the Europeans. The budmashes have assembled in very great numbers. On every side, the entrenchment is surrounded by zemindars. It is most difficult for provisions to be carried into it now. Rundheer Singh, son of Rao Ghunsham Singh, presented himself at the rebel court. The following is a list of the ringleaders of the rebel zemindars; *i. e.* zemindars of the Chowhan tribe, about 20,000; those of the Gore tribe, with Raja Duriao Singh, about 15,000; those of the Powar tribe of the Jumna banks, about 10,000; those called Chundela, with Rajas Sunhyee Pershad and Gobeer Singh, about 8,000. With the consent of Gobeer Singh, Doorga Pershad Sechundi was told to come in with a body of Thakoors, but he came in with a different race of men, and is encamped opposite to the Savada-ki-kothee. Rawut Rundheer Singh has come with nearly 5,000 men, and the force of Palewallahs consist of about 800 men. The Rana of Sookhrung and the Rao of Pisjee and others, with about 10,000 men have come in, but it is impossible to give details of all. I am recording all I could ascertain.

The ringleaders of pergunnah Derapoor, with Dunoo Singh, of the Gore tribe, are Mokund Singh Rao, Chutra Singh, of mouza Jein, Bulla Singh, Nurput Singh, Dunao Singh, of mouza Tonah, Lal Singh, Chunga Singh, and Mojun Singh.

The ringleaders of mouza Tikbun, were Chutter Singh, Munee Ram, and Gujraj Singh.

Those of mouza Gurhee Muherna, were Bhowany Singh, Biswul Singh, Subha Singh, and Desraj.

Those of mouza Soogna, were Eesree Singh, Layeq Singh, Hookum Singh, Nahun Singh and Putwarry.

Those of Dureygaon, were Lochun Singh, Mukna Singh, Mudey Singh, Bhao Singh, Bhowani Singh, and Lochun Gutout.

Those of mouza Shahpoor, were Lall Singh, Dhurum Singh, Dungul Singh, Mokund Singh, Chutter Singh, Pershad Singh, Bhoop Singh and Mungle Dhung, and Deo Pershad, brahmin.

Those of mouza Nasir Khera, were Zalim Singh, Buldeo Singh, Muni Singh, and Jugut Singh.

Those of mouza Khanpoor, were Kunher Singh and Manuck Singh, ringleaders of the budmashes who came with a large force.

Those of Mungulpoor proper, were Rana Oomrao Singh, who causes it to be proclaimed by beat of drum on the part of the Nana, that nobody is to utter the word Englishman, and whoever does so will be punished. His force consisted of about 5,000, and Bekurma Singh was with them.

Those of Seetapoor, were Indur Singh, Munnoo Buksh Singh, Ram Buksh, Kulloo Singh, Gokul Singh, Dhurum Singh, and Dhoukul Singh.

Those of mouza Jugna, were Bukha Singh, Suda Sookh, Luchmun Singh, Gunesh Singh, Pertaub Singh, Ram Buksh, Murwun Singh, Uchroo Singh, and Dumur Singh.

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Those of Anuntpoor, were Pohup Singh, Hindoo Singh, Gunga Singh, Maun Singh, Chundun Singh, Aman Singh, Ram Buksh, Mohur Singh, and Sanwul Singh.

Those of Gurhee Dheerujmun, were Chundun Singh, Lall Singh, Dhoukul Singh, Bubboo Singh, and Thukooree Singh.

Those of Parookh, embraced the entire body of its zemindars.

Those of mouza Besoha, were Gujraj Singh, Bhugwan Singh, and Amaun Singh.

Those of mouza Murehna, were Aman Singh and Ram Buksh, with a body of men.

Those of mouza Rukaroopoor, were Oomrao Singh; Rawut Ram Buksh is accompanied by the fighting men of 24 villages, and Chuttewal is with him.

Those of mouza Derapoor, were Munohur Singh, Mudari Singh, and Newal Singh, with a body of men.

Those of mouza Sutmura, were Doulut Singh and his body of men.

Those of mouza Jugdeespoor, were Debee Singh, Burjoree Singh, and Siwaee Singh, son of Lall Singh.

Those of Sudramon, were Hera Singh and Dunao Singh.

Those of mouza Bangaon, were Rhuman Singh and Oomrao Singh.

Those of mouza Bhundimow, were Rawut Bhola Singh, Ghasee Singh, Girvur Singh, Oetum Singh, and Gopal Singh.

Those of mouza Nuval Khanpoor, were Oomroo Singh, Hoolas Singh, Rusal Singh, Jye Singh, and Gujraj Singh. The force with these leaders are of the Goor Thakoor tribe, and the budmashes of pergunnah Bithoor, who have come in with Raja Luti Pershad, were in the habit of committing outrages in the territories of the British before the mutiny.

Those of mouza Dolacka, were Chundun Singh.

Those of mouza Duleeppoor, were Pem Singh.

Those of mouza Mohunpoor, were Jowahir Singh.

Those of mouza Malamow, were Duchmun Singh.

Those of mouza Bukothia, were Anurda Singh, &c.

The zemindars of Kukoond were present.

The Soolawalla zemindars, Jowahir Singh, Oomrao Singh, and others, were present.

The leaders of mouza Dundour, were Chedee Singh, Gunga Pershad, Beharee, and Movuddi Rao.

These men are in great force, and they are the ringleaders of those budmashes. The Chowhan tribes are notorious for this. Allusion has been made to them elsewhere. The principal names, as far as my servant could discover them, are now put down as leaders, viz., Eesree Singh, commandant of Kutehtee; Sulmur Singh, Gujnere, Sheo Buksh Singh, and Gunesh Singh, and others leaders of the rebels.

The leaders of mouza Loharee, were Deenaput and Bukhtawur Singh.

Those of mouza Meinthoo, were Soorjoo Singh.

Those of mouza Mudda-ki-poorwa, were Jeorakhun Singh and Oomrao Singh.

Those of mouza Gujnere, were Gunga Singh and Kunnee Putwarry.

Those of mouza Soorujpoor, were Dureao Singh, Makhun Singh, and Thakoor Deen.

Those of Reethowli, were Jugut Singh and Sanwal Singh.

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Those of mouza Bhutiana, noted for budmashes, were Gunga Khan and Goolab Khan, who were converted from Hindooism to Islamism.

Those of mouza Nunavan, pergumnah Ukberpoor, were Motee Singh, Phooloo Singh, Guneshi Singh, and others of mouza Piasee.

Those of Googoomow, were Ujur Singh and Ukber Singh.

Those of mouza Reprabee, were Ramdeen, Jeorakhun Singh, and Khurgoo Singh.

Those of mouza Jeoniun, were Ukber Singh and Tiloke Singh.

Those of mouza Puttra, were Becha Singh and others.

Those of mouza Surounkhera, were Jeoravun Lall putwarry, Jygut Singh and Laloo brahmin, and Lall Singh.

Those of mouza Bunoor, were Goman Singh and Gyadeen and others, who are all very turbulent and rebellious, and up to great fraud.

The above list contains the names of ringleaders of 36 villages. Those of the other zemindars cannot be discovered by summary inquiry. The rebellious acts of Bhowany Singh, Gotum and others are entered under subsequent dates, and consequently no mention is made of them in this place. Madho Singh, Akodhiwalla, came and presented himself with 500 matchlockmen, and he is a budmash.

*The 19th June, Friday, at Budruka.*—A few moments ago two regiments with guns and treasure borne on elephants, passed in my presence, on their way to Ounaw. They did not land at the Jajamow ghât. Men went off to give the news to the traitorous Nana. Whatever may happen shall be faithfully recorded. In the evening, I got intelligence of Cawnpore through my servant Mudaree, to the effect that the Europeans who had been captured by Jussa Singh and sent to Bithoor, had been brought before the Nana. Of these three Europeans are kept in confinement, on the agreement that they shall cause the Allahabad fort to be evacuated, and made over to the rebels. Some of the ladies are in confinement in the Subada-ki-kotee. Some of the gentlemen have been killed, but the messenger says, that he is not quite certain of this, as his principal errand was to find out the names of the zemindars, and that owing to the fierceness of the outbreak he cannot ask minute particulars, for if his message and errand were discovered, he would certainly be put to death, and then there would be no hope of getting news. Shah Ally and Joala Pershaud tried all manner of artifices to get the mother of Mr. Edward Greenway to bring out two lacs of rupees. She replied, that she had no money by her, but was ready to pay what they demanded, and that she would give them a hoondi, which they might realize before they released her. The following fresh news has come in to-day, viz., that the Moulvie of Allahabad, who created such disturbances in that city, together with Chowdree Kureem Yar, son-in-law of Ehmud Yar and Rujub Ally, tehseeldar, have all come in. There will be a serious misunderstanding now. I know Rujub Ally well. He is a very clever and cunning man. He got employment by false representations, while Chowdree Ehmud Yar is a resident of Hutgaon in zillah Futtehpoor, and a well known budmash, and he keeps the people of that zillah on his side by giving them money. It shows great daring in Azeezun, the prostitute, that she is always armed and present at the batteries owing to her attachment for the sowars, and she takes her favorities from among them aside, and entertains them with milk, &c. on the public road.

*The 20th June, Saturday.*—A great friend of mine has sent me a piece of correct news to-day, to the effect that it was determined to-day at a consultation held at the Nana's, *i. e.* the following persons, viz. the Allahabad Moulvie, the Chowdree Azeem-oollah, Shah Ally, Ehmud-oollah, Ehmud Ally Khan vakeel, Akbur Ally, Baba Bhut, Joala Pershad, and the Bala budmash, and general Teeka Singh and others suggested that there was no other way of taking the entrenchment than by using stratagem, *i. e.* that they should swear and pledge their words, and so induce the Europeans to come out, and then despatch them: for that they must kill them in the long run, and fighting was the inconvenient as it cost the loss of many lives. The Nana did not consent to this; but Bala said he approved of the arrangement. A further consultation was to be held at the spot where the Nana erected an hospital for the wounded, and where doctor Hil-al-ooddeen attended, but I could not learn what it was all about. The fighting goes on as usual.

*The 21st June, Sunday, (Budruka.)*—Narain Singh peon brought intelligence that it had been proclaimed by beat of drum in the city, that the Nana's government had assumed sovereign power in Poonah, and that the rebels were ruling in Lucknow also, and people from Lucknow had come in with the news, and that after taking the entrenchment they would proceed thither. Dwarka Dass khuthri, the budmash, is boasting about Lucknow. He has pointed out the houses of mahajuns to the rebels,

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assuring the latter that they used to visit at the houses of the Europeans, and had property concealed in their houses, and still correspond with the Europeans. Another piece of news is, that the Bengalees who have been in confinement hitherto have now been released.

*The 22nd June, Monday, (Budruka.)*—News was brought to me that the rebels are parleying with a certain lady, who is one of the ladies confined on the Subada-ki-kotee. Goshaeen Rusdhariwala, Indur Gir and others have come in. They are quartered at the Subadar's Tank. They were called upon to furnish troops, money, and supplies. They replied, that they possessed neither troops nor money, and had not sufficient for their own daily food, and that their ilaqa had been taken away from them for many years past. They were directed to remain in attendance. It is stated in the 2nd para. of the letter; that the lady alluded to made a promise that she would induce the Europeans to leave the entrenchment. Fighting continues to-day as usual. I have sent off a letter to try and find out the name of that lady.

*The 23rd June, Tuesday, (Budruka.)*—News was brought to me that the lady alluded to is the sister-in-law of Mr. Jacobi the watch-maker, and that the rebels are parleying with her, and they declare that if she is not successful on having the entrenchment evacuated in four days, they will make a great attack and take it. In the 2nd para. of the letter it is stated that the lady in question represented to Kalka Pershad, moonshi of Mr. Edward Greenway, that she had a great many watches and other property in a box lying in the house of Dewan Futteh Chund, resident of Goal Tolah, and begged the moonshi to go and fetch it. But the moonshi said he could not do so. The fighting continues as usual. The Europeans are much inconvenienced for want of food and water. They can get no news from any quarter by any way, while the rebels are amply provided with every thing. At 7 in the evening, my servant Kesho, brought the intelligence that Azeemoollah, Shah Ali, and the others had a conference with the lady alluded to, and every thing is arranged, that most probably the fighting will cease to-morrow, and that the lady will herself go forward and effect the compromise.

*The 24th June, Wednesday, (Budruka.)*—This evening at 7 o'clock, intelligence was brought by my servant Narain, that the sister-in-law of Mr. Jacobi has gone into the entrenchment with a message from the Nana in a dooly, while the bearers with the dooly remained without the entrenchment, that the firing from the entrenchment ceased immediately on her entering it, and that she came out after a great length of time. At the Subada-ki-kotee, where the tents are pitched, Shah Ally, Joalapershad and Azeemoollah went and informed the wicked Nana of her arrival. She then went into the tent. What consultations passed there, I have not been able to learn, but respectable people say, that it is all a stratagem. To-day, Khodayar Khan, darogah of Abkari, intimidated the Abkari contractors and made them pay Rs. 5000 into the Nana's treasury. Another person of dark complexion, he might have been a Christian, came out of the entrenchment to-day, but he was placed in confinement.

*The 25th June, Thursday, (Budruka.)*—News was brought me at 6½ this evening that Joalapershad brigadier, and Azeemoolla, went into the entrenchment to-day with the lady in question; that Azeemoolla used to interpret for Joalapershad during the conversation that passed between the latter and General Wheeler. It was agreed upon by both parties that there should be no treachery on either side. When this was finally ratified, the Nana, budmash, directed Holas Singh, kotwal, to bring up boats without delay and to form thatch roofs over them. I heard that a perwanah was likewise issued to Luchmun, the ghât manjee, and that one Buddhoo, choudhri, obtained boats from the bridge contractor, as the latter was also a party to the outbreak. They also took away private boats of beoparees that lay along the shore. Some of them were fitted up with thatch roofs, and others have not yet been so fitted up. It is said that the Europeans will leave the entrenchment on Saturday. The kotwal has given strict orders to the commissariat ghât manjee, to lay down a firm flooring on each boat, and he has agreed to do so.

*The 26th June, Friday, (Budruka.)*—My servant, Sham Singh, brought me a letter to-day. I learn therefrom that the boats have been constructed with the greatest expedition, and that a private order has been issued to Joalapershad, Tantia Topee, Azeemoollah, Bhadhuk Dharee, Baba Bhut, Bala Sahib, Shah Ally, and Ehmud Ali Khan, vakeel, to arrange for the great Chowhan zemindars and Palewala, Doorypershad of Sechendi, and Suntey pershad of Sheorajpore, and the zemindars of Nar and Sikhrunj and others, should be in attendance at the Suntey Choora ghât; at the same time an order was addressed to Holas Singh kotwal, to explain to the bridge contractor and ghât manjee to settle with the boatmen, that the boatmen must set the boats on fire upon a signal from them and jump off and swim to shore, the instant the Europeans get into the boats. Kalkapershad, karinda, went to Mr. Edward Greenway in the day, when Mr. Greenway told him to get a loan of R. 300 from Sheopershad or Futtoo Mull, as he also wished to get a boat. The said karinda had somehow became aware of the treachery that was brewing, and warned Mr. Greenway that he had learnt that the enemy

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intended to deal treacherously with them. The troopers of the Rissala remonstrated with the Nana, and observed that it was more honorable to fight the Europeans openly, and they did not approve of the Nana's scheme. On this the Nana assured them that they had nothing to fear, as according to his creed it was quite allowable to take false oaths at such junctures, and that when the object was to annihilate an enemy, he would not hesitate to take an oath on burning oil, or to take oath on the Ganges, or adopt any one of a hundred other artifices. Then the sowars agreed to do as he bid them, and I received intelligence that the Europeans were to get into the boats to-morrow morning. The treasury and artillery are to be entrusted to the Nana's own servants for to-night.

*The 27th June, Saturday, (Budruka.)*—At nine or half-past 9 in the morning, I heard the report of cannon, and immediately despatched my servant Sham Singh to the ghât for news, and to learn why guns were being fired. At about noon, more or less, he returned and reported that the people who came to bathe in the Ganges informed him that the entrenchment had been taken by the rebels, and the corpses of the Europeans were floating down the river; the villagers exclaim in their village dialect that the Ganges has turned crimson, and it is impossible to look upon it. The terror and alarm that now seized me baffles description. It seems sacrilege to take any sort of food or drink. I can think of nothing but walking about from side to side in terror. Shortly after my servant Kesho brought certain intelligence that the property of the Europeans was taken into the boats at 7 in the morning to-day, and the lading continued till 8½ o'clock, when the gentlemen and ladies, and all the wounded and sick proceeded towards the ghât. Just then Ally Shah, a trooper of the 3rd troop 2nd irregular cavalry, seized the wife or daughter of the Colonel of Lambourne's regiment or of some other Europeans, and ran off with her, on which the Nana ordered Joalapershad to make the trooper give her up, and she was given up accordingly. As the Europeans proceeded on toward the ghât, the sepoys captured and detained the native servants that accompanied them, the Europeans resisted, and a great disturbance was the consequence. Some sepoys with loaded muskets were concealed behind the ghât. The ladies and gentlemen then commenced getting into the boats. Some of them had actually got in and others were in the act of getting in, when the Balla gave the order to Joalapershad, and the latter made a signal to the proprietor of the boatmen. At this signal the boatmen set fire to the boats and jumped down and ran away. Then musketry and cannonading commenced in earnest. The Europeans however managed to induce the boatmen of the boat, which contained the General and other gentlemen and ladies, with promise of high reward, to unfasten the boat and push down the stream. That boat floated down a short distance, when it was struck by a round shot from the enemy's guns. The boat reeled, and some of the gentlemen in it took fright and jumped into the river, and some of the ladies did the same. One of the troopers ran away with the General's daughter. The boat however drifted down. The battery of the rebels was located in the Kuttra. The regiment that originally came from Sooltanpoor and encamped at Ounaim, were firing on the boat from the other side. They also fired upon those Europeans who had jumped off the boat. Some of the ladies were killed with the gentlemen on that occasion. The others were all taken prisoners, the boat that drifted down was pursued by other boats, containing armed rebels, while sowars went along the banks on the same pursuit. These facts are mentioned even by the villagers. Another item of correct intelligence brought by a resident of Budruka, who saw every thing with his own eyes on the other side of the river is, that all the rebel zemindars and plunderers that were present, joined in the plunder of the arms, &c. and property of the Europeans also, that the sowars ran away with some of the ladies, but the Nana compelled them to give the ladies up, and had the ladies, &c. confined. On hearing this, I gave my servant Mudaree two rupees, and again sent him to Joorah for news. The man promised to bring back news with the utmost speed. When this man had gone, the daring speeches of the villagers frightened me out of my wits, and I saw no hope of saving the lives of my wife and children. My servant returned when it was near morning, and reported that some of the gentlemen who escaped, had concealed themselves in the Kuttra, but Huttey Singh and Chundey Singh, and a number of rebels captured them and conducted them to the Nana. These were killed at 5 P. M. to-day; also that a great many zemindars had plundered the property of the Europeans, and Rawut Rundheer Singh had secured a valuable double barrelled gun and an English dog, and Suntey Pershad had also plundered goods, but Raja Doorga Pershad had kept aloof from so doing; also that the sowars of the 2nd irregular cavalry had fired on the Europeans under the orders of general Teeka Singh, and the sepoys of Lambourne's, Coston's, and Gillis's regiments had done the same; also that Bhowani Singh, Gotum, Palee, Dureao Singh of mouzah Nar, and the zemindars of Sekhrunj had also used their weapons against the Europeans; also that the Europeans, who had jumped off the boats and were swimming down, had been all killed by round shot fired from both banks of the Ganges. One of these Europeans had floated down to the bank, and was standing behind a boat with uplifted hands, and was looking about with intent to conceal himself in the drain of a bridge, when a boatman, by the name of Kullooa, struck him a blow with a club on the temple, which knocked him down. Another boatman, that was with Kullooa, then struck him a second blow on the head, which split his skull in two and he died, and then they threw

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his corpse into the river. Colonel Abbott, the colonel of the 2nd irregular cavalry, who had been wounded, was left behind with his wife in the entrenchment, but they were both murdered by the hands of some seven or eight sepoys. The letter afterwards states that it was not Colonel Abbott, but Colonel Baker, but I cannot be certain which of the two it was. I shall try and record the reasons which led to the massacre of the Europeans, after I have made further enquiries.

*The 28th June, Sunday, (Budruka.)*—It rained last night. One of the gentlemen, an officer of the grenadier company, with a bit of sackcloth tied round his waist, and with the mark of a ring fresh on his finger, was proceeding stealthily in one of the ravines of this village, bound for Lucknow. He was discovered by Pasees, and the zemindars of mouza Kurondra which adjoins Budruka, brought him away. They asked him many questions, but he could only answer in English and uttered that he was bound for Lucknow. Some of the spectators went and gave information of this at Bunuthur, 2 miles away, when Sheo Churn, Aheer, servant of Ambika Pershad, with the retainers of Rutti Singh and Chundi Singh, came up. Then there was a great crowd, and a dispute took place with the Kurondra people. The latter could not give him up, declaring that they would conduct him to Lucknow. On this Sheo Churn threatened to go over the water and inform the Nana, who would send down guns instanter. Just then armed men belonging to Chundi Singh and Huttey Singh and Kalka qanoongoe came down. The Kurondra people were few in number, so they could do nothing. If Muttra Pershad Dobey, and Ambika Pershad, his nephew, had exerted themselves, they could easily have saved that gentleman, as Huttey Singh and Chundi Singh are entirely under their control: that European was so hungry that he ate up the sugar given to him by the zemindars with both his hands. At last I was told that the men belonging to Huttey Singh, Chundi Singh, and Kalka qanoongoe, took him away, and having put two rupees into his hand, sent him with some of the men to the Nana. My men say they saw this with their own eyes. I then sent off two men whom I paid to Allahabad, giving them a Hindee letter to take to the Sahib-log, thinking that if he got there safe, the lives of the Europeans here might be saved with their wives and children and my own life also. For I saw no chance of saving my life. All the above occurred before eight A. M. In the evening my servant brought news from Cawnpore to the effect that the boat containing Europeans which had floated down had been captured by Sadho Singh, jemadar of the 2nd irregular cavalary, and sowars aided by Hushmut Ally, thanadar of Sirsour, and the cavalry regiment of Mr. Stacey of Bareilly, and that the prisoners were all killed, all but one lady and gentleman. The lady caught hold of her husband and had a child of about a year old with her, and when the Nana budmash directed her to leave her husband, she refused to do so, saying that she would go wherever her husband went. At last the Nana ordered him to be shot, and he was shot accordingly, while a sowar cut down the lady with his sword, and also killed the child. There was a zemindar present there, whose name I don't know. I was also informed that Meina Baee, and Sutie Baee, the widows of Bajee Rao, directed Raveed budmash to carry a message from them to the Nana without delay, that he had been guilty of great treachery after taking his oath, and that if he again murdered any ladies and children, they and their children would assuredly throw themselves out of their house and die. These widows greatly shamed the Nana, and would not eat or drink for a considerable period. It is possible that their intercession may save these men their lives.

*The 29th June 1857, Monday, (Budruka.)*—To-day my servant returned with news at 4 P. M., and stated that the gentleman who some time ago accompanied the men of Kalka Pershad qanoongoe over the water, was conducted before the budmash Nana. He told those very people to kill him. They replied, "Put weapons into his hand and let him strike us, and then we will strike in return, but we shall not strike him in his present condition." At last one of the sowars of the 2nd cavalry, made a cut, which wounded the European on the arm, then the executioners laid on with their swords and he was despatched. Salutes in honor of the Nana were fired from every regiment of infantry and artillery, without ceasing. It is reported that the Nana will proceed to Bithoor to-night, and to-morrow, I hear, the ceremony of installing him on the guddee (throne) will take place, and that he has promised to reward the troops with money and gold bangles, when he return from Bithoor.

*The 30th June, Tuesday, (Budruka.)*—At 9 A. M., distant reports of cannon were heard towards the west. At 4 P. M., my servant came in and reported that the Nana had taken his seat on the throne at Bithoor, and that the sacred *tiluk* was affixed on his forehead and presents offered to him. Orders were issued from the cutcherry of Baba Bhut, to all tehseeldars to realize the revenue and search the houses of parties suspected of concealing the property of Europeans and to bring forward such property when discovered. Arrangements are being made for the distribution of money rewards and gold bangles to the sepoys. The same man added, that he had himself been to Bithoor and observed that all the great zemindars, *i. e.* Santey Pershad and others were present at the installation. The faithless Shah Ally has received full authority to make the intizam of the place, and he has sent news-writers out in all directions. Moonshi Chundi Pershad has been created head of the Nana's immediate attendants. Dewan Rao is the superintendent of the magazine. Sheo Narain is darogah of the Jail.

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Sheo Narain 2nd, is the choudhri of artillery. Mahomed Ufzool Khan is darogah of the commissariat. Joala Pershad's omlah is Mahomed Hussun. I shall give details of the new officers of state hereafter. Baba Bhut, Azeem-oolla, Shah Ally, Narain Mirt, Joala Pershad, Tantia Topee, Holas Singh kotwal, and Ehmud Ally Khan vakeel, were appointed for the settlement of public affairs. I was informed by the villagers that two of the gentlemen who drifted down the stream arrived at Byswarrah alive, and that Raja Durbye Singh kept them in Murarmow.

*The 1st July* 1857, *Wednesday, (Budruka.)*—I received intelligence to-day, that Ehmud Ally Mirdhan has been made tehseeldar of Ukburpore, and that all the Government money that had been kept by was called for; also that Azim Beg, son of Kulloo Beg, timber merchant, Kureem Ally, duftury of the late collectorate, and his brother and son-in-law, were appointed record-keepers in the cutcherry of Baba Bhut; also that Kullun, resident of Goaltolah, and son of Doondey Khan, who was one of the magistrate's orderlies, is now a jemadar in the Nana's service; also that Baba Bhut has detained Bilas, sherishtadar of the collector's office in his cutcherry, and this man waits upon Joala Pershad likewise. Apadhik Dhari has been ordered to take a strong force and post himself in a good position, so as to prevent enemies entering from the west. The bazar in the city is being thrown open by force.

*The 2nd July, Tuesday, (Budruka.)*—News was brought to me that the sepoys had been purchasing ushurfees in the bazar, at 22, 23 and even 24 Rs. each. Apadhik Dhari has taken a regiment of infantry and one of cavalry with him and gone to Sheorajpore and Bithoor. Gunga Pershad senior has been sent for, through the kotwal. Muharaj Buksh tehseeldar has sent in treasure. The rebels have assembled at the house of Ram Lall, Deputy Collector, ostensibly for distribution of pay, and abstracts of salaries are being prepared. The sepoys are clamorous for their rewards. A quantity of gold has been sent into the magazine to be made into bangles. It is said that pay is about to be distributed to the troops. The Nana promised that he would be away at Bithoor only one day, but he has not returned yet. The sepoys are very much displeased. If the Nana does not return, they will place the Nunney Nuwab on the throne. The regiment which came from Sooltanpore and encamped at Ounam has also gone over to the other side of the Ganges.

*The 3rd July, Friday, (Budruka.)*—Of the two men whom I sent off (to Allahabad) to inform the Sahib-log of these tragedies, one was caught. It is fortunate I did not put my signature to the Hindee letter, which the man carried. The other ran away and came back to me, with the intelligence that his comrade had been captured at the Mooftee-ka-poorwa, but he had heen told that the Sahib-log will soon come up here, that some Europeans with Madras troops had come as far as Allahabad, which news was given to him by a traveller at Moorutgunge. I then sent forward a goinda with orders to inform me of the arrival of British troops as soon as they reached Seinee. There is a great noise and uproar in this village to-day to the effect that rebel troops are about to proceed to Lucknow also. At 4 P. M. a messenger brought me the news that distribution of pay had commenced, and that the rebel troops were quarrelling about the rewards, and also that general Teeka Singh, the budmash, accompanied by troopers of the 2nd cavalry would certainly go and bring away the Nana from Bithoor. Ehmud Ally Khan the vakeel is preparing to proceed to Lucknow to discuss the affairs of that province. The following are the names of the former and present news writers that were appointed; viz., for Poorwa, Moofti Rampershad. For Goozurbundi Mata, Bagesur Soondur. For Dilmon, Risal Singh. For Kunouj, Julal-ooddeen, doctor. For Sursan ghât, Lalljee Suhai. For Humeerpore, Ehmud Hoossein. For Goozurjana, Morad Khan. For Jajamow, Mahomed Syud, superintendent. For Sirsia ghât, Gunga Jalee Mirt. In Bithoor, Baboo Singh. For Futtehpore Huswa, Sooruj Buksh. For Ouria, Heera Lall. For Calpee, Bisharut-oollah. For Rolapoor, Oudut Narain. For Goorsuhaigunge, Ehmud Ally. For Rusoolabad, Ameer-ool-lah. For Goozur Chillatara, Janke Suhoy. For Goozur Permut, Nyaz Mahomed. For Goozur Bithoor, Hukeem Amanut-oollah. It is also reported that the rebels are making arrangements to go and fight the British at Allahabad, and that carriage and supplies for the troops are being got ready.

*The 4th July, Saturday, (Budruka.)*—News was received to-day that Kalka qanoongoe had issued orders, by direction of the Nana, that all plundered buggies and carriages and arms, and the balances of Government revenue are to be delivered up immediately. Baboo Ram Buksh is preparing to wait upon the Nana. News has come in from Cawnpore that all the ringleaders of the Chowhan, Goor, and other tribes have been summoned to Bithoor; also that camel-sowars have been sent off to bring news of what is going on eastward. The rebel force too appears dissatisfied to-day. The sepoys complain that the Nana has taken away all their treasure and gone and quartered himself at Bithoor, and they will not suffer such treatment, but will make him feel the consequences. The letter containing the above news, further states that some days ago Sheo Pershad, son of Thetee Mull, was sent for (by the Nana,) and had a conversation with him, and he ordered them to construct waterproof coats. The people of the city say that he has property belonging to Europeans concealed in his house, and he was sent for to

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receive a reprimand for it. There is a great hurry about the preparation of the tents and waterproof great-coats; more magazine carts have been sent to Bithoor. It has been resolved to cut off the noses and ears of those who were imprisoned at Bithoor. The Nana has presented robes of honor to his ministers and counsellors. Some of my men are willing to go in clandestinely, and bring away news, but they say they cannot get admittance into *all* the cutcherries, as they are very numerous. The tehseeldar of Sheorajpoor and Ghatumpoor has not waited on the Nana. I heard to-day that two sowars (I think their names are Ally Shah, and Zamin Ally Khan, of Rampoor, or they may not be) carried off the Nunney Nuwab and the Begum, but they were captured at the bridge. The meaning of this seems to have been, that these were the same sowars who had instigated the Mahomedan troopers to make the Nunney Nuwab the Ruler of the country. It was for this that general Teeka Singh had them apprehended.

*The 5th July, Sunday, (Budruka.)*—Intelligence of Cawnpore events reached me at 5. P. M. to-day. Baba Bhut carries on the work of his cutcherry as usual. The Nana is still at Bithoor. Teeka Singh subadar, the general of the cavalry regiment, and several sepoys of the Lambourne regiment have gone to Bithoor to fetch the Nana. Azeem-oollah, Joala Pershad, and Baba Bhut called at the kotwalee and stated that they were about to take the management of the city into their own hands.

*The 6th July, Monday, (Budruka.)*—The letter received to-day simply states that there is a good deal of uneasiness to-day among the sepoys. It contains nothing new, save that the preparations for proceeding to Allahabad are ir revocable.

*The 7th July, Tuesday, (Budruka.)*—The first messenger returned to-day, and reported that he became alarmed, and returned from Moorutgunge, and he had no paper by him. That he is positive that the Sahib-log will quickly come to this place. I began to suspect that this man had probably come back without proceeding far. I then gave Gunga, lodha, 5 rupees as wages, and sent him on. He promised to bring certain news in three days. My servant brought a letter from Cawnpore in the evening. It states that there is a great commotion to-day in the rebel army, and the sepoys are abusing the Nana, and complaining of his having taken away the treasure and magazine, and quartered himself at Bithoor. They declare that if the Nana does not come back to-day, they will release the Nunney Nuwab from confinement, and place him on the *guddee*. The rebel force further declares, that their enemy (the British) is about to come up, and it is necessary to go up to Bithoor, and bring the Nana away by force. Bad news was received by the rebels from Lucknow. The Lucknow people say that these rebels must not think of going over into their territory, and they must not suppose that they can act in Lucknow as they have done at Cawnpore, for they (the Lucknow people) will make their own arrangements, and the Cawnpore troops have nothing to get by going over to Lucknow. Moonna Lall khuthri, Sookhnundun and others have been imprisoned for having plundered and carried off the treasure of the barrack master's department. They have been called upon to refund it.

*The 8th July, Wednesday, (Budruka.)*—My servant brought news this evening at a quarter-past 6, that the goinda had come in and reported that Europeans and Seikhs and artillery had left Allahabad, and would come in shortly. On hearing this, two camel sowars and couriers have been sent off to get correct news. The rebels are in great alarm. Baba Bhut, Joala Pershad, and Azeem-oollah are doing their best to get ready the magazine, carriage, and supplies. Men have been sent on post-haste to Bithoor. Baba Bhut and Azeem-oollah are in the city, arranging for its internal economy. I also learn that the Nana has cruel intentions towards the ladies and gentlemen that are still in confinement. I have therefore sent off Nungooa, koormi, and Dya Ram, guduria, with a Nagree letter, to go and inform the Europeans at Allahabad in the hope that the British force may arrive here in sufficient time to save the lives of the unfortunate Europeans alluded to.

*The 9th July, Thursday, (Budruka.)*—To-day people coming from Allahabad arrived in this village. They say that the Europeans who are coming to Cawnpore have started from the fort. The Byswarra people who passed this way were mentioning that some men of this territory have gone to the spot opposite to the Kaley Kankur, for the sake of "bundobust," and these stated that the Europeans are coming up. My servant did not come from Cawnpore to-day. I suspect that they are very particular at the ghâts whom they allow to cross. I learnt from a beopari that Moonna Lall and the other prisoners were released on the security of Sheo Pershad.

*The 10th July, Friday, (Budruka.)*—My servant came from Cawnpore and stated that the ghât officers examine all travellers closely, to see if they carry letters on their persons, so he was obliged to throw away his letter; but added, that he had *certain* news that the Nana had returned to the city, and the camel sowar had returned and reported that Europeans were coming up, and had reached Moorutgunge; also that they were bringing up the telegraph wire with them, and would soon reach Seinee; also that the Europeans hang people as they come along, and they have Europeans, Seikhs, and artillery with them.

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On hearing this the rebels are making immense efforts to procure supplies and other necessaries. All sorts of carts, hackeries, men and laborers of the city and other parts are being impressed, and all the ringleaders of the zemindars have been summoned to Cawnpore.

*The 11th July, Saturday, (Budruka.)*—Gunga, lodha, returned to-day. I asked him how he came back contrary to his engagement. He replied, that the ghât officers would not let him cross over. But he added that he had seen the British force outside of Moorutgunge with his own eyes, and that the force would reach Seinee immediately. On hearing this good news I felt as if life had been restored to me. I prayed that the just God would bring up the British force in time to save the gentlemen, ladies, and children, who were in confinement, from being murdered. At 2 P. M. my other servant returned and reported that the ghât officers searched travellers very minutely. Scarcely one was allowed to cross over, but he contrived to get into the boat with the zemindars, and come over. He says the Nana is present in the city, and the rebels are preparing to march out; that he was told that Buddree Nath, commissariat contractor, was sent for one day by the Nana, and told to provide supplies, but he replied that he no longer did that work, and could not make the necessary arrangements; also that the rebel army marched out, bound for Futtehpore, in his presence; that Bala and brigadier Joala Pershad, and other counsellers, &c., must have gone with them, as they were all ready to march. I therefore sent out messengers to bring news, and ascertain the names of the particular persons belonging to the Nana's party, who had accompanied the rebels, and of the arrival of the Europeans at the Kotee. I also told him to tell the people of my house, that I would leave Budruka to-day, and would enter Cawnpore with the British force. The same man afterwards informed me, that Gungoo, Gobind, Ram Bhut, Futtoo Mull, and Nundun Mull, the gomashta of Beseshur Nath Chund, the banker, had been apprehended, and they are called upon to deliver the monies and accounts of the Sahib-log, which are in their keeping.

*The 12th July, Sunday, (Budruka.)*—To-day there is a widely-circulated report in Budruka and Hurha, that the British force has arrived at Seinee, some say it has reached the Ganges, and that it has captured a fortress belonging to the rebels, and plundered the village, and hanged several of the villagers, within whose boundaries pieces of the telegraph wire were found. Some of the villagers have returned from the city: they state that a dark complexioned man has been released by orders issued from Baba Bhut's cutcherry; it is the same man who escaped from the entrenchment and was put in prison.

*The 13th July, Monday, (Budruka.)*—To-day I determined to leave this place, but the villagers told me that they had seen the rebel troops encamped along the road side with their own eyes. Some of the rebels say, the Nana is sure to be victorious, but others propose to go to their homes, and return to the fight after leaving their treasure with their families, as they cannot say what will turn up. I am told that men belonging to Baboo Ram Buksh and Kalka, budmash, have also gone out to oppose the British, and that Kalka has made arrangements to defend himself at Hurha; also that the retainers of Huttey Singh and Chundi Singh have crossed over, the ghât being in their charge. They say that an immense army of the rebels have gone out to oppose the British, and that as the British force cannot be a large one, they will soon be annihilated. But I am convinced that the British will soon make their way in. Unfortunately my servant has not come back, and I am unable to record the news of Cawnpore.

*The 14th July, Tuesday, (Budruka.)*—My servant came in this evening; he reports that the rebels were defeated at Futtehpore, and that the British force is advancing. It is very probable that it will reach Suktiapore to-morrow. The rebels have sent for more troops. Those who have come from the defeated party, declare that the sepoys and sowars are escaping in all directions to save their lives, and that those who possessed plundered property kept it on one side, while all are dispirited and panic-stricken. The rebels have been asking the three gentlemen that are now in confinement, what they have to say with reference to their former promise to have Allahabad evacuated; they could make no reply. On hearing this news, I trembled greatly for the fate of those gentlemen, fearing lest the budmash Nana might be murdering those ladies, gentlemen, and children. I also learnt, that several couriers were apprehended and taken before the Nana, and that they are to be put to death. I am in great dread lest my servants should have been apprehended with them. I hear that Abdoor Rehman Khan, the Principal Sudder Ameen, obtained a rahdaree purwanah from the Nana, and has left Cawnpore. I have ascertained that the following persons from among the Nana's immediate attendants, accompanied the rebel troops, viz.:—1, Sewa Ram Punt-patun-gir; 2, Gunput Rai Dhundhere; 3, Bamun, goklee; 4, Nana Purjoree; 5, Gopal Rai, khuthri; 6, Konohoo Puntsaltree; 7, Madho Rai, goklee; 8, Baba Arkut, Purohit; 9, Bamun Rai, lumboo; 10, Sunkur Bhut, Tubhung; 11 Punopurums, Jaloungir; 12, Gopal Rai, pundit; 13, Tantia Topee; 14, Bamun Rao, lumboo; 15, Busunt Topee; 16, Gobind Punt, Sutkur; 17, Bulwunt Rao, Jog; 18, Sham Rao, Silehdar; 19, Kesho Bhut; 20, Sookram khuthri; 21, Rama Malagir; 22, Dhookul Singh, jemadar; 23, Gobind Hothaee; 24, Ram Narain

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Khas-burdar; 25, Suda Sheo Punt, Patumgir; 26, Koshaba, goklee; 27, Gobind Singh, oustee; 28, Eeso malee; 29, Sookha Ram Set, fotedar; 30, Gaon, hoojra; 31, Sheo Ram, mirt; 32, Ramchund Putpurdhun; 33, Qadur Meean, sowar; 34, Doorgajee, pati; 35, Ramjee, choundhi; 36, Roomanjee, kheree; 37, Rughoo, churee burdar; 38, Nanha, goklee; 39, Narain Bhavee; 40, Narain Motee; 41, Ukbur Singh choudhri; 42, Bamun Rao, Putpurdhun; 43, Rughoonath, Jogleegir; 44, Rumooa aheer bilung; 45, Hunovunta, bargir; 46, Mustirun Nora, sowar; 47, Jowahi Singh, thakoor; 48, Eesoopati, jorga; 49, Baboo Chowhan, hoojra; 50, Bhowani aheer bilung; 51, Lalla Singh; 52, Krishna, naick of artillery; 53, Duriao Singh 54, Qasim Khan, balgeer; 55, Hookum Singh, sepoy; 56, Peer Khan, gunner 57, Noor Khan, standard bearer; 58, Thomajee, jugtaub; 59, Nuthoo, &c. sowar 60, Madhopoori, gooshaeen; 61, Sirdar Singh, jemadar; 62, Babajee, mungir; 63 Muharoo, kootki; 64, Raman, furrash; 65, Rambhoo, mirt; 66, Ramchund Set jalongir; 67, Gopal Rao, sooruj bunsi; 68, Gobind Rao, sooruj bunsi; 69, Goonnee thathee; 70, Goonnee, hoojra of the jail; 71, Nuthoo, sedhnee; 72, Pandojee, seindhee; 73, Narain, hoojra; 74, Pandhojee, sapree; 75, Gholam Hossein, sepoy; 76, Sheikhjee, sowar; 77, Tokaram, dhoomar; 78, Lalpoory, goshaeen; 79, Nurso, seindhee; 80, Abha, joleegir; 81, Muhadeo, babhut; 82, Moroo Punt, dhoree; 83, Krishn Rao, nufree; 84, Abhadhik dharee; 85, Narain, mirt; 86, Ramoo Tantia; 87, Gunga Dhur Tantia; 88, Oudgir; 89, Baboo Datar; 90, Huree, choota; 91, Huree, senior, pehlwan; 92, Kunnoo, son of Khoobi; 93, Krishna, mirt; 94, Tantia Topee; 95, Hureepunt Bhao; 96, Huree Punt Bhao; 97, Sree Newas Rao; 98, Apa Lolee; 99, Krishna Rao; 100, Anund Rao, son-in-law of Oudgir; 101, Lall Singh, havildar; 102, Bhaskur, goklee; 103, Bamun Joshee; 104, Muhadeo bhatuk; 105, Rumnoo bhatuk; 106, Sookha Ram, sussyea; 107, Cheetee Singh, choudhri; 108, Mitee Singh, choudhri; 109, Kishori Singh, choudhri of the zemindar of Bithoor; 110, Bala Joshee; 111, Tantia Punt; 112, Ragho Punt; 113, Goshaba Bhuranigir; 114, Mahomed Ishaq; 115, Ehmudoollah, tehseeldar; 116, Baboo Singh, zemindar; 117, Deep Singh, pehlwan; 118, Doulut Golah Indur; 119, Bukht Singh; 120, Khooshal Singh; 121, Roshun Singh; 122, Boodh Singh; 123, Buldeo Singh; 124, Bithoo Qudum; 125, Babajee Purgooli; 126, Lalmun, sepoy; 127, Mudar Singh; 128, Chundee Singh; 129, Someir Singh; 130, Daood Singh; 131, Ramoo Quadum; 132, Pooloo Punwar; 133, Madho Rao, hoojra; 134, Peerajee, furrash.

*The 15th July, Wednesday, (Budruka.)*—I made up my mind to-day to get across the river by some sort of stratagem, and join the British force at Sekhtapoor; but I perceived some sepoys and troopers running away in great confusion, and exclaiming that they would have an easy victory, as the British were few and would soon be despatched. I was then seated in an orchard, when I observed a shop-keeper of Sersoor running up. He too came and seated himself under a tree near me. I enquired of him, and he replied that he was hastening to pack off his wife and children, as the British force would arrive shortly, and that the Europeans spare nobody they meet in their desire to avenge the massacre at Cawnpore. I thought to myself, this must be true, and the gentlemen must be very savage, the budmashes having found shelter in Cawnpore, and murdered the Europeans. At a time like this the British were not likely to distinguish between friend and foe. So I returned and saw several people, villagers, with their dresses changed coming along the banks of the Ganges, and I went along with them. The terror in the hearts of all was so great, that they asked each other no questions. They came along, and at between 3 and 4 P. M., we sat down behind the Sirsia ghât. I heard the people there saying that the Nana would also march out to-day, and join the battery at Ehurwan. Towards evening the sound of musketry suddenly fell upon my ears, but many shots were not fired before it became dusk. Those who landed at the ghât from the other side of the Ganges, remarked that the ladies and gentlemen that had been kept in confinement were shot down. I was told that they were murdered at the instigation of the zemindars then present, with concurrence of Kalindur Gir, goshaeen, Shah Ally and Azeem-oollah; and that they argued that if they were defeated these Europeans would point out the culprits. I hear that the zemindars urged all this and made them resolve on murder, and hence those Europeans were killed. The above is what happened during the day; it was penned at the Set's house, at 7½ o'clock in the evening. I heard a great deal about the parties that were present at the murder and who joined the budmashes. I shall record it after ascertaining the truth. I then sent off men to find out the names of the individuals who killed the ladies, and in what manner they were killed. I heard that choudhri Ehmud Yar and Rujub Ally, tehseeldar, were standing there, looking on at the murder, and there was a great crowd.

*The 16th July, Thursday, (at old General Gunj in Cawnpore.)*—I heard to-day that the ladies were killed in the following manner, and that Bala, Tantia Topee, Azeemoollah, Abhadhik Dhari, Joala Pershad, brigadier Shah Ally, and other counsellors of the budmash Nana, with a large crowd, were present. At first they called out the three gentlemen that were in prison with the ladies. The sepoys of

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Lambourne's and Gillis's regiments and cavalry sowars were drawn up around them. They shot down the gentlemen at the order of the Nana. Orders were then given to kill the ladies. The sepoys refused to fire. The order was repeated. Then the sepoys fired a volley, but up in the air. On learning that the ladies had not been killed, the Nana budmash sent his own servants. Accordingly Narain mirt and two Vilayetees, one of whom was named Surdar Khan, who were old troopers of the Nana's own body of cavalry, with Bapoo Kankunt, Sookha Ram hoojra, Raman choudhri, Motee Singh choudhri, Besharut Khan, and a Mussulman, named Alla Khan, rushed into the prison and cut down the ladies with their swords. These were killed at night; some of them were not quite dead in the morning. All these with a living child were thrown into the well very early this morning. The Nana took with him all the rebel troops and the budmash zemindars, and went to the Ehurwan-ki-chowki. The hurkarus who had been caught and confined were also put to death. The two men whom I sent into Allahabad, were also put to death. A fight now commenced at the Ehurwan battery. It is now noon-time; people who have seen the fighting declare that they are running back, and that the sepoys and sowars are trying to escape from the battle. Intelligence of this sort was brought from time to time till it got dusk. I saw Kalka sowar, a barber by caste, who took service as a trooper under the Nana, running in for his life, and trying to get some thing to eat from the bazar. He declares that the Europeans have come up, and that the rebel batteries have been captured. But a little while after, it was proclaimed by beat of drum in the city, that the inhabitants must not get alarmed, as there were only 100 Europeans remaining, and these would soon be disposed of, and that whoever killed an European soldier, and brought away his head, would receive a reward of Rs. 100. Again a little while and I was told, that the Europeans had come up to the rear of the cantonments. The man who was beating the drum, abandoned it and fled. It now became night, and I learnt that the Nana is running away to this place. This was true, for the man whom I sent off in the direction of the new General Gunj road to look out, came and told me that the Nana is at the Tiroha of Nya Gunj, drenched in perspiration, mounted on a chestnut horse, looking greatly alarmed, accompanied by Mirt sowars. He added that if only 50 Europeans were now to come up, he would surely be caught. At this moment people are escaping from every lane and crevice of the city. The Nana rode off towards Bithoor as fast as his horse could carry him, and the budmashes of the city who belonged to his party, are all crest-fallen, and fleeing for their lives. They advise each other to quit the city with the rebel troops. Hoolas Singh, kotwal, left the kotwalee and escaped after midnight at two in the morning. The Nunney Nuwab, Nizam-ood-dowlah, and Bakur Ally Khan, all three brothers, fled towards Banda to escape the wrath of the British Government.

*The 17th July, Friday.*—At 6½ A. M. the British force arrived in cantonments, outside the city. One of the officers with a guard of soldiers came into the kotwalee. Those of the citizes that were well-wishers of the Government, brought bread, butter, and milk to the kotwalee. A great crowd of the city people then assembled round the kotwalee to see what was going on. I also, who had not stepped out of my house for a month and a half for fear of being murdered, now came out and went to cantonments. Generals Havelock and Neill, and a number of other officers were standing there. Fruiterers, milkmen, buttermen, bakers and other provisioners were in attendance with their dalees. On hearing this, Lalla Eesree Pershad, Baboo Salig Ram, and others made arrangements for supplying the troops with bread. Those who were aware of this, made preparations on the night previous by having provisions cooked in the bazar. A little after at about 8 A. M. the British force came up opposite to the magazine. Some of the rebels had mined the magazine and lay concealed in it. These men set fire to the powder and fled. The report of the explosion was so terrific, that the doors of city houses fell off their hinges. For some time all was confusion and alarm. Afterwards it somehow got abroad, that the city people would all be———— Hence all the citizens, whether loyal or budmash, are escaping with their wives and children as best they can. I cannot describe the events of that moment. But Lalla Esree Pershad and Baboo Salig Ram and others who have been engaged in transactions with Government for years, did not quit the city. I then sent off a messenger to bring news of Bithoor. He has not returned. I cannot tell what the Nana is resolved to do. To-night I was told that on the night that the Nana fled from this place, he threw a large quantity of————into the well; before leaving shortly after, news was sent to me by Lalla Ram moossuddi, who was always with me in the actions filed against the Nana, that the Nana (Dhoondoo Punt) has arranged to retire to Putkapoori-ki-ghât to-night, and that quantities of money are being conveyed out of Bithoor, and that the servants of Chimna Apa, who were kept in confinement at Bithoor, and elsewhere, had cut their irons and gone to their homes.

*The 18th July, Saturday.*—To-day I received news from Bithoor, that Apa Shastree and the others that were confined by the Nana, and made their escape yesterday, perceiving the Nana running away, proclaimed to the people on behalf of the British Government, "That the treacherous Nana had fled, and the British rule had been

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restored, and that all the property and riches of the Nana now belonged to the British Government, and if any body attempted to touch it, he would lay himself open to punishment." Nana Narain Rao conducted Nana Dhoondoo Punt to the other bank of the Ganges, and returned to Bithoor. Those men went to him and reminded him, that his father Ramchunder Punt had been a faithful servant, and subadar of the Nana, and he (Narain Rao) was bound to protect the property at Bithoor. But Narain Rao paid no attention. On the contrary, he gave out that the Nana's boat had capsized, and then presented himself at Bithoor. He declares that the Nana forcibly took him away, but he ran away and came here. People say it is a great falsehood, and that if this Nana (the subadar's son) wished it, and was really attached to the British cause, he could easily get Nana Dhoondoo Punt captured. At this period people commenced plundering the Bara. Doorga, Gungapootr, Nund Gunesh, Buldeo Nundi and others, zemindars of the neighbouring villages, plundered golden plates and dishes, and escaped. It will not be easy without much diligent search to get a list of all that valuable Government property and other goods. Other goods and chattels were plundered by the villagers. All the Government treasure that was kept at Bithoor was looted by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. I will ascertain and record the particulars. The Nana (Narain Rao) brought away the guns to his own house. The general (of the British) saw the corpse of the lady with child belonging to the 7th cavalry, when the sowars took away to Bithoor, lying in the burra sahib's kotee. The general got in a great rage with Narain Rao, and sent for him, and when he appeared, the general asked him whether he wanted to fight the British. Apajee Punt Thakoori, who was present, pleaded for him, and got him released. He was then ordered to send in all the arms, guns, ammunition, &c. that he might have. Narain Rao sent a portion of it, but concealed the rest, though I cannot say where it is concealed. The general has commenced cannonading the Bara.

*The 19th July, Sunday.*—I was told to-day, that owing to the treachery of Nana Dhoondoo Punt, the Bara, &c. of Bithoor have been set on fire, and that the traitor Nana Narain Rao wishes to pass himself off as a well-wisher of the Government. The servants of the Baee Sahiba that attended upon Chimna Apa, having received orders, dragged the guns away from the Bara, and brought them before the general.

*The 20th July, Monday.*— It is just as I anticipated, the Nana Narain Rao, son of the subadar, wishes to pass himself off as a well-wisher of the Government, but there is a great crowd at this moment, and the Sahib-log have no time to spare. It is also very difficult to find witnesses against him by summary enquiries, and I see no chance of filing a complaint about it before any officer.

*The 21st July, Tuesday.*—I now set to work to find out what men of the city had been loyal, and which of them disloyal, and how some of the omlahs came to present themselves to the Nana, while others contrived not to present themselves, and how some of them were apprehended. On these points, I made minute enquiries. It appears that Ehmud-oolla, tehseeldar of Bithoor, was at the bottom of all this. It was he that in the first instance ordered Deputy Collector Ram Lall to be apprehended. But before he was actually apprehended, Ehmud-oollah and Azeem-oollah employed such powerful artifices and inducements, that Deputy Collector Ram Lall went over to their side, and they compelled the omlah to be in attendance. Had it not been for this, not one of the omlah would have presented himself, in fact a few of them refused to do so to the last.

*The 22nd July, Wednesday.*—It is now necessary to ascertain which of the 11 tehseeldars appointed by Government to the charge of the 11 pergunnahs, presented himself before the treacherous Nana, and which of them abstained from so doing; also which of them joined the rebels in the villages, and which of them supplied the rebels with money, and which of them saved the records of Government, and which of them *per contra* made the records over to the rebel Nana; also what ringleaders came in with the talookdars, whose deeds are entered in the thannah roznamcha, and how many armed men were with them; also what zemindars presented themselves, and on what pretexts, and who were ringleaders among them; also what was the cause of rebellion breaking out in each village, *i. e.*, whether they were ordered to rise by the Nana, or rose of their own accord. All these points cannot be ascertained without the aid of two or three loyal persons, who have homes in those villages. Accordingly I proceeded towards Sada Suleempoor to-day, and when I get there, I shall make enquiries, and the result shall be recorded in this journal.

*The 17th August.*—I have been twenty-five days in mouza Sada, living in the house of Bunsgopal, oustee. I labored day and night at great personal inconvenience to learn full particulars from these people; I questioned only upright and honorable men and no others. On the 17th August I returned, and saw what was going on in this city. On the 22nd August, I was honored with an interview with John Walter Sherer, Esquire, who had long known me; I mentioned to him all that I had suffered during the rebellion, and spoke of the litigation going on between the Nana and our party, and of the

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treasure and valuables concealed in the well. Shortly after Mr. Sherer sent me to Captain Burrows in recognition of my fidelity to the British Government, with a letter. Captain Burrows received me, and I mentioned to him the fact of valuables belonging to the Nana being concealed in the well. I have now got full particulars of the events that took place in the city and surrounding villages, under my own observation. In the *first* place, I saw the Nunney Nuwab *present* with the Sahib-log; *secondly*, the following particulars will show which of the tehseeldars remained faithful, and which of them joined the rebels. Last of all is a statement of those zemindars who came as ringleaders with the talookdars, and the dates of their entering, and who defied the British Government, and finally joined the rebels. The following is a history of the acts of the tehseeldars, ascertained after the re-occupation of Cawnpore by the British. The ringleaders and other parties who came in at the same time are also mentioned in order of dates.

| *Name of Tehseeldar and of his Pergunnah.* | *Residence or Home.* | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|
| Shah Ali Hoossein, tehseeldar of Jajamow. | Zillah Allahabad. | This person took leave from the Collector prior to the disturbances. After getting leave, he remained here two or three days, and then went to Allahabad. After the massacre of the Europeans, he returned to Cawnpore to recover the tehseeldarship of Jajamow, but he was not appointed to it. When the British re-occupied Cawnpore, and the arch-traitor fled, this man also left and went to his home. |
| Maharaj Buksh, tehseeldar of Sada Suleempoor. | Formerly of Bundki, now of Jajamow. | This person was faithful to the traitor Nana during the rebellion, and forwarded the collections of revenue of the pergunnah to the Nana. In every way he was a traitor to the British Government, and has now absconded. |
| Syed Ufzul Ali, tehseeldar of Ghatumpoor. | Of Azeemabad. | This person did not join the rebellion, but like a loyal citizen protected the Government treasure, and saved the Government records; and when the British Government was restored, he presented himself to the Collector. But I cannot find out why the authorities are displeased with him. |
| Luchmun Pershad, tehseeldar of Akburpoor. | Of Pertaub Gurh, adjoining Allahabad. | Azeez-ood-deen, tehseeldar of Sekundra, forwarded treasure to the tehseeldar of Akburpoor, 15 days before the outbreak. The latter took charge of the money, and kept it by him; and also kept charge of the collections of his own pergunnah. At the commencement of the mutiny, he sent all that money to the Nana to ensure the Nana's favor, and continued to carry out the orders of that arch-traitor. On the re-occupation of Cawnpore by the British, he absconded. |
| Waris Ali, tehseeldar of Dehra Munglepoor. | Of Zillah Allahabad. | Apparently this person mantained his post in his pergunnah, and I have not heard of his doing any thing wrong. On the restoration of the British Government, he presented himself to the Collector. Afterwards he took leave on the promise of conducting his family to their home, and went away. But he has not returned. I cannot say where he is now. |
| Terbeince Suhai, tehseeldar of Bhognipoor. | Of Chubramow in Furruckabad. | This person remained in his pergunnah (Bhognipoor) with the Government treasure. The rebels and zemindars plundered him of every thing he possessed. Since then he fled for his life. I cannot say whether the man has been killed, or has made his appearance before any of the authorities. |

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| *Name of Tehseeldar and of his Pergunnah.* | *Residence or Home.* | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|
| Fureedoos Zuman, tehseeldar of Rusoolabad, son of Waheedoos Zuman, Deputy Collector of Humeerpoor. | Residents of the Oude territory adjoining Chilayan. | This person maintained his post in his pergunnah, and presented himself before the Collector, on the restoration of the British Government. He came in with Warris Ally, tehseeldar of Derapoor. Afterwards in pretence of going to bring the Government treasure and records, he disappeared, and then absconded without giving notice to the authorities. Afterwards Salar Buksh brought away the Government treasure and records. |
| Azeezooddeen, tehseeldar of Sekundra. | Of Dhampoor, Nugeena, now in Cawnpore. | This person has been a man of honorable intentions from the commencement. He was a naib serishtadar of the civil court at Cawnpore. When that office was abolished, he became naib serishtadar of the Collector's office. Afterwards he was appointed tehseeldar of pergunnah Jajmow, and finally tehseeldar of Sekundra. Prior to the outbreak, Azeezooddeen forwarded the Government treasure, according to rule, to Luchmun Pershad tehseeldar of Akburpoor, to be sent into the (Sudder) treasury. At the opening of the outbreak, the Raja Bhao made a very desperate attack upon him, and in a manner kept him prisoner. Numerous petitions of his must have come into the traitor Nana's office, but owing to the tyranny of Raja Bhao, the budmash, and being afraid of losing my life, I could get no further particulars of this tehseeldar. |
| Mahomed Nuzur Khan, tehseeldar of Bulhoor. | Of Phupoond, Zillah Etawah. | This person joined in the rebellion; and fearing the vengeance of the British Government, has absconded. |
| Ushruf Ali, tehseeldar of Sheorajpoor. | Of Kora Jehanabad, Zillah Futtehpoor. | This person took no part in the rebellion. He was imprisoned by Raja Sutti Pershad, who plundered the Government treasure. This person managed to save his life, and escaped. On the re-occupation of Cawnpore by the British, he presented himself and accompanied the camp of Capt. Burrows, Superintendent of Police, to Mulanwa, to show his loyalty, and returned with the camp to Cawnpore, where he caused the karinda of Raja Sutti Pershad to be apprehended, and finally hanged. He kept in attendance a long while, hoping to better himself. He has now gone with Mr. Passanah to the other side of the river. |
| Ehmud-oollah, tehseeldar of Bithoor. | Of Zillah Allahabad. | This person with Doob Chund, his peshkar, was constantly in attendance upon the traitor Nana from the commencement. He is the cause of the whole of this rebellion. For it was he who joined the Deputy Collector Ram Lall, in compelling the mohurrirs and omlah of the kutcherries to attend the traitor Nana's durbar, and also issued stringent orders about them, and coerced them to attend. This man was guilty of every act that could grace a traitor. I should not be surprised, if he is still with that accursed wretch. |

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Hoolas Singh, the former, and Shah Ally, the present, kotwal, together with Saadut Khan, jemadar of the general of the triator Nana, were the three principal instigators of the violence employed to compel the omlah to attend the Nana's durbar, and they are still with that traitor.

The real cause of the zemindars breaking into rebellion and joining the rebels, is this:—Choonnee Singh, Buhadur Singh, Muni Singh and Kishoree Singh, zemindars of Bithoor, and also choudhris, were in the service of the Nana, but none of the family of Pokhur Singh choudhri were employed by him, in consequence of an old feud existing between the Nana and that family. Hence all the choudhris and zemindars of Bithoor followed their example and became rebels, and joined the Nana's standard. So also all the Gungapooters of Bithoor, with perhaps one or two exceptions, armed with swords and shields were present with the Nana at the batteries and continued with him. Subsequently the tribe of Kakadeowalahs, who were notorious for their violence before the mutiny, broke into rebellion; and taking example from them, the Rajpoots of Seesamow, with Muthree Singh, Bhudur Singh, Pragdut and Chutta budmash and others, also turned rebels; this was followed by the revolt of pergunnah Jajamow and then the Rao of Seinee, Dunoo Singh, with Perjore Singh and Roop Singh, of Oodeypoor and others, who instigated all the inhabitants of the pergunnah to rise, as also Rambuksh of Jajamow, and Bhoj Singh, a ringleader of the rebels, and Debee Singh, and Buldeo Singh of Khursa, and Bhowani Singh and the Gatum tribes of Sowanchpoor, who are notorious highway men, and who proclaimed the Nana's rule, and collected revenue in his name, for some time after the re-occupation of Cawnpore, all broke out into rebellion. Following their example, Madho Singh, Akorheywalla, joined them. All these facts are well known to the authorities. The inhabitants of Sona Rampoor and of Rumipoor and Kishore Singh's party rebelled, through the instigation of Deep Singh, a wrestler, in the employ of the Nana. The insurrection in ilaqa Sada Suleempoor was caused by the budmashes of mouza Palee, viz., Luchmun Singh, Bijey Singh and others, whose names I have already recorded, who have been daring dacoits and notorious ruffians, previous to the mutiny. Their history is as follows:—There was originally a dacoit in Jajamow, named Ullayavur Khan. This man assisted by the father of Janki Pershad, used to commit daring dacoitees, and they kept up this trade of dacoity even under native rulers. This man Janki Pershad too had no other calling but dacoity, in which he was assisted by other dacoits, and eventually he was imprisoned in the jail of Cawnpore upon conviction of dacoity and died there. These men named above, are the sons of those very dacoits, who joined the budmash Nana, and it was owing to them that the entire ilaqa of Sada Suleempoor was ruined, and many of its inhabitants induced to turn rebels. Moreover these men took powder and shot from the Nana to fight their enemies. They remained with the Nana up to the day the last of the Europeans were murdered, and to the re-occupation of Cawnpore by the British.

Jurkulla and Sungwan attended the Nana's durbar in consequence of the persuasion of Brigadier Joala Pershad. The insurrection in ilaqa Ghatumpoor was owing to Behari Singh Koormi, who was one of the most forward in aiding and helping the Nana. When the Chowhans saw him turn rebel, they too rose, and the depredations committed by these Chowhans far surpassed those of any other tribe. But the Chowhans came to rebel in this way. Bhowani Singh of Khursa, Hindoo Singh of Rusoolabad, Lulmun Singh of Gujnere, Sheobuksh Singh and Heera Singh of Pyasee, and Guneshee Singh, Kunhur Singh and Manik Singh of Khanpoor, and Eesri Singh, commandant of Khuttyee, were all ringleaders of rebels, and these men instigated the whole tribe of Chowhans to rise, and they remained with the Nana's troops. Details of these men will be found in this journal. Again after the flight of the Nana, on the 16th July, one Heera, a concubine of the Nana's who had charge of his valuables worth several lacs of rupees, concealed those valuables in her own house. Oojagir Doobey, Dilleewalla, concealed the said concubine, as she had by her more than four lacs of rupees worth of jewellery, which she had taken away from the Nana, belonging to the widows of of the late Peishwa. I have already recorded the fact of his joining the rebels in this journal. Some of his property remained in the city, but it could not be discovered. He concealed the guns which he received from the Nana, somewhere in his ilaqa. Several complaints charging him with acts of budmashee were received in the office of the Superintendent of Police during the incumbency of Captain Burrows. Again the insurrection in pergunnahs Seonee and Bulhoor was caused by Rajah Sutti Pershad, then they all united together, and afterwards the Nana of Sookhraj joined them followed by the budmashes of Bulhoor. The inhabitants of Bulhoor and Doondua are notoriously bad characters, even under the British rule they attacked and plundered waggons and travellers on the highways. Again Luchmun Singh, of mouza Doola, Mootee Singh, of mouza Akhamow, and Tilokee Singh of Totamow, and others, zemindars of old of mouzah Aukun, plundered the house and factory of Mr. Peter Macsween. But first of all the band of men, who inhabit the other bank of the Ganges, went over to incite them to rebellion, and plundered the Government chowkee and purao of mouza Arowl. I have given details of the rebellious acts of this man Mootee Singh, in this journal, under the entries

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headed 31st May and 2nd June. Peem Singh of Dulbub, and Anurd Singh of Bikoutia, with the zemindars of Kukoon, and Jowahir Singh, Soosiwallah, and Oomrao Singh and other zemindars of mouza Doondooa, joined in the rebellion. Owing to them, Dunoo Singh, of mouza Nar, also turned rebel, and following his example, all the Gores of the Rajpoot race presented themselves at the rebel camp, followed by the inhabitants of the entire ilaqa of Dera Munglepoor, of whose ringleaders mention has already been made in this journal. Further, owing to his defection, his brother and Mookund Singh, zemindar of Mulgaon, joined in the insurrection, and the ilaqa of Sehchundi rose in rebellion. Again, Raja Koobeer Singh, of Gungagunge, who wounded Mr. * * * , and murdered other gentlemen belonging to the canal department, plundered the houses of all the zillah and city people that had run away, and effectually ruined them. He was a constant counsellor, and aider and abettor of the Nana. Eventually he persuaded the Nana to summon Raja Doorga Pershad, of Sehchundi, and the latter was compelled to attend for fear of his ilaqa being attacked and plundered; but Doorga Pershad aforesaid did not in any way assist the Nana, or plunder any body. Owing to the revolt of the Chowhans, all that portion of ilaqa Bhognipoor, lying along the Jumna, and inhabited by Thakoors of the Punwar tribe, rose in rebellion and plundered the poor ryots and committed great depredations. So also one Kalindurgir, a disciple of the Rusdhanwalahs, who had thrown off the yoke of the Raj Ranee, joined the Nana's standard, and got a zemindar named Raja Bhao to join him. These two plundered and threw into confusion the entire ilaqa of Sekundra, and instigated the whole tribe of Meo Thakoors to acts of plunder and violence in the zillah. The budmashes named above are those of whose career an abstract has already been given. If all their acts were to be described in detail for each singly, it would be a very great length of time to record them. I have therefore narrated them in abstract, and I am certain that the dependants of Government will agree with me, that if these men were not the infamous rebels that I have described them, how did they come to join the Nana and continue in rebellion, even after the restoration of British rule in the district. On the restoration of British rule, orders were issued to them all to attend; yet they failed to make their appearance.

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## Some Account of the Revolt of the Contingent.

After the 28th August 1857, I waited on Mr. J. W. Sherer, the Magistrate of the district, and as I had been previously introduced to that gentleman, Mr. Sherer recognized me, and I continued to attend upon him with the view of performing acts of loyalty. I used to send for intelligence from different quarters through couriers, and communicate the same to him, and carried out all orders that were entrusted to me. Shortly after, that gentleman addressed a letter to Captain Burrows, the Superintendent of Police, making mention of my good behaviour, and told me to take it to Captain Burrows, and also spoke verbally in my behalf. I accordingly waited on the Superintendent of Police, and was employed under his orders in performing various acts of loyalty. At this time Bhowani Singh, of the Gotum tribe, a budmash, commenced proclaiming the Nana's rule by beat of drum. News of these proceedings was regularly furnished to the Superintendent of Police. In fact the above-named Bhowani Singh put himself in the place of the Nana. So also the Paleewallah, of whom mention has been made in the journal, did not present himself to the authorities for some time, but remained with Bhowani Singh. Madho Singh, Akodheywallah, continued a rebel throughout. Captain Burrows repeatedly invited Eesree Singh, commandant, resident of Khuttetee, and Komhur Singh and others of the Gore tribe, to come in, but they refused to do so, and persisted in committing acts of rebellion. They refused to give possession to the thanadars, in fact they kept attacking the Government thanahs. Goolab Singh and others of Seonee, all budmashes, raised an entrenchment in their village, and appointed a comfortable place for the rebels to take shelter in. Capt. Burrows was repeatedly obliged to take a force with him to put them down. All the budmashes of the Chowhan and Gore and Gotum tribes, together with Raja Bhao and others, of ilaqa Sekundra, continued to perpetrate acts of plunder and violence, and not one of them would wait upon the authorities. One of these very men named Nanuk Singh, a brother of Kunhur Singh, of the Gore tribe, resident of Khanpoor, went to the Nana at Futtehpore Chowrassee, and presented Rs. 500 by way of nuzuranna, and pledged his word to the Nana, that if the Nana would come this way, the whole of the 36 villages, inhabited by his tribe, *i. e.* Chowhans, would join the Nana. This was exactly what took place. The true cause of the mutiny of the contingent was the revolt of the Gores and Chowhans. I gave intelligence of these events regularly to Captain Burrows, and I clandestinely laid a dâk to Calpee under that gentleman's orders, and continually gave him news which I obtained through couriers. At this period the contingent created disturbances, and on the 25th November, Captain Burrows, with his force, and General Wilson, went off to Bhounte, to punish the rebels. Whatever news reached me, was communicated, according to orders, to the seat of war. The battle took place on the 26th November, and the rebel batteries were taken, and the British force returned and encamped on the opposite bank of the canal.

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*The 27th November* 1857, *Friday*.—I was present in cutcherry till 3 P. M., when I perceived the disturbances to be very serious; I came into the city to see what was going on there. At 4 P. M., I had an interview with Mr. Chandler, the kotwal. I then observed that the Europeans of the rifle battalion were proceeding to the batteries through the chowk. Seeing the disorder in the city, I recommended to Lalla Eesree Pershad to come along with me into the entrenchment; he was making ready to accompany me, when the rebel sowars rushed into the city; then I lost sight of Eesree Pershad, and cannot say whether he found his way to the entrenchment or not. All the property in Eesree Pershad's house, consisting of keenkhab cloth, pushmeena clothing, and other merchandize kept in his shop, and all the grain and supplies kept in his godown, with his horses and conveyances, were plundered. I then became much alarmed and did not know what to do. I tried innumerable plans for effecting an entrance into the entrenchment, but owing to the fierceness of the rebels, I could not reach the city. On this occasion Huzari Lall, the former kotwal, was killed at Unwargunj. The rebels broke open the locks of all the shops in the chowk, and searched long and closely for me, and also searched for moonshee Joala Pershad, and Sheo Pershad, and Eesree Pershad, and for their gomashtas. But all they could find was a Musulman servant seated at the gate of moonshi Joala Pershad's house. This man they carried off. At night at about 2 A. M., I believe the Government officials recovered a gun belonging to the British, which had stuck in the mud, and carried it away.

*The 28th November* 1857, *Saturday*.—I heard to-day that the British force defeated the rebels near the Church, where the batteries were erected. There were present, with the rebels Hoolas Singh, Joala Pershad, Tanteea Topee, Raja Doorga Pershad, Kunhur Singh, Buldeo Singh, Bhudur Singh, (who absconded from mouza Seesamow) and the retainers of Raja Sutti Pershad, the zemindars of Seolee, Gujnere, Ukburpoor, Khuttimow, mouza Bhow, and Dera Munglepore; also the zemindars of mouza Sona, being Muthra Singh and others; also Ujut Singh and others, zemindars of Keindha; also Bhowany Singh of Sewanchpoor, who became tehseeldar of Nuroul under the Nana's rule; also the zemindars of mouza Koonderi and others, all the above being of the Chowhan and Gotum tribes, and inhabiting the 36 villages of the Chowhans; also the zemindars of mouza Attha; and Jodha Singh and Jowahir Singh, zemindars of mouza Kheora. But the accursed Nana himself was not present. At night the rebels continued in the kotwalee, and I heard that Narain sowar of Rumipoor, a Bhât by tribe, came and attacked my house with all the other sowars, and searched for me, and that it was Radhika, a Kayeth, who conducted the sowars to my house, and told them to plunder that house first. But owing to the daring of the European troops, and the noble fortune of the British, my house escaped. The rebel sepoys carried away 15 bags of sugar from the godowns of Roop Ram, Goberdhun Dass, and of Hurkund Rai Roop Ram. They also forcibly entered into the house of Buldeo, money changer, and seized him, and did not release him till they had extorted a sufficient sum of money from him.

*The 29th November* 1857, *Sunday*.—This morning the rebels were engaged in removing the bodies of their dead comrades. The rebel troopers made a furious onset on Nya Gunj to get the bazar opened, but a few shots from the British dispersed them. This morning one of my couriers brought me news of the 28th instant to the effect, that the rebels who formerly attacked Cawnpore, had lost spirit; but now that they are reinforced by the contingent, they have resolved on attacking the British. Sowars are moving about in all quarters, some of them are those who fled from the fight. News came in from Calpee, that the entire rebel force has left Calpee, leaving a few troops only to guard the magazine, and that their wives are still at Calpee. This morning I made bold and walked out towards the entrenchment to communicate the news, but I saw a great many rebels on the road, armed, strolling about, hence I could not reach the entrenchment. At 11 A. M. to-day, the rebels proclaimed by beat of drum, that they would not molest any body who may have concealed sepoys belonging to the Sahib-log. At 3 P. M. they issued another proclamation, that nobody was to open his shop without their orders, that people were to go and buy what they wanted at their batteries. Moreover the sepoys seized Goor Buksh, brahmin, and also a pawnwalla, and insisted on his delivering up money, and maltreated him, and took his money. They also seized Chukkey, cloth merchant, and extorted money out of him likewise. They also went about hunting for the bankers, and broke open the locks of three or four shops in the chowk. They looted sweetmeats to the value of about Rs. 50. To this day not a single shop-keeper has given them any thing with good will of his own accord. They have appointed a jemadar to take charge of the kotwalee.

*The 30th November* 1857, *Monday*.—I heard to-day that Bala and Rao, and Hoolas Singh, Tanteea Topee, Joala Pershad, and others are with the rebel force, that pickets of 200 sowars each are stationed at the maidan chokey and the shewala Mengly; also that the zemindars of Gujnere, Ukburpoor, Seolee, Khutetee, and of the entire ilaqa lying on the road to Calpee, together with armed men, have come along with the Nana. I sent for Futteh Singh, zemindar, a raees of mouza Bungwan, who was formerly a well-wisher of the State, and who still attends upon Captain Burrows to prove his fidelity by active service, and through him remonstrated with several zemindars of position and influence; some of them listened to him,

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and I shall ascertain their names from him and record them. I shall also mention those who did not listen, but came along with the rebels. Moula choudhri, who formerly supplied the Nana with provisions, still continues to seize mahajuns, and to compel them by force to deliver such supplies as he calls for. Men of low caste have plundered the roti godown. The servants, in great numbers, of the zemindars whose names have been mentioned above, are taking an immense quantity of supplies to their masters. They even go about armed with matchlocks in some parts of the city.

*The 1st December* 1857, *Tuesday*.—Early this morning, the rebels having obtained information of the movements of the British force, determined to move their batteries towards Nya Gunj. Accordingly they took two of their horse artillery guns, and five heavy guns, to the corner of Kahoo Kotee, and nearly one entire regiment was stationed under cover, from Chutayee Muhul to the Kahoo Kotee they had carts full of ammunition and doolies with them, but when they advanced a little way with their guns, the British fired and killed some of their artillery men, and wounded some, and also knocked one gun off its carriage. The truth is, the rebels are proceeding under cover of this road towards the Subadar's Tank, and in front of the Nunney Nuwab's gate, bound for Nya Gunj. Some of them are proceeding *viâ* the grain mart from Unwur Gunj, and others by way of the chowk; a few of them are concealing themselves in shops. The people of the city are prevailing on them to go onwards by oaths. People also give out that the men of Bengal are running away, and that there is about to be an attack. It is certain that with the exception of the men of the contingent, the other rebels are quite dispirited. This evening I was told, that Hoolas Singh kotwal came up to the kotwalee, and making a low bow to it, galloped off.

*The 2nd December, Wednesday*.—I find that although people speak of the rebels being in great force, they do not exceed 10,000 men, of whom there are not more than 5,000 good fighting men, but the rebel zemindars, &c. are all eager to assist them, and bring them immense quantities of supplies. The bazar of Nuwab Gunj is now thrown open; wheat sells for 18 seers per rupee, Bajra for 26 seers per rupee, joar for 30 seers per rupee, and other sorts of grain are extremely cheap in the suburbs and neighbourhood.

*The 3rd December* 1857, *Thursday*.—I was told to-day that the rebels forcibly carried off bags of sugar, from the godowns of Ram Roop Goberdhun Dass, and that the shops in the city remained closed all day. Apparently the rebel troops are very much afraid of the British cartridges, and much dejected at the thought of its encountering them; they are making excuses to avoid them. It seems certain that the British will soon win a signal victory, and the traitors will soon be killed. At noon it was proclaimed by the traitor, by beat of drum, that every body who concealed a European, and brought him up, would be rewarded. It is clear that the day of their annihilation is close at hand. With reference to the rebels who conceal themselves near the gate of the Kahoo-ki-kotee by way of Nakabundi with one gun, and some barrels of gunpowder two round shots from the guns of the British fell on them at about 11 A. M., which made them conceal themselves. Had these two shots been followed up by 8 or 10 more, those rebels would certainly have fled.

*The 4th December* 1857, *Friday*.—I heard to-day that the rebels carried off nearly 150 bags of sugar by force, from the godowns of Roop Ram, Goberdhun Dass; the cause of all that violence seems to be this. A bunnia of the Agurwalla caste, had been purchasing supplies in the city for two or three months previous, clandestinely on the part of the traitor Nana, but nobody was aware of this. This man formerly asked Roop Ram, Goberdhun Dass, to sell him sugar at Rs. 19 per maund, but the owners of the sugar had their suspicions, and refused to give it to him. This same person belonging to the traitor, now came forward and pointed out where the sugar was kept. I think the shop-keepers are acquainted with his name. I also heard that the rebel zemindars have sent down parched gram to-day for distribution to all the rebel troops. The third piece of news is, that the British force, consisting of Seikhs and others, beat and plundered some of the towns-people near Putphool Gunj. God only knows whether this is true or false, but the people of the city are very much dejected since the arrival of this news. The fourth bit of news is, that it was proclaimed by beat of drum at 9 A.M. to-day in the city, that all natives of the city who may be in the entrenchment, are to leave it immediately, on pain of being put to death. Fifthly, I am told that the rebels in charge of the batteries, entered the shops of the rope sellers and forcibly carried off all the gunny bags found in them. 6thly, I am told that the rebel army, which was formerly with the Nana who fled from Cawnpore, is still dispirited and heart-broken; but the contingent troops are determined to brave it out. 7thly, that not one shop in the city has been opened to this day; only the vegetable sellers are to be seen with their stalls in the hât. Apparently the rebels have larger supplies than they require, and that they have abundance of money. Had it not been so, they would have plundered the city long ere this. Not one of the rebels has bought one pice worth of goods from the city to-day, they are so well supplied. For this reason wheat is selling at 21 seers per rupee to-day, and salt at 11 seers per rupee. The sowars have seized

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nazir Serh Mull, and committed serious outrages. They plundered all the property that they found at his door.

*The 5th December* 1857, *Saturday.*—I heard to-day that the rebels attacked the house of moonshi Ram Narain, and plundered him of all his property, clothes, shawls, silver and copper plates, &c., that they found in the house and out-offices. The servants of moonshi Joala Pershad told me that his house had been robbed.

*The 6th December* 1857, *Sunday.*—When the battle between the rebels and the British army commenced, and the latter pursued them towards Narainpoor, the following parties were with the rebels; viz., Rajas Doorga Pershad and Kunher Singh, and the retainers of Raja Sutti Pershad, with the zemindars of Seolee and Bhow, Ukburpoor, Khutetee, and Dhur Munglepoor; also Muthra Singh and others of mouza Sona and of Gujnere, with Ujub Singh and other zemindars of Kendha, with Bhowani Singh of Sewanchpoor, who became tehseeldar of Nuwul, under the Nana's rule; also the zemindars of mouza Roudouli, &c., all of the Gotum tribe, with Jodha Singh and others, zemindars of Athuyea, and the whole of the inhabitants of the 36 Chowhan villages from ilaqa Ukburpoor. These men all fired upon the British troops throughout, and fought on the part of the rebels, and they were formerly with the Nana, and provided him with supplies. Apparently the only zemindars who remained faithful to the British, were Doorga Singh, jageerdar of mouza Mudarpoor, and Futteh Singh and Roop Singh, zemindars of mouza Bunguran, who are still actively engaged in acts of loyalty to the State. The Gotum tribes of mouza Ourchee, also accompanied the rebels, but the entrance of the Chundels was owing to Raja Doorga Pershad. I know no particulars of Ravut Rundheer Singh.

*The 7th December* 1857, *Monday.*—To-day I handed one copy of this journal to Mr. J. W. Sherer, the Magistrate and Collector, at the gate-way of the entrenchment, and presented a second copy to Major Burrows, Superintendent of Police. Since then I made enquiries, and recorded the following facts, appertaining to the occasion when the rebel force fled before the British. It appears that the first engagement with the contingent that came along the Calpee road, took place at Bhuvuntee, when they were defeated by the British, and lost three of their guns. Up to the date of that battle, only Chowhans, and none of the inhabitants of the territory lying on the Calpee road, had joined the rebels. The only zemindars that had joined them, were Bhowani Singh Gotum, Eesree Singh, zemindar of Kuthetee, Nanuck Singh Gore, Kunhur Singh Gore, residents of mouza Khanpoor; Sulmur Singh, Sheobuksh Singh, Heera Singh, and other budmashes of Gujnere. But when the *second* engagement with the rebels took place on the 27th November at the canal near the city, and when Brigadier Wilson was wounded, and the rebel army came down on the British from all sides, till they rushed into the city, and when the British force proceeded through Nya Gunj and the Chowk, into the entrenchment, and the battle with the rebels then fairly commenced, on that occasion, *i. e.*, on the 1st December, one Kooer Singh, who is also styled Baboo Kooer Singh, a resident of Jugdeespoor, whom people designate as the Raja of Bhojepoor, came and fought the British with three mutinied regiments from Dinapore, and others. The said Kooer Singh seized Raja Doorga Pershad of Sehchundi, and brought him along with him; otherwise there was no chance of Doorga Pershad joining in this rebellion. Subsequently Kalindur Gir Goshaeen, a budmash of Rusdhan, joined the rebels. So also Kobeer Singh, who committed outrages along with the Nana, during the former insurrection, came this time of his own accord, with a force of armed men. Sutti Pershad took no share in this second revolt, but certain servants of his, with Bhopal Singh and Nurput Singh, sons of Juswunt Singh chowdhri, of Futtehpoor Chowrassee, came to the fight.

The budmashes of ilaqas Poora and Bulhoor also joined in the fight, owing to Goolab Singh of Sheolee, who was a partizan of the Nana's, and who constructed an entrenchment at Sheolee, and aided the rebels and showed opposition to Major Burrows at Sheorajpoor. As for the budmashes of Bhow, they have been with the rebels from the commencement, though clandestinely. Ehmud Ally Mirdha, of Ukburpoor, who held a tehseeldaree under the Nana's rule, excited all the inhabitants of ilaqa Ukburpoor to rebellion, and leagued himself with the Chowhans, and caused the ringleaders of the Chowhans to attend at the rebel batteries. The zemindars of Dhurmungudpoor, of whom mention has been made in this journal, joined the rebels through the instigation of the budmashes of Gujnere. The Rao of Sepyee in pergunnah Jajamow, the Rana of Sikhrunj, and Duriao Singh, of ilaqa Nar, who joined in the former disturbances with their bodies of armed men, lent their aid in the second revolt, with their forces, in like manner. So also Ujub Singh of Kendha, Bhikka Singh the budmash, the zemindars of Kondowlee, and Jodha Singh, zemindar of Athyea, all along helped and accompanied the Nana in plundering ryots and finding supplies for the rebels.

In December 1857, when I accompanied Major Burrows, Deputy Quarter Master General, to the battle fought with the rebels at Furruckabad, I learnt the true particu-

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lars, which I long sought to obtain of the report that the budmash Nana deposited the Government treasure, which he had plundered at Bithoor, and that certain parties had taken away the valuable jewellery, cash, &c. &c., belonging to the Nana, on his flight from Cawnpoor. The particulars were given to me by Nanukmun Pandé, resident of Chowkipoor, and Choonni Lall banker, who said that the parties who took away the money and silver plates, were Oottum Chund, of mouza Baleepoor, and Ounan, of mouza Buroha, Beharideen, Bishunpooree, and others also joined in the plunder of the money. Dhookul Singh, Bhonchul Singh, Imrut Singh, Bhiggur Singh, and others of mouza Indulpoor, looted the Government treasure, joined by the inhabitants of mouza Juraree, and by the Rajpoots of mouza Chundika. Nunkooa and Bhukhtoora, residents of mouza Koormi Khera, carried off nearly Rs. 10,000 in cash. Lalla Tewary, Ruttoo, Dewan, Munrakhun and Bijoul, of mouza Maloun, plundered the property of Mr. Charley Sahib. Anunt Singh, Narain Singh, Gopaul Singh, Kalka Deen, Gunga Deen Deechut, Ram Churun, Jugut Singh, Choonni chowdhri, and Suhai Sookul, also looted the Government treasure, and fought along with the Nana. Sanwul, Hurdeen and others, of mouzas Rooka, Ghunshampoor, and Khoobapoor, carried off pearls and precious stones, &c. &c. Oodhar Singh, of Khandeypoor, carried off all the valuables which the sowars deposited in Bithoor. Zubur Singh, of mouza Koonjki, carried off the property of the late Bajee Rao. The zemindars of Baramow also plundered Government property. Buldeo Singh, of mouza Tuktoobee, plundered the moonshi of the road department. The budmash Gungapooturs of Bithoor, joined by Dowlut Singh and others, went and plundered all the Government property which the Nana had taken away and deposited in Bithoor. Further particulars are known to Nanukmun Pandè and Choonni Lall.

I will now give some account of those acts of loyalty and fidelity which give me some claim upon the favor and approbation of the authorities. On the 26th May 1857, I had clearly explained to Mr. Hillersdon, the former Magistrate of Cawnpore, the probable results of all the measures good and bad then decided upon, and pointed out the disastrous consequences, which were sure to follow from some of them; but that gentleman paid no attention to me, but on the contrary was offended at my suggestions. Well, the result showed that I had guessed and conjectured rightly. If the authorities had in the least degree followed my suggestions, this dreadful tragedy would never have been enacted. It will be clear on the least reflection, that it was unwise to leave the very enemy, whose territory had been conquered by the British, in charge of the district. The authorities had mistaken the character and origin of this villainous Nana. As the Persian Poet Saadi has justly observed: "He that is of evil origin, will never walk under the shadow of the good; a man of low origin is rarely faithful to his master." Now, this Nana was the son of a mendicant brahmin, and he was purchased (by the Peishwa) for money, along with other children, and it was Ram Chunder Punt, the Peishwa's subadar, who gave him out to be the Peishwa's adopted son. Again, the whole race of Mahrattas are an untrustworthy set. It is proverbial that they take thousands of false oaths to effect the meanest and most insignificant objects. The authorities were misled in believing that he was a great and influential man, but it is always foolish to expect a good turn from one whose origin is evil. Nobody acts so. As Saadi again justly says: "It is not wise to put out the fire and keep alive one spark, or to crush the serpent and feed its youngling." Yet by following an opposite course, in the present case the authorities encouraged the Nana to meditate revenge for the wrongs of his father. For in the first place this man's origin was evil. In the second place, the family among whom he was brought up, constantly reminded him that the Poona Sattara territory belonged once to his ancestors. They used to tell him that the British had destroyed his father's territories. Thirdly, they told him—"See! after the death of Bajee Rao, the British have made you no allowance." Fourthly, the Nana had a hard fight with the Government for the recovery of his pension, and sent his agents to England with his appeal; but the authorities there turned a deaf ear to it. Under such circumstances was it wise to make a *friend* of such a deadly enemy, who harboured revenge against the British for years, who was watching eagerly for an opportunity to revenge the wrongs suffered by his father, and who kept company with bad characters, and regarding whose violence numerous complaints were on record in our courts? Was it wise to authorize this man to raise armed levies at his own discretion for "the protection of the people and suppression of the mutiny?" To ask a person who was every way your prisoner to protect you, was only to prove that the power of the British Government had been weakened. It is marvellous how the authorities could believe that they could reap good results by making over the Government of the district to a budmash. The proper course was to remove the artillery and arms and ammunition from this man's charge, and to keep him entirely in the power of the British. It was very unwise to make over your whole house to an enemy, who had power to endanger your life and kingdom; for it was in his power to summon 100,000 armed men of his own tribe, who were eagerly wishing for an opportunity to assert their rights, and the brotherhood of this very Nana used to go among the sepoys and sowars on pretence of putting down their rebellious spirit, while in reality they were feeding the flame, and by cunning artifices winning them over to the Nana's cause. At the commencement, the Magistrate would not believe this man capable of exciting others

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to rebellion, and turning an enemy of the British ; but there were records in the office of the Commissioner of Bithoor to shew, that in 1845, when the British were engaged in a war with some enemy, the Peishwa sent a Raja, named Peerajee, across the Ganges, to raise troops clandestinely with a hostile purpose, and that this matter reached the ears of the Commissioner of Bithoor ; and that orders were about to be issued to Bajee Rao to leave Bithoor, and the vakeels of Bajee Rao went as far as the Simla Hills to clear him of these imputations. It is impossible to understand how General Wheeler could have regarded these acts of the Peishwa's former career with approval. Another strange proceeding was to construct the entrenchment out in the open plain, far away from the magazine and treasury, and public offices, so as to prevent even the native well-wishers of Government from ever reaching it, if so disposed.

The magazine had an immense walled enclosure, and contained a great many buildings, and was full of artillery, powder and shot, and the river Ganges flowed behind it ; and all the three public offices were near it, and the treasury and jail were in front of it. Surely that was a better place for the entrenchment, had it been so used, and had guns been placed in position on elevations within it, the magazine could not have got into the hands of the rebels, nor could they have plundered the treasure or destroyed the Government records. In that case the omlah of the publice offices also would have waited on the authorities, for a great number of them had their homes in Nuwab Gunj, and those within the entrenchment would have suffered no distress for want of water and provisions, for the villages of Cawnpore, Kohna, and Nuwab Gunj, were adjoining the magazine, and could have provided all kinds of supplies, and then the well-wishers of Government could have easily reached the entrenchment. But what was done, was the reverse of this. They made the entrenchment far out in the maidan, and out of the city, without reflecting that in case of mutiny breaking out, it would be surrounded by the rebels on all four sides, who would be assisted by the magazine, and all the pieces of artillery, and Government treasure, so temptingly thrown in their way. Thus, to illustrate the proverb, they put a sword into the enemy's hand, and put their heads forward, and the result was, that when the rebellion began to rage, the Sahib-log went into the entrenchment, and the city was left unprotected. The rebels first seized and carried off the treasure, next they took possession of the magazine, then the rebel zemindars joined them, and thus the entrenchment was surrounded on all four sides. The rebels then took possession of the city. The rebellion became so fierce that provisions could not eventually be carried into the entrenchment. It is said, that a certain wife used to act up to the wishes of her husband, because she feared him, and then could also protect herself ; but when her husband died, she found herself under other people's control, and did what she pleased. Thus it was with the citizens of this place. The reason why the city was not plundered is this, *i. e.*, Holas Singh, kotwal, and other sensible people, kept explaining to the Nana that he would be a great loser if he gave the city up to plunder, and that after the British rule was completely extinguished, and his own established, he could take as much money from each citizen in proportion to his means as he pleased, in conformity with the laws and rules observed by native governments. Of course the rebels were much encouraged by the mutinies at Delhi and Meerut.

But it is a pity, that instead of the Magistrate's making a friend and confidant of such an enemy as the Nana, he did not make friends of the great and influential zemindars of the 5 or 7 Rajwarah villages, who kept up armed men for their protection. It is a pity he did not send for them, and require their assistance, and take their promises to that effect. Had this been done, I am sure that 20,000 men would have been sent for our protection, and the rebel troops would have retraced their steps, or if they fought the British, they could not have then overpowered them for a very long time, and the British relieving force would have had ample time to come to their assistance, and they would not have been distressed for supplies and other necessaries, and even natives would have come forward and aided the Europeans to show their loyalty, and win a good name. I have been told by many, on the best authority, that these great zemindars, Rajas, &c. were much annoyed at the Nana's receiving so much power and authority ; for those zemindars were the greatest men of the district. They lamented that they had been ignored and overlooked, and a wicked man preferred to them. Hence when they saw the rebels wielding power in every direction, they too came under the control of the rebels. Had the late Magistrate issued purwanahs to the tehseeldars and thanadars from the commencement, directing them to summon the zemindars of their several ilaqas, and engage their active assistance, and cause them to appear before the huzoor, they would have willingly come forward to do so, and in fact the tehseeldars and other omlahs themselves would have escaped from the claws of the rebels, and run into the entrenchment : but nothing of this sort was done. If the authorities had taken measures to obtain the assistance of these zemindars, they could have got 100,000 armed men of this district, and what could 3,000 rebel soldiers do against them. All this massacre and destruction was the result of giving authority to the Nana.

This journal was commenced before the mutiny, and has been brought down to the day on which the rebellion was extinguished, and it has been corrected after minute

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enquiries made, since the re-occupation of Cawnpore by the British, to prove to the authorities that I have been a loyal subject, and also to establish a good name. It has now been submitted to the Government, under the purwanah of the Cantonment Joint Magistrate of Cawnpore, dated 20th December 1858. It appears to me necessary to record a few additional events of importance as they have come to pass. The object of writing this journal was as follows. The daring and courage and prowess in battle of British troops is clearer than the sun at noon day. Knowing this, and also being confident that these faithless and treacherous rebels would be annihilated in a few days, and that close inquiry would be made into the barbarous murders perpetrated here (when a great number of Europeans, the servants and dependants of Government, were killed) and the guilty ones punished, I believed that by means of this journal I should be classed amongst the most loyal servants of the State. But nothing of the kind has taken place. The first and most important point respecting which the closest enquiry should have been made was, who were the murderers of the unfortunate Europeans, whether the rebel Nana alone, or other parties too had a hand in that massacre, and what was the reason that gentlemen and ladies and children were thus slaughtered in cold blood? This point has not been investigated and cleared up by any person since the re-occupation of Cawnpore by the British: yet this was the primary point requiring investigation. The fact is, that the European officers who newly came into Cawnpore after the restoration of British authority, were not acquainted with the character of its people. Of those who served and joined the Nana, some obtained offices under the British Government, and others turned informers. These men filled the ears of the newly arrived authorities with falsehood and misrepresentation, and concealed the crimes of those who should have been brought to trial. They endeavoured to take up the time of the authorities with many frivolous details, in the hope that they might not have leisure to take up the cases of the more serious crimes, and so prevent the well-wishers of Government from reminding the authorities of such things by interviews. So it ended in this, that these evil counsellors caused a few men, who had taken up some trade during the rebellion, for fear of their lives, to be apprehended, and then without enquiry or proof of guilt, caused property worth many lacs of rupees to be confiscated partly for Government, but mostly for their own benefit; and thus the authorities had no leisure to hunt out the graver criminals. By those confiscations these men gained their ends, *i. e.*, a portion was brought in to Government, and the rest of the property was appropriated by themselves. Had the heavier crimes been first enquired into, abundance of proof would have been forthcoming, and the appeals of the proprietors of the confiscated properties, which ended in the reversal and cancelment of the orders of confiscation, would never have been successful. By those reversals of the orders of confiscation, the Government has been a great loser. There is abundance of proof for the assertion I have made above regarding the peculation of the evil advisers who took part in the confiscations. For let the schedules of land confiscated, and the lists of land made over to the auctioneer, and the account sales of the auction, and the receipts for monies paid into the treasury, and the auction receipts be all compared and tested with one another, they will not be found to agree, and as there is not a single order of confiscatiou now among the office records, it is most difficult to detect the embezzlement. Indeed I do not think an order for the *attachment* even of any property could now be traced. The above stated opinion of mine is in accordance with the Notification of Government Central Provinces, No. 23, dated 13th October 1857. Thus those evil advisers deceived and misled the authorities to prevent enquiry being made into the graver crimes, *i. e.*, as to how and by whom the Europeans were murdered, and they also invented false accusations against those who had been loyal to the State, so as to win the character of zealous and efficient officers, and have their own offences concealed. For it was reported that a new law had been promulgated, that those who did not reveal the crimes of murderers and rebels, would themselves be classed with rebels. Hence those evil counsellors so arranged matters as to prevent interviews taking place between the authorities and loyal subjects. There are three important points demanding close inquiry. The 1st is, who were the murderers of the European ladies and gentlemen? The 2nd is, how did it come to pass, that after the restoration of British authority, such a man as Azim Ally Khan, was hanged; for he was near 70 years old, and could scarcely see any object, and was deaf, and had no power to move from one place to another, and this man also appeared before the authorities on the re-occupation of Cawnpore. Five months after, wicked men who greeded for money, basely deluded the authorities and had this poor old man hanged. The 3rd is, whether this old man's valuable and extensive property which was confiscated to Government, was all brought in to Government, or not; and if not, where has the greater portion gone to? Alas! those who are innocent, are made the victims of malicious prosecutions supported by tutored evidence, and taken to the scaffold, and blood thirsty murderers are left without a trial, and are even classed with loyal subjects. If I were to give specific details of all this, I should annoy the authorities, and gain no benefit myself. To crown all, Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen of England, has taken compassion on these men, and issued pardon to those who have had no hand in murdering Europeans. But as respects the zemindars who joined the rebellion, and have now surrendered under the proclamation, and have combined and agreed among themselves to conceal each other's crimes, it is quite clear that it will now be impossible to find

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proof of the guilt of those zemindars, whose names have been recorded in this journal. But still the facts relating to the massacre of the Europeans could be brought to light, if the authorities would quietly and gently ask those natives who used to be present at the batteries of the rebels, merely to see what was going on, and in their hearts cordially wishing success to the British, and if the authorities would pledge themselves not to bring them to trial for going there. I am told that many such are afraid to come forward and reveal important particulars, thinking they might be thereby subjecting themselves to a criminal prosecution. It is also well known, that any native who resolves on acting faithfully towards the British Government, makes enemies of the rest of the world. If the authorities will not take this point into consideration, those who are loyal, have no chance of escape. If the Government will institute enquiries into those proceedings, I shall do my best to bring forward the parties who were ocular witnesses of each scene; but I make no promise to turn plaintiff, and produce evidence on each point, for those who should have been brought to trial, have received posts under Government, and my single statement would not be sufficient. For from the commencement of the rebellion at Cawnpore, I was obliged, owing to the deadly enmity which the traitorous Nana had borne me for years, to escape with my life to the other side of the Ganges, where I remained concealed and laid out thousands of rupees in acts of loyalty by keeping peons and servants who brought me news while they pretended to be well-wishers of the rebels. Another strange thing is, that some of the omlah of the courts, who had been taken to the Nana by force and violence, and who wrote for him merely to save their lives, were afterwards deprived of their livelihood by the authorities, while those who deserved to be brought to trial were rewarded with fine appointments. This is the reason why so many important facts have remained concealed.

The above was written by Doulut Pershad, and contains 124 pages.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# BANDA,

IN 1857-58.

## PART I. + II

FROM

F. O. MAYNE, ESQUIRE,
*Magistrate and Collector of Banda.*

To

C. CHESTER, ESQUIRE,
*Commissioner Allahabad Division.*

DATED ALLAHABAD, THE 11TH SEPTEMBER 1857.

SIR,

I have the honor to report officially, for the information of the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor of the Central Provinces, the measures taken by myself for the protection of the Banda District, and the circumstances which ultimately compelled me to abandon the Station and Districts.

Measures taken for the protection of the Banda District.

2. On the news reaching me of the mutinies of Meerut and Delhie, the necessary orders were issued to ensure the apprehension of the mutineers, who, it was supposed, would be endeavouring to reach their homes. I also received from Mr. Collector Loyd, lists of the disbanded sepoys of the 19th and 34th, belonging to the Banda and Humeerpoor Districts, and ordered a strict watch to be kept on any who returned to their homes.

3. As the rebellion spread, I found it necessary to strengthen the police of the several Thanahs, in order that the main roads of the District, and all the Ghâts on the Jumna might be strictly guarded, and mutineers and other disaffected parties be prevented from entering the District to stir up the spirit of rebellion in Banda.

4. At all the entrances of the Town of Banda strong bodies of police were stationed, and on the roads from Humeerpoor and from Futtehpoor, strong horse patrols were established.

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5. At the bridge of boats at Chilla Tara Ghât on the Jumna, I stationed Mahomed Sirdar Khan, with orders to co-operate with Hikmutoolla Khan, Deputy Collector of Futtehpoor, who had been stationed by the Magistrate of Futtehpoor midway between Futtehpoor and the Jumna, and to prevent the crossing of any armed bodies, and to apprehend all suspected bad characters or mutineers.

6. The roads from Humeerpoor and Chilla Tara, as also the Town, were nightly patrolled by Mr. Assistant Magistrate Webster, and myself, in which duty we were assisted by Dr. Clarke, Mr. Bruce, and certain influential native gentlemen. I further gave permission to native gentlemen residents in the Town, whom I would trust, to raise bodies of armed retainers for their own defence. I also allowed the tradesmen and shopkeepers each to entertain one or two men for the defence of their shops in case of an attack from without.

7. About the end of May, I took the further precaution, with the consent of Major Ellis, Assistant Political Agent for Bundelkund, of inviting Rajdhur Killadar, who lives at Gouriar, about ten miles from Banda, and the Rajahs of Adjygurh and Chirkarree, to send each a small force of guns, matchlockmen and Cavalry to assist in the protection of the Town and District. Rajdhur sent me 125 men and one gun, and the Ranee of Adjygurh sent two guns and about 200 matchlockmen and Cavalry. The Rajah of Chirkarree expressed his inability to afford any aid without raising new levies, which I of course declined. The Gouriar and Adjygurh troops made themselves very useful in feeding the police Chokees of the Town, and their presence (especially of the guns) served to keep our Native Infantry detachment somewhat in awe, and did good service in restoring confidence to the town's people.

8. Every thing went on quietly, the Courts were open and Public Works carried on as usual, until we left Banda, in spite of constant alarms and false reports, and very great excitement among the people.

9. I believe that, that people in the District knew nothing whatever of what was going on around them in other Districts, and the first intimation they received of the rebellion was through the proclamations issued by the North Western Government. Those proclamations set people enquiring, and they very soon learned the truth.

Commencement and spread of the Rebellion in the Banda District.

10. The insurrection commenced in the Banda District in the Villages of Murka, in Pergunah Buberoo in Mow on the Jumna, and in the Dursenda Pergunah. I first heard of the assembling of armed men, of secret councils, and loudly uttering threats from the Pergunahs. This was in the beginning of June, and they were soon followed up by the mutineers at Cawnpoor and Allahabad, before which no actual outbreak or even a dacoitee had taken place in the Banda District. The released convicts from Allahabad and Cawnpoor however soon spread over the country and forced the Ghâts on the Jumna, notwithstanding my previous precautions; which had been more for the purpose of apprehending fugitives than to resist armed masses, and the insurrection of the whole country followed too soon upon the disasters of Allahabad to allow of my strengthening the Ghâts even if I had been able to do so. The released convicts found the Banda people only too ready to join them. The Tehseelee of Mow was first attacked and plundered by the Zemindars of Mow and the neighbouring villages, and the records torn up and distributed to the winds, in order, as they said, that no record of their liabilities might remain to the new Government. The Tehseelee and Thanah establishments did their best; but were overwhelmed by thousands, and compelled to seek safety in flight. The loss of the Kumasin, Buberoo, Simounee, and Pylanee Tehseelees soon followed in a like manner. I saw Tehseelee after Tehseelee going, and the waves of the rebellion rapidly approaching Banda itself, and was totally helpless to prevent it. The whole District went to the bad in less than a week. The Town and Bazar of Rajapoor was saved from plunder by the Merchants themselves, who assembled a large force and repelled the repeated attacks of the surrounding

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villagers. Mr. Cockerell, Joint Magistrate, was stationed at Kirwee, and gallantly did he, single handed, maintain his post, assisted in some measure, although lukewarmly, by Narain Rao and Madho Rao. He saved the Tehseelee of Tirhowan. The Tehseelee of Budousa in the south of the District was saved by the good conduct of the Thanahdar Oosman Khan, who stood by his post, although abandoned by the Tehseeldar, until relieved by the Kirwee Raos. The Tehseeldar of Seonda being on the south west corner of the District remained intact, as also the Tehseelee of Pergunah Banda, until the time of our abandoning the District.

11. I must say in defence of the district Police and Revenue Establishment of Banda generally, that they remained at their posts to the very last, and many of them were killed and wounded in defence of Government property. As for the people, ruined as they were by over assessment and bad seasons, and half starving, still they would I think not have risen in rebellion, if they had been left to themselves. It was only when excited by the reports from other Districts, and hearing of the excesses committed elsewhere, and of what was then supposed the total massacre of all Europeans at Allahabad, that they too came to the conclusion that the British rule was at an end, and every man had best take care of himself.

Measures taken to prevent Mutinies and Rebellion at the Station of Banda and for the safety of the Treasure.

12. Banda Pergunah and Town still remained quiet for a few days after the District had supplied from my grasp. In the commencement of the rebellion, I had in my Treasury upwards of eight lacs of rupees, including two lacs subscription to the 5 per cent. Loan by Narain Rao and Madho Rao of Kirwee, which had just been paid. Wishing to hold out as little inducement to the Native Infantry (3 Companies of the 1st Native Infantry) stationed at Banda as possible, I took advantage of the return detachment of the 56th Native Infantry to Cawnpoor, to send under orders of the Accountant North Western Provinces, all my spare cash to Futtehpoor (two lacs and a half), and I also transmitted by the same opportunity two lacs and twenty odd thousand old coins to Allahabad for the Calcutta Mint. For these sums I duly received receipts from the Collectors of those Districts. I shortly afterwards, also under orders of the Accountant North Western Provinces, transmitted 50,000 to Nagode, under an escort of the 1st Native Infantry. It is a curious feature in the mutinies, that these detachments under Native Officers only should have so honorably acquitted themselves of their trust only a few days before the outbreak at Cawnpoor. By the above means, and by paying up all pensions and salaries to the end of May, I reduced my Treasury to two lacs and about 7,000 rupees; and hoping thereby to hold the detachment of the 1st Native Infantry true by an exhibition of confidence, and at the same time to protect it from the bands of insurgents who were surrounding Banda, I placed the two lacs in tumbrils and sent it up to the Native Infantry lines. It was under their guard at the Treasury, and I was entirely in their power. They could have taken it away at any time, and I thought it just as well to try the only chance of keeping the Treasure at Banda by placing it more directly under their charge. The report of Lieutenant Bennett, the Officer Commanding the detachment at that time, in spite of mutinous conversation and spirit shown by individual sepoys in the Town, was that he could most assuredly depend on his men and that they were staunch.

13. One difficulty at Banda was that we had no place of refuge; and even if we had such a stronghold, we had no men to defend it. I had chosen the Jail, mounted two cannons, and stored grain and atta there for the purpose; but secret agency was at work, and we narrowly escaped a mutiny of our own Nujeebs. They were told that the grain was only stored to be mixed with cow-bones for their food. I immediately paraded them, and told them any one was at liberty to resign who was afraid for his caste; I dismissed four men, and warned the rest that severe punishment would be inflicted on any one who again was heard to mention the subject. We were compelled subsequently to abandon the Jail, owing to cholera having broken out very extensively.

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14. Two Mussulman proclamations were fixed up in the City, calling for the massacre of the Christians; but no serious alarm was given at the Station of Banda until the Futtehpoor residents were compelled to take refuge with us. On the occasion of their reaching the Jumna on Monday the 8th June, a verbal message was sent in by Mahomed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector, that the mutinous Cavalry were crossing the river. This verbal message was given to me in open Cutcherry by the Sowar, and spread like wild fire. The budmashes rose in the City, and plundering commenced. I immediately removed the ladies to Nawab Ally Buhadoor's palace, and with the aid of my police quickly quieted the town. The same evening the Futtehpoor gentlemen came into Banda, causing no little curiosity among the people. Unfortunately Mahomed Sirdar Khan returned with them to Banda, bringing in all the Police and Sowars, thus abandoning his post at Chilla Tara, and leaving the line of communication entirely open to the disaffected, and causing the villagers immediately to rise in his rear, fortunately having first by my order broken up the bridge of boats.

Spread of the Rebellion to the Station.

15. As it was of the utmost importance to guard Chilla Tara Ghât, with the greatest difficulty I induced the Gouriar troops to consent to reoccupy the post. They only proceeded however one march, and then precipitately retreated marching through Banda back to their homes, without communicating with me at all. I never saw them again.

16. Meanwhile a few Sowars had crossed the river at Chilla Tara and set up the green flag in the Mahomedan village of Chilla, which, with Muddunpoor and others and the villages of Lulowlee on the opposite bank in the Futtehpoor District, were most conspicuous in the rebellion and plundering of defenceless travellers. Numerous reports, apparently well founded, also reached me of mutineers marching to assist their brethren at Banda. A different tone was soon manifest in the Police; they no longer obeyed orders with their usual alacrity, and not a single man, horse or foot, could be obtained for extra levies.

17. The ladies having been hurriedly placed in the Nawab's palace, and the rebellion thickening, in the absence of any more secure place, I thought it better to leave them there, half of our party proceeding there for their protection, and half remaining with me in my house. Mr. Sherer and the gentlemen from Futtehpoor also eagerly assisted me in patrolling the City at nights, and all other measures adopted for the maintenance of order. Unfortunately in going to the Nawab's, although he was staunch enough himself, we went into a nest of bigotted Mahomedans and bad characters belonging to the Nawab, whom he was unable to control, and who only waited their opportunity to murder us. Still we imagined we could depend on his sepoys and some of our Nujeebs, of whom we kept our own guard. On the night of Friday the 12th, two bungalows were fired; and meeting the general wish to be together, I also with the remainder of the party took up my quarters at night at the Nawab's house, returning to my bungalow during the day. In that house we were entirely in the hands of the Nawab, or rather of his followers; and on looking more closely over the walled defences of the place, we found it utterly untenable against any force of the enemy. However once having sought his protection we could not withdraw, and as the plot thickened we did our best to repair the walls and loophole bastions and such like; but it was useless—our enemies were within the walls, even more numerous than those outside; and we were obliged ourselves to keep nightly watch over our little band.

18. Matters remained apparently quiet until Sunday the 14th, by which time the detachment of the 1st Native Infantry had obtained correct information of the doings at Cawnpoor, and of the black treachery of the Head Quarters of their Regiment, with orders, I have no doubt, to do likewise. It was on this very day also at 2 P. M., that the detachment of the 53rd Native Infantry at Humeerpoor, rose and murdered the Christians of that Station. At Banda, the same day, the sepoys of the 1st Native Infantry showed open mutiny and insubordination. I was

Mutiny at the Station of Banda.

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in need of cash, and my application to the Officer Commanding for one of the tumbrils under his guard was met with the reply, that the sepoys had insolently refused to give up a single rupee. They also sent word to my Jail Darogah, that the grain and atta stored in the Jail, and my two guns, which I had ordered to be taken to the Nawab's palace, were not to leave the place, but were to be kept for their Soubadar's orders, who was marching with troops to occupy Banda. The scoundrel of a Jail Darogah, and the greater part of the Nujeebs were also proved to be in league with them. The Toomandar remained true; I had two days previously requested the Adjygurh force to take up their quarters around the Jail for its protection: they verbally consented, but failed to attend to the requisition. They were evidently waiting at Banda, merely to see which hand got the uppermost, and to act accordingly. The 1st Native Infantry had also possession of the Magazine, containing some 80,000 rounds of ball cartridge, and three times that number of blank cartridge. Lieutenant Bennett reported his men as being utterly beyond control and refusing to obey any orders.

Measures taken to suppress the Mutiny.

19. On consultation we resolved to try, with the aid of the Nawab and his troops, 125 in number, to proceed that evening (Sunday the 14th), first repossess ourselves of the guns at the Jail, and then with the assistance of the Adjygurh troops, force the sepoys of the 1st Native Infantry to give up the treasure and ammunition, and disarm them. There was not much hope of the plan succeeding, but it was our only chance. The gentlemen of Banda and Futtehpoor divided, half to accompany the force, the others remaining with the ladies.

Failure to suppress the Mutiny.

20. The troops were drawn up in the Nawab's court-yard, and we were all ready to start, when Mr. Benjamine, Commanding the Nawab's forces, was found to be in an unfit state to proceed, and at my request the Nawab acquiesced in Lieutenant Bennett's taking the command. A large and tumultous assembly of rabble and town's people had meanwhile assembled in the court-yard, and we were surrounded on all sides. The moment was a critical one. The Nawab's sepoys, when first paraded, had exhibited a sullen and disorderly disposition; and when Lieutenant Bennett assumed the command, broke out into open mutiny and attacked that Officer with their bayonets, shouting and vociferating in the most outrageous manner. Lieutenant Bennett's coolness and courage at that moment alone saved us from an insurrection inside of the court-yard. Had a shot been fired, or blood spilt, it would have been a signal for a general massacre of all the Christians therein assembled. Lieutenant Bennett faced the mutinous sepoys, and stood his ground and reasoned with them, until I forced the Nawab in person to interpose between them and Lieutenant Bennett. The Nawab had been about to retire; but I let him know, in unmistakeable terms, that he was responsible for our protection within his own walls, and that whatever happened afterwards he must at least release us from his own sepoys, and clear the palace yard of the tumultuous assembly therein collected. Thus warned, with the aid of his Moosahibs, partly by force, and partly by reasoning, he managed to induce the sepoys to leave the palace, and then speedily clearing away the crowd closed the gates. I must here bear witness that nothing could have been better than the behaviour of the Nawab and his Moosahibs up to this time. The Nawab's sepoys marched straight off to the Cantonments of the 1st N. I., singing the *Jahad*, and calling upon all Musselmen to join them in exterminating the Ferringhees. The sepoys of the 1st, forewarned of what had been going on by a sowar, rose and armed themselves, sounding the alarm. Ensign Clerk rode down to the parade ground, and it was a mercy he was not killed on the spot. The men told him to be off, asking jeeringly where Bennett Sahib and the Collector were, who were going to disarm them. Ensign Clerk and Lieutenant Fraser then joined us at the Nawab's, telling us of the outbreak of the sepoys.

Reasons for abandoning the Station.

21. It was hopeless for us to try any longer to resist. We were in a palace surrounded by traitors, and unable to defend the place. The Nawab's sepoys, upon whom he had avowedly

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depended for our protection, had mutinied and joined the 1st N. I. also in open mutiny. They had possession of two guns and the Magazine and Treasure. The Nujeebs sided with the sepoys. I could no longer depend on my sowars or police, as was proved immediately afterwards by those men with me, leaving me to a man. There only remained the Adjygurh troops, who had, as noticed above, already given signs of their disinclination to serve actively against the insurgents. We were quite helpless, and were accompanied by seventeen ladies, women and children. I appealed to the Nawab, who replied he could do no more for us, that his sepoys had deserted and mutinied, that he would himself stand and fight with us, but that he could not answer for our lives, or for the conduct of his followers and dependants. To add to our difficulties, it was reported that troops had been detached from Cawnpoor to occupy Banda, and had crossed the Jumna. The whole country round us was known to be in arms. Cawnpoor, Futtehpoor, Allahabad, Humeerpoor, Mahoba and Nowgong were all in the hands of the insurgents.

Our retreat.

22. Under these circumstances it would have been madness to have remained at Banda and exposed our party to almost certain death. We could do nothing to stay the revolt, and opposed as the course was to my own feelings, I was compelled to beat a retreat. In less than half an hour we were in the saddle. There was not a moment to lose. Mr. Webster, Assistant Magistrate, with a few Volunteers, cleared the road from the palace, whilst I was collecting the women and children, and we escaped with nothing but the clothes on our backs. We left at 8 P. M. on the night of the 14th of June, and marched the first night to Kallinger, 36 miles, and the next night to Nagode, 36 miles. The people were in two places inclined to resist our march, but we were too strong a party for villagers to attack with impunity, and they made no actual attempt. We were hardly out of the Town when the whole Cantonments were in a blaze, which lighted us on the road for the first 10 miles.

23. I had previously written to the Lieutenant Governor N. W. Provinces, that unless speedily reinforced by staunch troops, we should not be able to hold our own at Banda. The crisis came sooner than we anticipated.

Murder of Mr. Cockerell, Joint Magistrate, and others.

24. I deeply regret to record the murder the next morning, 15th June, of Mr. Cockerell, my Joint Magistrate, on his arrival from Kirwee, and of Mr. Benjamine, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Loyd, (Eurasians) and their families by the sepoys and followers of the Nawab. The latter gentlemen had refused to accompany us, thinking the Nawab would protect them.

25. In the previous week I had repeatedly written to Mr. Cockerell to come into Banda, but he refused to abandon his post. All honor and praise be due to him. At last perceiving the utter hopelessness of his being of service at Kirwee, and the imminent danger to which he was exposed, I ordered him to return, but had received no reply. On the Sunday afternoon I wrote, warning him of what was going on at Banda, and telling him to be very careful how he approached the place. This letter unfortunately appears not to have reached him. At the moment of flight I had no one to send to warn him, and my letter to him the next morning from Kallinger was too late. He rode into Banda the next morning with treasure, and hearing we had left he went straight to the Nawab, and was killed at the Nawab's gateway. I refrain from expressing any opinion as to the guilt of the Nawab himself in the Banda murders; leaving it for full enquiry when Banda shall be reoccupied.

Attempt to reoccupy Banda.

26. From Nagode I went to Rewah, and was arranging with Lieutenant W. Osborne to return to Banda with the Rewah troops, but received orders to join the Head Quarters of the Division. A second of a similar nature has been lately failed by disturbance in the Rajah's own Elaqua. I am most anxious to re-establish myself in the District, and am ready to do any thing to promote that

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end; but without some kind of force to back my authority, and to reduce the turbulent Zemindars to order, I should be able to retain no hold on the District, and unable to issue the prompt punishment which so many rebels richly deserve.

Treatment of Nawab Ally Buhadoor.

27. I may add, that since leaving Banda I have heard occasionally from Nawab Ally Buhadoor; but I consider that his conduct for some days after we left to have been of so questionable a nature, and is, I may say, still so doubtful, that I have purposely refrained from holding any communication with him.

Destruction of property.

28. The burning of Cantonments and Civil lines was accompanied by plunder of all the property they contained. The stamps, opium, &c. in the Treasury were plundered, and the Collector and Magistrate's and Judge's records thrown into a mass of confusion, but I believe not entirely destroyed. I had previously taken the precaution of removing all Settlement Misls of Regulation IX. of 1833, and the last year's Huftganah papers, as also the English records of Commissioner's correspondence from the year 1852 downwards, into the Nawab's palace, where I believe they still are under the Nawab's protection. The few odd thousands of rupees which remained in the Treasury under a Burkundaz guard, I also removed on the Sunday afternoon, and the Treasurer verbally reported to me that he had deposited the money in the Nawab's Jamadar khana.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. O. MAYNE,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

ALLAHABAD:

*The 11th September*, 1857.

P. S.—I omitted to mention in the body of my letter, that the prisoners were relieved at the Jail by the sepoys of the 1st N. I. on the 15th June.

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS AT ALLAHABAD.

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# PART II.

# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

IN THE

# DISTRICT OF BANDA,

IN 1857-58.

No. 496 of 1858.

FROM

F. O. MAYNE, ESQUIRE,
*Magistrate of Banda,*

TO

E. C. BAYLEY, ESQUIRE,
*Offg. Commissioner for the 4th Division.*

DATED BANDA, THE 10TH NOVEMBER 1858.

SIR,

Introduction.

Agreeably to the Circular Orders of Government No. 212, dated 30th April last, and in continuation of my Report No.—, dated 4th September 1857, of the events attending the outbreak of disturbances in the District of Banda, I have the honor now to furnish a Narrative of the subsequent progress of events until the restoration of peace.

Apology for delay in submitting Report.

2. In order to make the Narrative as complete as possible, I have been obliged to sift the contents of a large mass of papers; and I trust, therefore, the delay which has occurred in furnishing my Report will be pardoned.

Programme of present Report.

3. My former Report, which the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor of the Central Provinces has already noticed in Lieutenant Colonel Strachey's letter, No. 260, dated 11th September 1857, closed with the withdrawal of the British Officers from Banda on the night of Sunday the 14th of June, and an allusion to the reported events at Banda of the following day. I resume the tale from that point, and shall divide my Narrative into two parts:—I. Relating what took place in the District from the 15th June 1857, up to the date of our re-occupation of the District on the 19th April 1858; and II. Showing the measures adopted for the restoration of order, and their result.

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2. In order to make the Narrative as complete as possible, I have been obliged to sift the contents of a large mass of papers; and I trust, therefore, the delay which has occurred in furnishing my Report will be pardoned.

Programme of present Report.

3. My former Report, which the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor of the Central Provinces has already noticed in Lieutenant Colonel Strachey's letter, No. 260, dated 11th September 1857, closed with the withdrawal of the British Officers from Banda on the night of Sunday the 14th of June, and an allusion to the reported events at Banda of the following day. I resume the tale from that point, and shall divide my Narrative into two parts:—I. Relating what took place in the District from the 15th June 1857, up to the date of our re-occupation of the District on the 19th April 1858; and II. Showing the measures adopted for the restoration of order, and their result.

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4. As it proved, we did not leave Banda too soon, for we had not been gone twenty minutes when a detail of the 1st Native Infantry marched down from the lines and posted themselves at the Nawab's *Cheeta Khanah*, which we were obliged to pass on our road from the Nawab's palace; their object was to fire on us as we passed, and intense was the rage they exhibited when, after waiting there a few minutes, they were told we were gone. The Magistrate's Clerk, Mr. Duncan, was concealed in a drain close by, and saw what I now relate.

Events in the Banda District subsequent to the retreat of British Officers.

5. On the same night that the British Officers left Banda all the Bungalows in Cantonments were plundered and burnt to the ground, and Nawab Ally Buhadoor proclaimed his own rule,—"*Khulluk Khoda Mulk Badshah hukum Nawab Ally Buhadoor;*" and through the Government police made arrangements, which saved the town from being plundered. He gave out that the Collector and Magistrate had entrusted the District to his care, and desired all Government servants to remain at their posts.

Burning and plunder of Cantonments.

Rule of Nawab Ally Buhadoor proclaimed.

6. The next morning, 15th of June, a company of mutineers marched to the Jail, released the prisoners, and took possession of the two guns and ammunition, and the Commissariat stores which had been placed in the Jail for our use in the event of being compelled to stand a siege. The Adjygurh Chiefs, who had been sent by their Ranee to our assistance, and who had at my request undertaken to protect the Jail, joined in releasing the prisoners. Many of the leading Bunyas of the town were also present on this occasion, and sweetmeats were distributed by them to the mutineers. The sepoys then proclaimed their own Raj,—"*Khulluk Khoda Mulk Badshah hukum Subahdar Sepoy Buhadoor,*" in opposition to that of Nawab Ally Buhadoor issued on the previous night, at which they were much incensed. The Nawab however managed to appease their wrath by giving them a great dinner of sweetmeats, and by acknowledging their authority. They then called the Amlah and told them they would be maintained in their several appointments; and Mohamed Sirdar Khan, the Deputy Collector, an old and much trusted servant of the British Government, was appointed by the sepoys "Nazim of Banda," with full powers of life and death. The slaughter of cows and bullocks was then forbidden throughout the town. It was on the morning of this day that Mr. Cockerell, the Joint Magistrate, rode into Banda from Kirwee, and was murdered at the Nawab's gateway. The followers and sepoys of the Nawab only have to answer for this outrage. No mutineers of the 1st Native Infantry were near the spot at the time of the foul deed. It does not appear however that the Nawab himself was an accomplice in the murder. He was, I believe, asleep at the time that Mr. Cockerell came to his gateway and demanded an interview. He afterwards paid no honor to the corpse, but allowed it to remain stripped and exposed all the day before his gateway, and at night it was dragged away by the sweepers and thrown to the dogs. A few of those principally concerned are:—

Prisoners released.

Sepoy's rule proclaimed.

Government Amlah maintained in their appointments.

Mohamed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector, appointed Nazim by the mutineers.

Murder of Mr. Joint Magistrate H. E. Cockerell.

Nawab Allee, son of Busarut Allee.
Ukber Beg Golundaz.
Fyaz Mohamed, brother of Niaz Mohamed Mooktear.
Dabeedeen, Toork Sowar of Nawab.
Kadir Beg.
Guttoo Gorf Ahamed Allee.
Bankey Beharee Sowar.
Bundey Allee, brother of Murdan Allee.
Ruhmoo or Ruhum Allee, Toork Sowar.
Kaley Khan Sowar.
Sheedee Bilar Hubshee, Chela of Shumshere Buhadoor.
Kootub Allee, cook of Begum.
Sheikh Abboo.
Ewuz Allee.
Sheikh Gooman.

The Tehseeldar Meer Furhat Allee was then seized and taken to the mutineers and Adjygurh leaders, and made to give an account of his stewardship; and sentries were placed

Tehseeldar seized.

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Mr. Passanah released by the mutineers.

over the Tehseel treasury. The capture of Mr. Thomas Passanah, an East Indian, a pensioned Clerk of the Collector's Office, shortly followed; but the mutineers released him on his pointing out his property, which had been seized and taken possession of by one Madhoram, a budmash of Cawnpoor.

Murders of Messrs. Bruce, Benjamine and Loyd; Mrs. Bruce and Mrs. Benjamine.

7. On the morning of the 16th June Mr. Bruce, in charge of the Nawab's villages, and his aged mother, Captain Benjamine, who commanded the Nawab's Guards, and his wife, and Mr. Loyd, brother of Mrs. Benjamine, all East Indians, who refused to leave Banda with the British Officers, thinking that the Nawab would protect them, were discovered by the mutineers in the house of an old Arab, called Mugribee Sahib. The mutineers however left them, on their giving up their arms and their money. Shortly afterwards a lot of bad characters and Mohamedans belonging to the Nawab came and dragged them out of the house, and murdered them on the Nawab's parade ground. Some of our mutineers also joined in the dastardly deed, but the guilt lies principally at the door of those attached to the house of the Ex. Nawab of Banda. Their bodies were stripped, thrown into a field, and left a prey to the vultures and jackals. The Nawab never attempted to save them; and that he might have done so, is proved by the fact of his having saved the party of fugitives from Nowgong only a few days afterwards. It is not proved however that he was a consenting party to their murder. The names of a few principally concerned are:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Son of Mohamed Allee Beg. | Futteh Khan. |
| Son of Lal Mohamed. | Kalloo. |
| Son-in-law of Futteh Meer. | Kureem. |
| Husmut Khan. | Rahmoo and Imam Allee Sowars. |
| Bund Allee and Debeedeen. | |

Mr. Duncan released by the mutineers.

Mr. Duncan, Magistrate's Clerk, was also captured by the mutineers. Some wanted to put him to death, but others preserved him and let him go. The riot and disturbance in the town all this time was beyond description. The people were still conveying to their own houses the property they had acquired by plunder from the Government Offices, the Jail, and the private Bungalows. Mutineers of the 1st N. I., the Adjygurh Auxiliary Levies, our own Jail Nujeebs, and Chuprassees, and several town's people, all joined in the revel, and great was the anarchy of the season. Government stamped paper was lying all over the place, and opium was to be had for the trouble of picking it up. As much property was destroyed as plundered, and the robbers were often robbed again by their stronger companions. The records both of the Collector's and Judge's Cutcherries however on this occasion sustained but little damage, and the Government buildings were not injured. The mutineers were also busy in levying a tax of cash and goods on every shop in the town, and in collecting carriages to convey their ill-gotten gains to Cawnpoor.

Disturbance and anarchy of the season.

Misrule in the Pergunahs.

8. In the Pergunahs the news spread like wild fire, and the villagers rose in every direction and plundered and murdered each other promiscuously. Old enmities and the long smothered wish for revenge were forthwith satisfied. Auction purchasers and decree-holders were ousted, travellers and merchandize plundered, and the servants of Government compelled to fly for their lives; and in all instances Government buildings and property of every description were plundered and destroyed. Every man's hand was against his neighbour, and the natives revelled in all the license and madness of unchecked anarchy and rebellion, in a manner such as only Asiatics can revel in those pleasures. Tulwars and matchlocks were scarce in Bundelkund; but armed with spears and scythes, and iron-bound latties, and extemporary axes, formed of chopping knives fastened on sticks, they imagined themselves to be warriors, chose their own Kings, and defied all comers. Never was revolution more rapid—never more complete.

Description of weapons common in Bundelkund.

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Nawab Ally Buhadoor temporarily made King by the mutineers.

9. On the 17th of June the chief Officers of the mutineers paid a state visit to Nawab Ally Buhadoor, and held a council of war. The right of sovereignty of the Nawab was disputed by Dhowa, a Chieftain of Adjygurh, whose ancestors held this part of the country before the bastard family of the Nawab were thought of, and it was determined that pending a reference to the Nana of Bhitoor the Nawab should assume charge of the country on the departure of the sepoys. They left on the 19th, with their plundered treasure (2 lacs), guns and ammunition, accompanied by some of the Nawab's sowars and his Agent, and also by an Agent from the Chief of Adjygurh; and the Adjygurh people retired to their fortress, situated in a small strip of independent territory adjoining the town of Banda, called Nimneepar, in which to the present day they continue to exercise sovereign rights.

Departure of the mutineers for Cawnpoor.

The Adjygurh Chiefs, who also claimed right of sovereignty, forced to retire.

Measures of Government adopted by Nawab Ally Buhadoor.

10. Meanwhile the Nawab and his advisers were busy in reassuring the people, in re-establishing the Offices, and in securing the cash in the Government Tehseelee, amounting to Rs. 3,462, which had been very considerately left by the mutineers in settlement of the pay of the old establishment. The Police and Revenue Chuprassees were most clamorous for their pay, and were with difficulty prevented from adopting violent measures. They were almost all re-employed by the Nawab; many of them on increased salaries. They changed masters as they would change their clothes, and thought nothing of it. Their conduct was disgraceful. The Nawab's own sepoys, who had attacked us in the palace and joined and murdered Mr. Cockerell and others, were all re-entertained by the Nawab. A Council was formed of Mirza Willayut Hussun, Mirza Imdad Allee Beg, Meer Inshalla, Mohamed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector, and Meer Furhut Allee Tehseeldar, and Seth Oodey Kurn, the great Banker, who were ordered to carry on the Government. Of these Mohamed Sirdar Khan was the most active member. Mohamedan dates were introduced, and a *Hindustanee amuldaree* commenced.

Disgraceful conduct of Government servants.

Character and sentiments of Nawab Ally Buhadoor in the commencement of the rebellion.

11. At this time I give Nawab Ally Buhadoor credit for good intentions at heart. He had from his youth upwards courted English society, and was always devoted to field sports and manly exercises. He is a good shot with both rifle and pistol, a first-rate whip and a good plucky rider, and can undergo immense personal fatigue. He possesses therefore many of the attributes, which would make a good leader in the rebel cause; but he is utterly wanting in brains and judgment. We could indeed have no better proof of his being a fool than that, notwithstanding the above propensities and the possession of a good and extensive Stud and other establishments, and his enjoying an annual pension of £40,000 sterling, he should still have turned rebel. He thought of nothing but his women, his horses, and his English fowling-pieces, and rifles, and was ever a mere tool in the hands of others. Essentially a man of pleasure, and incapable of transacting the most trifling public business, he was entirely in the hands of those about him, and he acted by their advice.

His desire to do the best he could for himself under the circumstance.

There were naturally great doubts to all at that time, whether the British Government would ever again be restored, and the Nawab did the best he could to secure his own interests and the sovereignty of the country, which his ancestors had usurped. But I do not believe he was himself at that time actuated by actively hostile feelings to the British Government. He possessed no resources, and had no power in the country. He was threatened by the Rajahs of Bundelkund, and by the surrounding villagers. He had to make a power for himself and to re-establish order, and with that view he re-entertained all the old establishments, sent for the Government treasure from the Mohda tehseelee Rs. 18,000 and appropriated it to his own uses, and commenced raising troops and to cast guns. I believe he would have been glad at that time to have seen us return.

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12. It was different however with his people, and his immediate advisers Mirza Willayut Hussun, Mirza Gholam Hyder Khan, Bunneh Sahib, and Meer Inshalla. Their hearts from the first were leagued with the cause of the mutineers, and they by their influence and power soon gave a different aspect to the proceedings of the young Nawab. A few of the Government Omlah consequently resigned office, and many altogether refused to be entertained.

Bad disposition of his followers and advisers.

13. After the departure of the mutineers of the 1st Native Infantry, Mohamed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector, caused himself to be appointed Nazim on an increased salary of Rs. 1000. Meer Inshalla was made Sipah Sular; Mirza Willayut Hussun, Naib Reasut; Mirza Imdad Allee Beg, Moontezzim of the Finance Department; and Meer Furhut Allee, Tehseeldar, was appointed Moonserim or Assistant to the Nazim on Rs. 400. The latter however refused to exercise the duties of his new office. Men were called from pergunah Jais in Oude, the native place of Meer Inshalla Sipah Sular of the Nawab's army.

Mohamed Sirdar Khan appointed Nazim by Nawab on increased salary, and other appointments and proceedings.

Proclamations were issued in the Nawab's name, forbidding plundering and dacoitee, and some sort of imperfect order was established in the precincts of the town. All people of the town and all local officers attended, and presented Nuzzur to the Nawab, and all were kindly received.

14. On the 30th of June a portion of Captain Scott's party from Nowgong were brought prisoners into Banda by the Zemindars of Goera Mooglee, and were most kindly and hospitably treated by the Nawab and by the Begum his mother, and sent on under escort to Nagode, which they reached on the 12th of July. The others of this party were hunted from village to village, through pergunahs Seonda and Budousa, and plundered of all they possessed, and many were killed by the villagers. The greatest hostility was shown to them on all sides, and very few were those who befriended them.

Arrival of Captain Scott's party, and their kind treatment by the Nawab and his mother.

15. Meanwhile Narrayun Rao, and Madho Rao at Kirwee had proclaimed their rule in that portion of the District; the Jaloun Pundits took possession of pergunah Khundeh to the west of Banda; and emissaries and rebels from the States of Punna, Chirkaree, Adjygurh, and Berouda took possession of portions of pergunahs, Seonda and Budousa. All power of the British Government had been subverted throughout the District, except at Kallinjur in pergunnah Budousa. Here stands the old Fort of Kallinjur, impregnable and of immense historical importance in the eyes of the natives. The Rajah of Punna held this fortress for us, and he was shortly joined by Lieutenant Remington of the 12th Bengal Native Infantry, who at great risk, and almost entirely cut off from the world, retained command there throughout the rebellion. At Banda and in its neighbourhood the right of sovereignty was still disputed between the Nawab and Dhowa of Adjygurh, and they both sent out their Officers with troops to collect the revenue, who committed much oppression and injury. Great disorder still prevailed, and little or no revenue was collected. A narrative of the rebellion in each Pergunah is appended.

Seizure of the District by various rebel Chieftains.

16. On the 1st of August the Nawab wrote to me, laying all the blame of the rebellion on the mutineers, and saying that he was trying to restore order, but could not make head for want of men and coin. Up to this date those well-disposed to our Government were expecting us back, and some of the works of improvement in the town were carried on, and the Tehseeldar, and Kotwal had collected a good deal of government and private property, which was afterwards plundered by our own troops. The Nawab also repaired the roof of the Collector's record room, which had began to leak.

Friendly signs.

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17. The influence of the Nawab's bad advisers however soon began to tell as he gained more power, and as parties of fugitive rebels and mutineers flushed with success continued to pour into Banda; and when the news of the prolonged success of the rebels at Delhie and Lucknow reached him, the Nawab began to think that he might possibly retain his assumed position. His council and all Mohamedans of Banda, especially those of the Lushkur, were rank rebels, and they regarded the scene as a holy war to result in the extirpation of the Kafirs and their own eternal beatitude, and they fanned the idea which was dawning on the Nawab's mind. Hurkaras and spies used to return with the most exaggerated accounts of the successes of the rebel Emperor and the Nana, and were rewarded with great bounty; and any reported victory gained by the British was concealed or disbelieved, and the unfortunate narrator was deprived of his liberty and his ears, often of his life. The people about the Nawab studiously concealed the truth from him.

Bad influence of Nawab's advisers and the evil effects of the protracted resistance made by the Rebels at Delhie and Lucknow.

Means taken to deceive the Nawab.

18. Two or three East Indian Clerks, who had managed to conceal themselves up to this time, were now ordered to quit the place, and they were plundered and much ill-treated. The Mahajuns were made to contribute to the Royal Treasury by forced and unacknowledged loans, and all supposed to be friendly to the English were apprehended and imprisoned.

East Indian Clerks compelled to leave.

Tax levied on the Town.

Friends of the English ill-treated.

19. About this time (the 7th August) an order was received by the Nawab from the Assistant Political Agent of Bundelkund, residing at Nagode, to seize Mohamed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector, who had been charged with rebellion. It appears that Mohamed Sirdar Khan then took fright, and would not stay any longer at Banda, and he fled across the river Kane. He was there plundered, and remained for some time concealed; but at last returned again to Banda, and lived a loyal subject of the rebel Nawab up to the date of the latter's defeat and flight before the British troops. He then absconded and did not present himself at Allahabad till the 12th of May.

Flight of Mohamed Sirdar Khan, Deputy Collector. His subsequent return and stay at Banda under the rebel Nawab.

20. About the middle of August the dispute between the Nawab and Dhowa of Adjygurh took an open form, and their first battle took place for the possession of Bhooragurh Fort, which ended in favor of the Adjygurh people. Next day they fought again at Nimneepar, and the fight was continued for some days.

Battle between the Nawab and the Adjygurh Chieftains.

21. On the 2nd September the 7th and 8th Regiment Native Infantry arrived at Banda from Dinapoor, bringing with them many wounded comrades. The men were in sorry condition, and were badly supplied with ammunition. They committed a great deal of oppression and injury on the villages through which they passed on the way to Banda, plundering and shooting all who opposed them. They were full of savage madness against the English, and were heartily welcomed by the Nawab and his people. About this time the Principal Sudder Ameen Tusud-duk Hussun Khan died. He had, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in no way mixed himself up in the rebellion. Soon afterwards a proclamation was issued, forbidding the name of the English to be taken.

Arrival of Dinapoor mutineers at Banda.

Death of Principal Sudder Ameen.

Use of the name of the English prohibited.

22. On the 3rd of September emissaries came from Nagode, and on the 12th a large party of mutineer sepoys and of the Nawab's followers and troops marched from Nagode, and returned on the 27th with the 50th Native Infantry and the plunder and guns from that place, and with what was more valuable to them than any thing else, a large supply of ammunition. Had the Punna and Adjygurh Chiefs really been attached to our interests, as

Successful move of the mutineers on Nagode.

Disgraceful conduct of the Punna and Adjygurh Rajahs.

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they professed to be, it is impossible that these mutineers could ever have marched to Nagode through the many intricate Hill passes on the road. There are several places, where three or four hundred determined men might have held their ground against any odds.

Arrival of Koer Singh at Banda.

23. On the 29th September Koer Singh with 2000 men, including the 40th Native Infantry, reached Banda, and were received with great honor and hospitality by the Nawab. The people of the town were again called upon to supply the Nawab's wants; and if any one refused to pay, his house was levelled to the ground and himself tortured and imprisoned. A great many people left Banda. One Soubadar of the 50th Native Infantry, a well educated man, who could read and write English, by name Sheololl Tewaree, was most bitter in his animosity to any thing English. Other detachments of mutinous Corps continued to arrive at Banda, and also armed men called from Oude.

Town's people again taxed.

Soubadar Sheololl Tewaree.

Battle of Nimneepar, and capture and subsequent brutal murder of the Adjygurh Chieftains.

24. The mutineers endeavoured to effect a compromise between the Nawab and the Adjygurh Chief, on the ground that there should be no internal strife until their common enemy the English had been entirely destroyed, but Dhowa of Adjygurh would not be persuaded; and on the 8th of October the forces of the Nawab and the mutineers made a joint attack on the Adjygurh fortress at Nimneepar. The Adjygurh matchlockmen bravely defended themselves against the superior and trained forces of their adversaries; but on the third day, owing to a lack of provisions and ammunition and want of water, they were compelled to surrender, and the three Chiefs were imprisoned in the Nawab's palace, until the day of his defeat by the British on the 9th April 1858, when they were cruelly murdered in their prison, and their mutilated corpse left for our edification. The fortress and buildings in Nimneepar belonging to the Adjygurh and Gowriar Chiefs have since been completely destroyed by the Nawab.

Arrival of the 5th Irregular Cavalry at Banda. Their bad conduct.

25. On the 15th October the 5th Irregular Cavalry, upwards of 500 strong, reached Banda from Bhauglepoor, and proved to be far worse than any of the Regiments which preceded them. It was they who caused all the subsequent mischief and destruction at Banda.

Departure of Koer Singh.

Departure of Mutineers for Kudjooa.

26. On the 18th October Koer Singh and his men went away towards Calpee, and on the 25th the 7th and 8th Native Infantry and other mutineers with three guns marched for Chilla Tara. The latter were afterwards met by our troops, and defeated at Kudjooa in the Futtypoor district.

Strength of Nawab's forces.

27. Soubadar Myhtab Ullee, of the 8th Native Infantry, remained at Banda, commanding detachments of different Corps, which he formed into one Regiment, and recruited up to its full strength. The 5th Irregulars also remained at Banda. The Nawab besides these had about 1000 Infantry of his own and 600 Cavalry, some 15 guns, and 10,000 matchlockmen.

Deficiency of funds and the way the Nawab supplied his Treasury.

28. The Nawab's troops and establishment were, according to his old custom, always deeply in arrears of pay, and it was with difficulty he could satisfy them. Further demands were made on the town's people, and revenue was forced from the Zemindars at the point of the bayonet, and all suspected of siding or corresponding with English were mulcted and cruelly treated.

Negotiation and treaty made between Nawab and Narrayun Rao at Kirwee.

29. Loan negotiations were then opened by the Nawab, through Seth Oodey Kurn, with Narrayun Rao at Kirwee, and on the 15th November he marched himself for Kirwee at the head of 2000 men. He was there joined by two compa-

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panies of the 32nd mutineers. He succeeded in getting 2 lacs out of the Raos, with a promise of more; and they came to a compact, dividing the District between them, and agreeing to assist each other against all enemies. Narrayun Rao retained Pergunnahs Chiboo, Dursenda, Tirohan, Budousa, and half Buberoo, and the Nawab kept Pergunahs Pylanee, Simounee, half Buberoo, Banda, and Seonda. Collections of Revenue were carried on very vigorously by both parties, and their armed bands of retainers forced money from the Zemindars and Cultivators by every species of torture and oppression.

Arrival of 2 Companies of 32nd Native Infantry.

Forced collection of the Revenue.

30. On the 3rd December the Nawab returned to Banda, and found two more companies of the 32nd mutineers, who had reached with 18 guns during his absence. On the 26th December the 32nd left Banda for Calpee. On the 31st the old Kotwal was seized and murdered by the sowars of the 5th Irregulars, on suspicion of corresponding with the Magistrate. This gentleman had been playing a double game throughout, and only met with his deserts. The Nawab about this time took possession of Pergunah Khandeh and turned out the Jaloun people. He also took possession of part of Pergunah Mohda, Zillah Humeerpoor, and garrisoned a fort he owned at Mowdha proper. In February the Church and Christian Burial-ground, and the public Offices, records, and the Jail were all destroyed, and of the timbers and materials some were burnt, and some taken to the Nawab's palace.

Arrival of 2 more Companies of 32nd Native Infantry at Banda.

Departure of 23nd Native Infantry for Calpee.

Murder of the Government Kotwal.

Seizure by Nawab of Pergunahs Khandeh and Mowdeh.

Destruction of Church and Burial-ground and of Government Offices and records.

31. The Nawab, egged on by the counsel and lies of those about him, had long become a thorough rebel, and was in close communication with all other rebel Chieftains of note in the North Western Provinces. They told him he was sure to be hanged if caught, and that there were but few English left in the country, and he became convinced that it would be better to fight to the last. All the Ghâts of the Jumna were most zealously guarded to prevent the British troops from crossing, and he commenced to fortify Bhoragurh on the river Kane. The Nawab was shortly afterwards joined by the traitor Wuzeer Khan and a large portion of the Rajah of Cherkaree's force. Several Shahzadahs also came about this time from Delhi. A force was sent to assist Tantia in the attack on Cherkaree and another force was sent to take the Fort of Kallinjur, which was still gallantly held by Lieutenant Remington with a party of matchlockmen and guns furnished by the Rajah of Punna.

Change in the disposition of the Nawab.

Preparation made for war with the English Government.

Arrival of the traitor Wuzeer Khan and Cherkaree Troops.

32. It was not till the beginning of April that a possibility of a British force advancing to Banda across the Continent of India, dawned on the minds of the Nawab and his rebel crew. Then to their grief and utter astonishment they heard of the Madras Column, and discovered that it was not only from across the Jumna that they might expect the penalty of their misdeeds. In the beginning of April a force was sent towards Mahoba to meet this audacious Madras Column.

News of the Madras Column reaches Banda.

Preparation made to resist.

33. The Nawab however still maintained his former character for vacillation and indifference, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the mutineer leaders and the rebel faction kept him up to the mark as their leader and chief. He recalled his forces from Kallinjur, and great preparations were made to dispute the advance of the English troops. Meanwhile the less valiant portion of the population began to make themselves scarce. They saw that the day of retribution so long delayed had at last arrived, and great was the terror in the land.

The terror of the people.

34. The first action was fought on the 17th April at Kubraee, 24 miles west of Banda. The Nawab's army was of course driven back; but they succeeded in making a masterly

Action at Kubraee.

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retreat, and brought in all their guns with the addition of a native gun they had found at Kubraee. This was distorted into a victory, and the British troops were misrepresented as being very few in number and unable to fight.

Battle of Banda.

35. Still, however, they found the British troops coming on to Banda, and the whole of the Nawab's forces moved out to oppose them at Goera Mooglee, about 8 miles west of Banda. The Nawab himself was present. They took up a very strong position, but soon discovered their miscalculation of the British strength and pluck. On the morning of the 19th of April, they were attacked by the Madras Column under Major General Whitlock, and driven from post to post,

Defeat of the Nawab's Troops.

and pursued up to the banks of the Kane, with very little loss on our side. They left 800 of their number dead on the field, and nine guns fell a prize to the victors.

Retreat of the Nawab and his Army.

36. The main portion of the rebel Column retreated towards Humeerpoor by a more northerly road, and the Nawab passed through the town of Banda, without again visiting the halls of his ancestors. They say he was weeping bitterly. He had been the duped fool of those about him, and bitterly he now rued the consequences of his folly. With a few followers he and the female portion of his establishment crossed the river Kane by a ghât some miles lower down, and rejoined the main body of his troops at Jelalpoor.

Entry of the British Force into Banda.

37. Our force entered Banda on the 20th of April, and found the Town totally deserted. Evident traces were found of a most precipitate flight on the part of the enemy, and for weeks afterwards abandoned horses and property were brought in by the surrounding villagers. The Station was found a heap of ruins, and

Condition of the Station and Government Buildings.

dismantled of even the trees which had ornamented the road sides. The Church roof had been blown off, and the tower made a target by the rebel Artillerymen. The walls had also been undermined, with the intention of blowing the whole edifice to the skies. Fortunately we arrived in time to stop it. The monuments in the Burial-ground had been defaced, and the stone and marble tablets abstracted and turned into curry-stones. In fact nothing had been left undone, which could be construed into an insult to the Christian religion, or which tended to exterminate the smallest vestige of their former masters. I must add, however,

Information furnished to British Authorities during the Rebellion.

that throughout the rebellion, certain of my old Omlah at Banda continued from time to time to keep me informed in great detail of all that went on during my absence, and many of them joined me at Allahabad after September. (Here endeth Chapter the Second.)

Necessity of a strong demonstration after our long absence from Banda.

38. In a District in which our prestige had suffered so considerably, from which we had been nearly a whole year absent, and where so many different bands of mutineers from time to time had congregated, and where the rebel Government had been so long supreme, and the capital of which had been the scene of the public murder and dishonor of our countrymen and women, it was necessary that our return to the District should be accompanied with a force sufficient to make a strong demonstration, to overawe all opposition, and at once to disarm and disperse the disaffected. Such it was my good fortune to find at Banda.

Restoration of Civil Government.

Difficulties encountered.

39. I reassumed Civil charge of the District on the 29th April, with the powers of Special Commissioner, just ten months and sixteen days from the night of our ignominous flight; and I found Major General Whitlock with the Madras Column encamped at Banda, strong in Artillery.

The Settlement records of Regulation IX. of 1833, and the last Putwaree's papers, and latest English correspondence, which before we left Banda had

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been placed in the Nawab's house, were recovered. But I had no Kutcherries, no police, no omlah, and a population to deal with, *all* more or less concerned in the rebellion, or in marauding and plundering expeditions, and who still held aloof, fearing to meet the just penalty of their misdeeds. Moreover the conduct of our own troops for some weeks after they entered Banda was not such as to reassure the frightened and doubting natives.

Positions of the Rebels' forces.

40. At the same time the rebel Chiefs with their larger armies still stood defiant in the next Districts at Calpee, Humeerpoor, and Jelalpoor; and the people felt by no means assured that our stay at Banda would be of any permanence. On the other side, Narain Rao and Madho Rao, calling themselves "*Peshwa*" at Kirwee, with an army of 40 guns and 15,000 men, still retained possession of the Eastern half of the District, and refused to surrender.

Policy adopted.

41. In order to re-establish authority and order, it was necessary to make a prompt and severe impression, which would strike terror into the minds of the evil-disposed; and at the same time discrimination was required, in order to secure those who were well affected to our side, and to reassure those who still doubted. In a District where so many had so deeply committed themselves, it was impossible and undesirable to punish all offenders. There was not a village marked in the map that had not more or less committed itself. All Government servants had lived passive subjects, and almost all zealous servants under the rebel Government. The latter have of course been hunted out and prosecuted with all severity; but in dealing with the villages I determined, 1st to select three or four in each Pergunah, the inhabitants of which had most grossly and generally committed themselves, in rising in rebellion, and showing direct hostility to the British Government before we left Banda in June 1857, or who had distinguished themselves in the pursuit and maltreatment of European fugitives, or who refused to submit after our return, and to make the most severe example possible of them by burning their villages, destroying the houses of the head men, hanging and transporting the ringleaders, and flogging others less deeply concerned. 2ndly, in *all other* cases unless attended with murder, or great violence, it was desirable to encourage a compromise between the prosecutor and defendants, and to accept restitution and compensation from the defendants.

Good services rendered by Major Dallas in the restoration of order.

42. Before I reached Banda, Major General Whitlock had sent out into the District a strong Field Detachment of European and Native Infantry, with Cavalry and European Horse Artillery, under the Command of the late lamented Major Dallas, of the 1st Madras Native Infantry, a most determined and intelligent Officer, who fully understood the nature of the duty on which he was deputed, and who feared not responsibility. This Column of demonstration marched by long and rapid marches viâ Buberoo,

His conciliating measures.

Tindwaree, and Chilla Tara, back to Banda. The villagers who presented themselves were reassured, and every precaution taken against plunder and unnecessary molestation. The people flocked into the British Camp, bringing poultry and supplies, and showed a manifest pleasure in seeing us back again. They bitterly rued the reign of Anarchy and military Despotism under the Nawab, and the generality were doubtless tired of their own excesses and the life of insecurity they had lived for so many months. As soon as the novelty of being their own masters had passed away, I believe the majority prayed for our return. At Hurdowlee,

Punishment of Rebels at Hurdowlee.

a large Mohamedan village, belonging to the rebel Nawab, in which the spies said many rebel leaders were concealed; Major Dallas surrounded the village, but allowed only a certain number of men to accompany him inside. He thoroughly searched the place and captured a few rebels, one of whom, the Nawab's private Moonshee, who was riding a stolen Officer's horse, was hanged on the spot; and the others were brought into Banda for trial. The villa-

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Severe examples made of the Zemindars of Mouza Johurpoor.

gers were not molested. The villages of Banda and Johurpoor on the banks of the Jumna were next pointed out to Major Dallas, as the terror of the surrounding country. All complained of their exactions and marauding, and all prayed for their punishment. They were said to be still in force in their villages, not yet convinced of our superiority. Major Dallas, with his usual good judgment, selected this as an opportunity for making an impression on the evil-disposed. He accordingly, by a night surprize, surrounded the village of Johurpoor. The rebels immediately took to their boats on the river, and as they tried to gain the opposite bank, they were well punished with grape from the Horse Artillery guns. A few men were caught in the village, one of whom their leader, who had set himself up as Rajah of the country, was hanged forthwith, and the others were released after corporal punishment. The village was then burnt, and this nest of robbers dispersed. Great were the manifestations of delight in the surrounding villages at this just and summary punishment of Johurpoor and Benda; and combined with the conciliatory measures of Major Dallas in all other places, it had the very best effect, and that portion of the District was conquered. I passed along the road from Chilla Tara to Banda, a few days afterwards, with only four Native sowars, and went into every village near the road, and talked with the Zemindars and people, and found not a sign of opposition or insult, in a country where ten days previously, the sight of a white face, would have been the signal for the instant death and dishonor of its owner.

Proceedings during May.

43. For a month I was busy in organizing a new Police, in tracing the concealed rebels, and making a few salutary examples of those who had been more prominent during the disturbances in the vicinity of Banda itself. Major General Whitlock was waiting for his second Brigade before he could march on Kirwee, and the public were anxiously watching the advance of Sir Hugh Rose on Jhansee and Calpee. By that time I had re-established the Tehseeldars and Thanadars at Pylanee, Tindwaree, Buberoo, Seonda and Budousa, and had accompanied a Field Detachment under Captain Macintyre of the Hydrabad Contingent, and visited with summary punishment three or four of the worst villages in Pergunahs Pylanee and Tindwaree.

March upon Kirwee.

44. On the 1st of June, Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao, still refusing to present themselves at Banda, or to allow our establishments to occupy that portion of the District. Major General Whitlock joined by his second Brigade marched from Banda for Kirwee. Great was the sensation caused by such a large force of Europeans, and Guns and Cavalry passing in the height of the hot winds through a country, where no European soldiers had been seen for nearly half a century. Despair seized the large rabble army of Narrayun Rao and its leaders, and they made a precipitate retreat into the Hill tracts south of Tirohan; and Narrayun Rao and Madho Rao, the heirs of the old Peshwa, surrendered unconditionally with all their Guns, 42 in number, and their treasure and jewels of fabulous amount. This fortunate circumstance placed the whole District in our possession, The dispersion of the rebels at Calpee, by Sir Hugh Rose, about the same time, completed the discomfiture of the rebels, and destroying the hopes of the disaffected, tended much to tranquilize this District.

Flight of the Army of Narrayun Rao, and surrender of himself and his brother, with 42 Guns, Treasure and Jewels.

The District won.

Fate of Narrayun Rao.

45. Our main force, after leaving a garrison under Brigadier Carpenter at Kirwee, returned to Banda with all the treasure, jewels and captured guns, and the prisoners. The latter have since been tried and convicted of rebellion, and their estates and property confiscated to the State, and Narrrayun Rao was sentenced to transportation for life; but the sentence was remitted by the Governor General, on the recommendation of the Special Commissioner. Narrayun Rao will henceforth live under surveillance at Hazareebagh, on an allowance of Rs. 700 per mensem.

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Tour round the District: Punishment of refractory villages, and conciliation of others.

46. From Kirwee, Major General Whitlock kindly placed at my disposal, a moveable column under Major Dallas, which accompanied me round the District to Bhowree and Mow, and then up the right bank of the Jumna, passing through Pergunahs Tirohan, Chiboo, Dursenda, Buberoo, Tindwaree and Banda. I established the Revenue and Police posts as we went along, and carried out my intention of making a most severe example of three or four selected as the worst villages in each Pergunah. Captain Metge, Commanding the Banda Military Police, with his Adjutant, Lieutenant Dick, subsequently did what was required in Pergunahs Seonda and Budousa. I particularly selected those villagers for punishment, who had assaulted and hunted European fugitives. All opposition was disarmed, and all those well disposed were reassured and encouraged to return to their usual occupations. All those who had befriended us in our need, were most liberally rewarded.

Rewards distributed to friends.

Villages which called for special punishment.

47. The villages selected as special objects for punishment are :—

Pergunah Banda, Goera, Mooglee—Where Captain Scott's party were taken prisoners.

Pergunah Pylanee Mudunpoor—Who rose in hostility to our Government before 14th June, and who plundered and attacked the fugitive Officers from Futtehpoor.

Pergunah Pylanee, Pipree, ditto—Who stopped the road, set up their own king, and committed universal plundering, and showed great rancour against Government.

Pergunah Pylanee, Lusenda—Ditto ditto ditto, and who continued to communicate with the rebels at Calpee, and refused to submit after our return.

Pergunah Pylanee, Chundwara,—Ditto ditto.

" " Juspoora,—Ditto ditto.

" Simounee, Puchneyee—A Kham village, of which the zemindars rose and plundered the Government cash-box, destroyed the records, and Cutcherry, and maltreated the Government Ameen.

Pergunah Simounee, Johurpoor, and Benda—Mentioned above. (Para. 42.)

Pergunah Simounee, Simree and Waslipoor—Who attacked and plundered and destroyed the Government Tehseelee, records and treasure, and turned out the Government servants, and now refuse to attend.

Pergunah Buberoo, Murka, and Buberoo,—Who rose in rebellion before we left the District, and plundered and destroyed the Tehseeldaree and records, and who plundered all the surrounding villages, and refused to submit on our return.

Pergunah Dursenda, Kumasin,—Ditto ditto.

" " Paharee,—Ditto ditto.

" Chiboo Mow, Munkwur, Poorubputtae—Ditto ditto.

" Tirshan—None.

" Budousa, Lorehta—Who attacked and murdered British fugitives.

" " Surha—Who rose in rebellion and plundered before we left the District, and turned out the Police.

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Pergunah Baloosa; Goorha—Who rose in rebellion and plundered before we left the District, and turned out the Police.

Pergunah Seonda; Sonta, Kherowa, and Madhopoor.—Who attacked and maltreated, and plundered European Officers and Ladies.

Disturbances in Pergunahs Tirohan and Chiboo.

48. Mr. Carne, Deputy Collector under Regulation IX. of 1833, with the powers of a Special Commissioner was stationed as Civil Officer in charge with the Garrison at Kirwee. In September the rebels, who under Radha Gobind, Narrayun Rao's Kamdar, and the instigator of their rebellion, had fled from Kirwee, and some of the rebel Rewa Sirdars, again became troublesome in Pergunnahs Tirohan and Chiboo, using the name of the Nana and proclaiming his rule. The conduct of the petty Chiefs of the independent states of Bundelkhund, bordering on the District, too, added much to the general disorder. They secretly assisted the rebel bands both with supplies and men. Brigadier Carpenter however marched from Kirwee, and after punishing them three several times drove the rebels beyond Nagode and restored order. Captain Griffin with the Chutturpoor auxilliary levies cleared the Pergunah of Chiboo.

Rebels again dispersed.

Complete tranquillity of the District.

49. Since then the District has been as quiet as I could wish; the Revenue is being paid up, and not an armed rebel band remains in the District, and the last rebel Chief, Goomna, an escaped convict, has lately been sent in a corpse by a rebel Zemindar, who sought his own pardon. Unless therefore we are again disturbed by outsiders, we shall have no more rebellion in Banda.

Departure of main Force from Banda.

50. The greater part of the British force left Banda in September, under Major General Whitlock, for other Districts. Meanwhile, the public Offices, the Church and the Jail, and the Christian Burial-ground have been restored, and the expenses thereof, with the consent of the Right Honorable the Governor General, are being defrayed by suitable fines levied on rebel villages and the town of Banda. The cost of repairs and reconstruction of Thanahs and Tehseelees and Police Chowkees, destroyed or injured by the rebels, will be realized in the same way. The roads are under repair, and an efficient Military Police, ready to move upon any point it is wanted, is in course of organization. There is once more security of life and property, and the people have been taught a lesson, which they will not, I think, quickly forget.

Restoration of Government Buildings, Church and Burial-ground, &c. &c.

The inesteemable benefit of the special powers of the Mutiny Acts, and of the virtual suspension of the ordinary Regulation.

51. I cannot but attribute the speedy tranquillization of a District, so long full of anarchy and rebellion, in a great measure, to the unusual powers which are now allowed to be exercised under the new Acts, by the District Officers. Backed by an irresistible Military force, and associated with a General, who has ever been ready to afford his cordial co-operation, with the ordinary Regulations virtually suspended, and possessed of the confidence and support of the Supreme Government, I have had little to hamper my proceedings, and have been able to carry out unchecked the policy assumed in conformity with the instructions of the Governor General. And I am confident, that no greater boon could be bestowed on these Provinces than to dissolve the Regulations and Acts altogether, and introduce a Code similar to that of the Punjab.

Policy for the future.

52. We can afford now to deal leniently with all offenders, except those who have committed murder, or hunted, or maltreated Europeans, or who have been active leaders and promoters of the rebellion; and such is the policy now pursued.

Financial prospects.

53. The financial state and prospects of the District have furnished the subject of a separate correspondence.

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Men who have done good service.

54. It is my pleasing duty to bring to the notice of Government the individuals who have done marked good service to the State. Vide Appendix B.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. O. MAYNE,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

P. S.—Since closing the report, the Queen's Proclamation assuming the Government of the country has been issued, and the terms of amnesty made known; and all prisoners on trial, who came under the amnesty, have been released, to the number of upwards of 300 men.

God save the Queen.

F. O. MAYNE,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

BANDA:
*The 10th November*, 1858.

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# APPENDIX A.

## *PERGUNAH CHIBOO.*

On the 8th of June, the escaped convicts from Allahabad entered this district by the Mow Ferry, and first spread the news of rebellion and bloodshed. The cry was quickly taken up by the Boondelas, and the zemindars of villages, *Mow*, *Poorubputtaee* and *Munkwar* and a few others assembled and attacked the Tehsildaree at Mow, and were joined by the Thanah Police. The Tehsildar, Thanadar and their Omla, after being besieged for some days, were gallantly rescued by Hingun Khan, zemindar of Deea Chukwa, Pergunah Puchim Sureera, zillah Allahabad. But the buildings were dismantled and the Treasury containing Rupees 1,200 and all Government property were plundered, and the records torn up and distributed to the winds. The three villages above noted have been only partly punished. The collections were made by Narain Rao's Government through their Tehsildar Nazir, Nubbee Khan, and their troops committed much havoc in the Pergunah, which also suffered severely from repeated passages of mutineer sepoys.

The Rajapoor Roopoleeas behaved well and will be rewarded; they preserved the Government Thanah and records, and also those of the Post Office. The zemindars of Mouzah Murroor also behaved well in supporting the Tehsildar.

A band of rebels, under Punjab Sing and Deer Sing, Rewan Sirdars, a second time accompanied by zemindars of Mow, Munkwar and Poorubputtaee, took forcible possession of this Tehsilee in September, after our return, but were quickly driven back by the Chutterpoor auxiliary levies, under Captain Griffin, who is now stationed at Rajapoor. The villages in the Southern portion of the Pergunah suffered very much from the ravages of bands of rebels for the rainy season of 1858, but it is now quite free from such vermin.

## *PERGUNAH DURSENDA.*

The Tehsildar of this Pergunah, Shaikh Khadim Hossein, a resident of Oude, had long been attached to this Pergunah, and he had been excessively kind to the people, especially to the men of Kamasin,* whom he had assisted with charitable works in hard times and built for them a well, and dug a tank at his own cost in the village.

When the waves of the rebellion approached Kamasin, he naturally looked for aid from his old friends, and they responded to the call, and came to protect the Tehsildaree. Men of Sanda also came to assist. On the 11th of June, the Kamasin men turned traitors, drove off the Sanda zemindars, and themselves attacked and plundered the Thanah and Tehsildaree, robbed the Treasury containing about Rupees 4,000, destroyed the record, and dismantled the Government buildings. They drove out the old Tehsildar and his Omla with nothing, but the clothes on their backs. The Tehsildar fled to Sanda where he found protection, and with the assistance of the zemindars of Sanda, and that of Chilowlur he returned to Kamasin, fought the traitors, drove them out and burned their village. Several Government servants were killed and wounded in the fight. He then went to Kirwee to ask the aid of Narain Rao, which being refused, he went to Banda, and after remaining there quietly for some time, finally joined me at Allahabad. The Kamasin zemindaree has been confiscated, and the zemindars well punished. I made a most severe example of this village. The Paharee zemindars also behaved very badly, and plundered the Thanah and turned out the Police. They have also been punished. The Chillee Mull zemindars gave succour and shelter to the fugitives from Kote Ekdalla.

The Sanda and Chilowlur people have been rewarded.

The collections in this Pergunah were made by Narain Rao, whose forces committed much devastation in the villages; they were opposed by the Surdooa and Kamasin people, and both villages were destroyed. Other villages were also plundered and burned by Narain Rao.

Surdooa, a large kham village, behaved very well to the Government Ameen; but they and the surrounding villages moved in a body to attack and plunder the wealthy bazaar of Rajapoor, but were brought off.

This Pergunah suffered from the repeated passages through it of bands of mutineers soldiery.

* The Head Quarters of the Tehsilee.

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## *PERGUNAH OUGASEE.*

On 9th of June, the Murka and Sungurra people rose in rebellion, and when the Tehsildar went to restore order, they attacked him and drove him away. He fled to Ougasee, and on 11th, returned to Buberoo, the Head Quarter of the Tehsilee. He found it surrounded by Murka Sungurra and Buberoo zemindars. On the 12th, they plundered the Tehsilee and Treasury containing Rupees 5,000 and some hundred, destroyed all the records, and dismantled the building, and killed the Karinda of the village. The Tehsildar and Police fled to Banda.

The Murka men remained in rebellion till our return, and committed plundering expedition in every direction, on both sides of the river, in connection with the Surkundee people of the Futtehpoor district. They were always notorious for their turbulence and contumacy, and maintained their old name in 1857-58. Both they and the Buberoo men have been well punished. This Pergunah was divided by Nawab Alli Bahadoor and Narain Rao, and the collections were made by both parties, under their respective Tehsildars, Morey Punth and Jwalapershaud.

The family of the Cuzee of Ougasee, behaved well, in protecting and supporting the Tehsildar, to the best of his ability.

## *PERGUNAH SIMOUNEE.*

Till the 10th of June 1857, this Pergunah was undisturbed. The Johurpoor and Benda people then commenced open plunder. The men of Simree Wasilpoor followed suite. The latter, however, came and offered their services to the Tehsildar, which were accepted. No sooner, however, had they arrived at Tindwaree, the Head Quarter of the Tehsil, than they sent messengers to the Johurpoor people, telling them to come and aid in plundering the Tehsilee and village of Tindwaree. Some three or four thousand men of Johurpoor, Benda, Simree and Wasilpoor, on the 11th June, assembled at Tindwaree. They surrounded the Tehsildaree, and breaking into it, plundered the Treasure to the amount of 3,500, destroyed the records and burnt and sacked the village. The Tehsildar and Omla and the Police were compelled to conceal themselves. The Tehsildar and a few Chaprassees, however, remained at Tindwaree, till the 13th, when he was compelled to fly and retreated to Banda. The zemindars of Puchneyee, a large Kham village, behaved in an exactly similar manner to the Government Ameen and his office at that place. The men of the above villages remained in open rebellion, until our return in April 1858, and they have committed incalculable mischief and injury on other villages in the Pergunah. They have all been well punished, and their zemindaree rights confiscated.

Muttra Pershaud, ex-Canoongoe, and the zemindar of Jharee, stood by the Tehsildar, and have done good service. They will be rewarded. The collections in the Pergunah, during the rebellion, were made by Nawab Alli Bahadoor, through his Tehsildar, Mohamed Tuckee, a resident of Jais-Oude. All the Government Offices have been totally destroyed.

## *PERGUNAH PYLANEE.*

*Puraree, Murjha, Nanda Deo, Pipreree, and Pylanee* threatened to attack the Tehsilee in the first instance, but were overruled by others. *Muddunpoor, Insenda, Chandwara* and *Juspoora*, and *Pipreree* commenced the rebellion, and were first and foremost in all marauding and plundering expeditions, in supporting the rebel Nawab and Nana of Bithoor, and in protected hostility after our return. They have all been severely punished. Oomrao Sing of Sindhan Pullan and Sumud Khan of Budeygaon alone joined friendly to our Government and supported the Tehsildar. They have been rewarded. The collections in this Tehsilee were made by Nawab Alli Bahadoor, through his Tehsildar Mohamed Mosem.

The records have been almost all preserved, and but little damage was done to the Government buildings. This was owing to the friendly offices of some of the resident and zemindars of Pylanee. A few of the Omla also remained at Pylanee and looked after the duftur.

The Tehsildar was driven out by his own chaprasees, who forced him to pay them all the money he had in the Government Treasury amounting to Rupees 379-12.

## *PERGUNAH TIROHAN.*

In this Pergunah, is situated Kirwee, the Head Quarter of the rebel Government of Narain Rao and Madho Rao, who directly they heard of Mr. Cockerell's death, and of the British Officers having left Banda, assumed the Government, and imprisoned Akbur Alli, the Government Tehsildar. They then proclaimed themselves to be *Peishwa*. The instigator and supporter of the rebellion was their Kamdar, Radha Gobind. They of course

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collected all the revenue; but owing to the presence of their large forces, the various villages of this Pergunah remained quiet, and suffered less than in other Pergunahs. Abdool Shukoor was appointed their Tehsildar. On the surrender of Narain Rao and Madho Rao, and the flight of their brave army under Radha Gobind and Golab Raee before the British forces, we took possession. All their property has been confiscated, and the Tehsilee has been removed from Tirohan to Kirwee, which are about half a mile apart. And the old Fort of Tirohan, commonly known as the Fort of the Soorkees, has been blown up. The Palace of Narain Rao is a fortified building, and is now garrisoned by British troops. Subsequently to the retreat of Narain Rao's rabble force, the villages on the south of Pergunah Tirohan suffered very considerably from their ravages; and the plundering expedition of the rebel Sirdars, who joined Radha Gobind from Rewan. The Pergunah is now, however, quite clear of those bands, who have been driven out by Brigadier Carpenter. The records of this Pergunah have been partially preserved. The Treasure was partly taken by Mr. Cockerell with him to Banda, where it was plundered to the amount of about Rupees 1,500. The remainder, about Rupees 443, was left at Kirwee, and appropriated by Narain Rao, from whom it has been recovered.

## *PERGUNAH BUDOUSA.*

This Pergunah was first taken possession of by the Raja of Beroada, who yielded to the superior forces of Narain Rao. The latter made the collection, through his Tehsildar, Soorajooddeen. The Government Tehsildar fled, and the Thanadar was turned out by Narain Rao's people. The Adjygurh and Punnah and Chukwa Rajas also made collections in this Pergunah. The Fort of Kulinjur was bravely held throughout by the Punnah troops, under command of Lieutenant Remington. The old Fort of Marpa is also situated in this Pergunah, but no one took permanent possession. The fugitive Officers from Nowgong were pursued and persecuted in this Pergunah. The villages of Jumwara and Lorehta have paid the penalty. Goorha and Surha were also prominent in rebellion. They both rose long before we left the district. Some few people sheltered the European fugitives for a day or two, and have been named for reward.

The Pergunah records have been partially preserved, and the Government buildings but little injured. The Treasure, amounting to about Rs. 500, was taken by Mr. Cockerell to Banda, and was there plundered.

## *PERGUNAH BANDA.*

The history of this Pergunah is included in the general report of the occurrences at Banda khas. The collections were made by the Pundits of Jaloun, by Nawab Alli Bahadoor, and by Dhowa of Adjygurh. The Tehsildar, Meer Furhut Alli, held on in his office until the Nawab became undoubtedly a rebel. He then resigned, and was succeeded by Mohamed Abbass, ex-Government Tehsildar of Mowdha. Meer Furhut Alli, however, preserved all the records, and kept a diary of events, which I have found very useful. He also preserved a strict account of all collections made by the Nawab.

The Nowgong fugitives passed through Pergunah Banda. Many villages proved hostile, and turned out to attack them; but others again behaved very well, and have been rewarded. The Goera Mooglee zemindars distinguished themselves by taking prisoners four British Officers, and bringing them to the Nawab. They have been heavily fined. The Muttanud zemindars were pre-eminent in their loyalty and protection of Europeans, and they have received a liberal reward in the reduction of one-third of their juma, and other presents. The Gooreh and Jouroha zemindars also supported the Government, and a portion of their Revenue for the past year have been recommended for remission.

The decisive action was fought in this Pergunah between the British Forces and the rebels at Goera Mooglee.

The chief refractory villages are *Ladar, Kunna, Bhumbanee, Guhbara, Goera Mooglee, Kurbye and Chinberae,* but they all settled down immediately on our return, except the Ludar people, of whom the Chief is one Futteh Sing, a most contumacious rascal, known to me as such long before the rebellion.

## *PERGUNAH SEONDA.*

The collections in this District were made during the rebellion by the Government Tehsildar, Chirounjeelall, and paid to Nawab Alli Bahadoor up to the date of the battle of Banda. The Tehsildar and his Omla then absconded. This Pergunah made itself chiefly remarkable for the hostility exhibited to the fugitive British Officers from Nowgong. At Madhopoor they were attacked, and an unfortunate lady, who fell behind, was stripped of her clothes and plundered, and the zemindars disputed among themselves who should be her husband. In the midst of this rivalry, she was rescued by Nawab Alli Bahadoor, taken to Banda, and very kindly treated, both by him and his mother, the Begum, and sent under escort to Nagode. The villagers of Loatah and Kherawah and

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Nusseynee and Goreepoorwah, also pursued and assaulted this unhappy band of fugitives; they have all been severely punished. The large Kham village of Utturra also rose in rebellion, plundered the Government Cash box, severely maltreated the Ameen, and destroyed the Government Kutchery. They also joined the Adjygurh rebels and plundered in other villages. They have met with their reward. Lallah Jadoram and Kishen Chund Sett are the only landholders in this Pergunah who behaved well. They are Mushtrees, and live in Banda khas.

The Adjygurh people disputed the right of this Pergunah with Nawab Alli Bahadoor, and also collected Revenue. The Rajas of Chirkaree and Punnah also made collections.

The Government Treasure was looted by the Seonda, Nebalpoor, and Kullaundraeepoor people, to the amount of Rs. 598.

The Government buildings are not much damaged, and the records have been almost all preserved.

There is an old Fort, situated in an island, in the river Kane, by name Ranghu, which might prove a shelter for any band of desperadoes.

F. O. MAYNE,

*Magistrate and Collector.*

ZILLAH BANDA:
*The 10th November*, 1858.

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# APPENDIX B.

## *GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.*

*Lalla Debee Pershad.*—This lad, a resident of Banda, has only just left school, and a few days previously to the rebellion been appointed to officiate as Mudutgar at the Jemadar's Chokee of Kallinjur. He and the two men, whose names follow, were the only men of the District, who accompanied the British Officers in their retreat from the District. They made themselves of the greatest assistance, and remained and did excellent service with the Magistrate of Banda in the Allahabad District, throughout the rebellion. Debee Pershad has been rewarded with a permanent appointment in the Magistrate's Court, on a salary of Rs. 20 per mensem. The two Burkundazes have been made Sowars, and horses have been presented to them free of cost.

*Sheo Churn Brahmin, Burkundaz.*—Vide above remarks.

*Rumzan Ally Sheikh, Burkundaz*—Ditto ditto.

*Mohamed Oosman Khan.*—Thanadar of Budousa. This Officer stood at his post until forced to leave by Narain Rao's men, who took possession. He joined me at Allahabad, as soon as he possibly could, and did good service in the Allahabad District. He deserves a good reward. He is now at his former post.

*Sheikh Khadim Husun.*—Tehsildar of Dursenda. His good conduct has been narrated in the Appendix, under Pergunah Dursenda.

*Syud Akber Ally.*—Tehsildar of Tirohan. This Officer was imprisoned by Narrain Rao, and very badly treated. He used to send me detailed and correct information of all that occurred at Kirwee, and as soon as ever he could effect his release, he joined me at Allahabad, and did good service in that District. He returned to his former post on our re-occupation of the District of Banda, and has subsequently done excellent service with the force under Brigadier Carpenter, in September and October 1858. He is deserving of a good reward.

*Mohamed Azim Khan.*—Thanahdar of Kirwee. This man did excellent service with poor Mr. Cockerell, the Joint Magistrate at Kirwee, and has a certificate to that effect. He was afterwards compelled to take small service under Narain Rao's government. In consideration of his former service, I restored him to his appointment.

*Kalee Churn.*—Tehsildar of Budousa. This man deserted his post before he was absolutely obliged to do so, but subsequently did good service with some of his Omla, under Lieutenant Remington at Kallinjur.

*Mr. J. A. Lisle,*—Clerk of the Judge's Office at Banda, joined me at Allahabad, and did good service in that District, going disguised into the rebels' camp and bringing correct information of their strength and intentions. Since my return to Banda, I made him Kotwal of the town of Banda, and he has exerted himself in a most praiseworthy manner in hunting out concealed rebels, and discovering hidden treasure and valuable property, and in getting information of the rebel forces. He has now reverted to his old post of Clerk in the Judge's Office. He should be rewarded.

*Gholam Aheea Khan.*—This man did good service as Thanahdar of Kirwee, after our return, and has been honorably mentioned by Brigadier Carpenter, attached to whose Camp he gave great satisfaction. He has been promoted to be Kotwal of Banda.

*Pransookh Ram Seth.*—Treasurer of the Collector's Office. Has done good service in sending me information from Banda during the rebellion, and in getting excellent and trustworthy information regarding the proceedings of the rebels under the Ex-Nawab of Banda and Tantia Topee, before the fall of Calpee.

## *PERSONS NOT IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF GOVERNMENT.*

*Chundoo Lal.*—Vukeel of Dewanee Court at Banda. Has done since our return excellent service as a volunteer under Captain Griffin, in Command of the Chutturpoor Levies, and has been rewarded with a present of Rs. 200; and being one of the most able Vukeels at Banda, I have been able to promote him to the vacant post of Government Vukeel.

*Doorgapershad, and Sheopershad.*—These two men have also done good service as Volunteers under Captain Griffin, and have been rewarded with presents of Rs. 50 each.

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*Munnee Lal Chowdry.*—Of the town of Banda. Has been very useful in establishing daks and getting information of the movements of the rebels in Zillah Humeerpoor, immediately after our return to Banda. He also assisted in the escape of some Government servants.

*Doorgapershad Mookhtyar.*—Has also exerted himself in getting good information of the rebels and their movements.

*Lalla Jado Ram.*—A Zemindar in this District, who has stood by the Government and been of the greatest assistance in re-establishing order in Pergunah Seonda. He will be rewarded with villages.

*Kishen Chund Seth.*—Ditto ditto.

*Moorlee, and other Zemindars of Muttound.*—Concealed and treated most hospitably four European refugees for some weeks, and steadily refused all attempts of the Nawab and his people to give them up. They afterwards escorted them on their way to Nagode. They have been liberally rewarded by Government with a permanent reduction of one-third of the Government Juma and with other pecuniary rewards.

*Sheikh Ferokh Khan and Mohungoor Chowkeedar.*—Of Odyepoorwa, Pergunah Banda, concealed and behaved well to Captain Scott and party when hunted by the rebels. They have been rewarded with pensions.

*Mohamed Ibrahim.*—Protected the unfortunate Captain Benjamine and Mr. Bruce and party for four days after the mutiny. They have been rewarded with a village paying Rs. 1,000 and a present of 500.

*Lalla Pande.*—Several times at great risk came from Banda to Allahabad and brought most detailed information of all that was going on. He also gave information to the Authorities of the rebels advancing to Kudjooa and of the rebels moving on Cawnpoor.

*Ishree Singh and others, Zemindars of Sanda.*—Stood by the Tehsildar of the Pergunah and fought in his aid at Kamasin, and protected him and his Omla at the commencement of the rebellion. Since our return they have also supported the Tehsildar. They have been rewarded with the gift of Mouzah Bunthwree, paying a Juma of Rupees 708.

*Indul Singh and others, Zemindars of Mouzah Chilowler.*—Ditto ditto. They have been rewarded with the gift of Mouzah Jammoo, paying a Juma of Rs. 2,050.

*Muthra Pershad, Maafeedar.*—This man was of the greatest assistance to the Tehsildar of Simounee, both at the rebellion and since our return. He has been rewarded with the post of Canoongoe.

*Dhooree Singh and others, of Injhoree, Purgunah Simounee.*—Stood by the Tehsildar at the rebellion and fought on his side, and have also supported him since our return. They will be rewarded with a village.

*Nyn Singh and Jowahir Singh, Zemindars of Bhowaneepoor.*—Protected Mr. Lisle and his family during the rebellion. They will be rewarded.

*Zemindar of Kimar, Pergunah Bhudousar.*—Protected and sheltered fugitive Officers from Nowgong. Will be rewarded.

*Zemindars of Bhutpoora, Pergunah Bhudousa.*—Ditto ditto.

*Jaoram Patuck Taraput, of Nareynee, Pergunah Seonda.*—Protected and sheltered European fugitives. Will be rewarded.

*Hingun Khan and Salar Khan, Zemindars of Deea Choukwa, Pergunah Uthurban, Zillah Allahabad.*—Gallantly rescued the Tehsildar and Thanahdar and Omla of Mow, when attacked and surrounded by rebels, and protected them throughout the rebellion.

*Beneeram and others, of Roopoleea of Rajapoor, Pergunah Chiboo.*—These men protected the Thanah and its records, and Post Office records throughout the rebellion.

F. O. MAYNE,
*Magistrate and Collector.*

ZILLAH BANDA:
*The 10th November*, 1858.

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# A Narrative of Personal Adventures

AT

# BANDA AND ELSEWHERE,

DURING THE REBELLION

OF 1857.

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The Officiating Commissioner of the Allahabad Division having demi-officially informed me in a letter of 11th current, that I am to "furnish Government with a personal Narrative of my adventures during the outbreak, and what I saw and did," I have the honor to relate as follows, and as accurately as an interval of eighteen months nearly, acting on a naturally bad memory, will allow me.

The unexpected news of the outbreak at Meerut and Dehli produced of course great excitement, and I think I may say gloomy forebodings, among the European residents at Banda. Mr. Collector and Magistrate Mayne immediately wrote to the late Lieutenant Governor, offering his services in the disturbed districts, (Meerut and Dehli,) and I, considering it to be every servant of Government's duty in those circumstances to come forward, and not being too proud to follow my Junior's example, did so also. Whether Mr. Mayne got any reply to his offer I know not. I never did. I went about my daily concerns, public and private, going to office, &c. as usual. The wave of the rebellion however was gradually rolling towards us; insubordination began to shew itself in the district; and at Mr. Mayne's suggestion, nay desire, both for convenience and protection's sake, as, if I am not mistaken, he feared an attack by the budmashes upon the station, Mr. Joint Magistrate Webster and his lady, myself and wife, and, a day or two after, Mr. Civil Assistant Surgeon Clarke, left our respective bungalows, and came to live in Mr. Mayne's large and pucka house, close to the cutcherries, jail, and city. The Military Officers, Lieutenants Bennett and Fraser, and Ensign Clerk, attached to the three companies 1st Regiment N. I., but lately arrived from Cawnpoor on Treasury duty, remained in their bungalow near their lines, and up to that time had no suspicion of their men. The plot, however, began to thicken. Mr. Mayne used to hear daily from Mr. Lloyd at Humeerpoor, who again used to hear from Sir G. Parker at Cawnpoor, and send on his letter to Mr. Mayne. In this way we heard of Etawah "going," and Mr. Mayne got a letter from some native friend of his at Shajehanpoor, giving an account of the rebellion and massacre at that station. Mr. Mayne also used to hear daily from Mr. Sherer at Futtehpoor, and Mr. Chester at Allahabad, mentioning what was the state of affairs at those stations. Mr. Mayne, I believe, regularly reported his progress also. Our, or rather to speak for myself, my state of mind was not comfortable, and we

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were waiting to see how long it would be before the wave engulphed *us*, or how far our comparatively isolated position would save us from its reach. Then the dâks from Futtehpoor stopt, (we had two dâks per diem, one from Futtehpoor, bringing the letters from the East and West, the other from Humeerpoor; we had also a dâk from Nagode, Saugor and Mohoba, and the South, but they were of no importance,) and we knew what *that* meant. We had also in the meantime heard of some outbreak at Cawnpoor, but did not know the particulars; but the sipahees, equally anxious with us for news, remained perfectly quiet. Lieutenant Bennett however, I believe, was privately informed by a Non-Commissioned Officer that the men were not to be depended upon. Mr. Mayne continued to hear from Mr. Lloyd every day; but Sir G. Parker's letter to Mr. Lloyd suddenly ceased, and we knew what *that* meant also. I remember also Mr. Mayne receiving a letter one day from Mr. Colvin, in which he deplored the "Jacquerie" that was prevailing in the Etawah district. Neither of us knew exactly what that word meant, but we were quite sure it meant nothing good. We used, at the early part of the period I am now referring to, to hear from Agra viâ Etawah and Humeerpoor, but the "Jacquerie" aforesaid very soon put a stop to that. By this time anarchy, and, of what we then by instinct learnt the significance, "Jacquerie" had broken out in our district. Thannahs and Tehseeldarees had been attacked and plundered; Police killed and wounded; and the budmashes were drawing nearer and nearer to the station and city. It was this, and the rising of the city, that Mr. Mayne I think expected, more than anything else, less perhaps than any mutiny among the sipahees; but the city remained perfectly quiet. Mr. Mayne nevertheless was concerned about the treasure. The exact amount he had in hand I do not remember, but he had shortly before sent away some lacs to Futtehpoor, for further transmission to Allahabad, and, at the time of which I am now writing, had under lock and key about two and a half lacs. This he felt to be quite in the sipahees' hands, but they made no opposition to his taking out cash, to pay the establishment, &c., and so reducing the amount as much as possible. We, that is the residents in Mr. Mayne's house, seeing that our position at Banda was becoming every day more and more precarious, began to consult what we should do with the two ladies, Mrs. Webster and Mrs. Edmonstone. At one time Mrs. Webster, a strong, healthy young woman, and a good rider, determined to stick by her husband, while Mrs. Edmonstone elected to go down by water to Allahabad, (the road thither viâ Futtehpoor not being safe,) and I had actually engaged a boat at the Chillatara ghât through Mohummud Sirdar Khan, the Deputy Collector, stationed there by Mr. Mayne, to give early intelligence of any rebels coming that way from Futtehpoor, and which Mr. Mayne had been led to expect, and had paid for its fittings-up, when for some reason or other, I think from the bad character of the villages under which the boat would have to pass, this plan was given up, and we began to think of something else. It was then determined that the two ladies should go by dâk to Nagode, to Major Ellis, and wait there either till we joined them, or till they could come back again; but this from, I think, the great distance, eighty miles, there being no place for them to stop at midway, the season of the year (June), and the great exposure they would have to undergo, was also given up, and the two ladies determined to cast in their lot with ours,—"Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge." Beginning then to apprehend an attack on ourselves, we cast about for the securest position. Mr. Mayne thinking to turn it into a place of defence, put a few provisions into the Jail, and had dug up one or two guns, formerly belonging to the Nawab of Banda, but taken from him, and buried in the Jail compound; but that idea was given up, and the Nawab of Banda's palace appearing most eligible, Mr. Mayne called upon him to show his allegiance, (he had hitherto not done so to Mr. Mayne's satisfaction, who knew him to be himself a poor creature, and quite under the influence of certain followers, bad characters,) and take us in. This the Nawab at once did, and, I am bound to say, behaved with the utmost civility and hospitality towards us. While living in Mr. Mayne's house, we were constantly expecting to be attacked by the budmashes; had numberless sentries round the house at night; had, at Mr. Mayne's advice, already prepared

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our bundles, and were warned to be ready to jump up and go—somewhere—at a moment's notice. We *were* roused up one night by, what however proved to be, a false alarm. On the morning of the 9th June, while Mr. Mayne was in Cutcherry, a sowar galloped up, and handing him a note from the Deputy Collector stationed at the Chillatara ghât, cried out with a loud voice that the rebels had come down to the river, were crossing over, and would shortly be in Banda. Mr. Mayne sent over to me, desiring me to take the ladies immediately to the Nawab's palace. Mr. Webster and I accordingly did so, but not without apprehension. I remember of being attacked on the road; the distance was about a mile. Mr. Webster then left me, and rejoined his principal. Shortly after Mr. Mayne arrived, and informed us that the rebels, who had arrived at Chillatara ghât, were crossing over, and would soon be at Banda, where Mr. Sherer, and all the Europeans from Futtehpoor, who had left that station the night before, had crossed the river, and been looked after by the Deputy Collector; but their own horses being knocked up, were in want of assistance to bring them in! This was no small relief to our minds. The Nawab, all kindness and attention, sent out, at Mr. Mayne's desire, carriages, &c., and accordingly, a little after sunset of the 10th June, all the Futtehpoor party arrived, and were (I was already personally acquainted with them, all except one, Mr. Macnaghten,) most heartily greeted and congratulated on their escape. *One* was missing, Mr. Tucker the Judge, and from my previous knowledge of him, I was by no means surprised to hear of his refusing to come away. The following day an old native Christian servant of Mr. Sherer's arrived from Futtehpoor, and reported poor Tucker's sad fate. It was only what we were all prepared for. Mr. Mayne then began to consult with the other gentlemen about our future plans, and at one time they had gone so far as to commence the clearing out of an old ruined Fort outside the town, on the bank of the Ken river, Bhooragurh by name,—Mr. Bews, of the Railway, superintending the operation; but this was shortly after given up. The gentlemen also at night patrolled the town and station; every thing was perfectly quiet. I should here mention, that as there were two ladies in the party, Mrs. Webster and Mrs. Edmonstone, and Mr. Webster, from his position, being Mr. Mayne's coadjutor, and requiring to be much with him, the care of the ladies principally devolved upon me, and I, in consequence, not only never left the Nawab's palace all the time we were there, but the room also adjoining the one the ladies occupied. All this time also we kept on our bungalows; that is, engaged extra guards, and left our property in them. Our servants also lived there, but came to wait upon us at the Nawab's house. I have already said, the Nawab was all kindness and attention, and so were his people. At Mr. Mayne's suggestion, I believe, he allowed us to remove all, or as much of our property as we liked out of our bungalows into his rooms and godowns, and we did so. I succeeded in getting away most of my valuables, but still the bungalow was by no means empty. The Nawab came every day to see us; all the time we were there we lived at his expence; (he would not allow us to consume any thing of our own;) and one night gave us a regular dinner, champaigne and all, and dined with us himself! He also, I believe, zealously co-operated with Mr. Mayne in his measures for the public peace. One evening also, in the hope of further conciliating the Nawab and his followers, Mrs. Webster, Mrs. Benjamin, wife of Captain Benjamin, the Commandant of the Nawab's soldiers, and Mrs. Edmonstone, paid a visit to the Nawab's two wives. Mrs. Edmonstone described the women to me as being in appearance like two common-looking Ayahs, and in manners no better than any two gâônwareens. Still we could not but feel our position to be that of humiliation. I remember one day the Nawab openly saying, "He had no reason to be a friend of the "British Government; they (the Government) had reduced his army and taken "away his guns; but that we had thrown ourselves upon his hospitality, he "would protect us," &c., or words to that effect. His headman also, Mirza Imdad Alee Beg, our great friend, whom we all liked, and who being found, when the British troops retook Banda, in power there as Nazim, General Whitlock hanged, used to condescend towards us; swagger into the room with his shoes on; sit down on the same couch the ladies were sitting on; take off his cap; wipe his face; and perform all manner of little

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indescribable airs, thereby shewing how completely we were in his power. We felt greatly solicitous also about the ladies; for, however well disposed the Nawab and the Mirza might be towards us, there was no telling what the crowd of nondescript Mahomedans, the invariable hangers-on of a Mahomedan Noble, unsavoury in appearance and idle in habit, might attempt, especially at night. The two ladies slept in one room, with some sort of a punkah over them. The room next to it was unbearable from the heat; so we all slept on the open verandah close at hand, with one eye open, I may say, and arms by our sides. Mr. Mayne also had a guard of Jail nujeebs in the compound, put at the foot of our charpoys, besides the Nawab's soldiers. Mr. Mayne and Mr. Webster also, during the day, went about their usual avocations; public work was after a fashion carried on, so much so, that on more than one occasion one or two cart-loads of prisoners, who had escaped from the Allahabad Jail, (we had heard in the meantime, but how I do not remember, of "the fall" of Allahabad, but that the fort was still in our possession; of Cawnpoor we continued to know nothing; we heard everyday from Mr. Lloyd at Humeerpoor, but he could tell us nothing) were seized by the Mofussil police, and sent in to Mr. Mayne. One prisoner, I remember, was brought in with a cricket bat in his hand and a lady's glove! These were sent to prison, and Mr. Mayne caused it to be proclaimed, far and wide, that any prisoner so escaped and giving himself up, should have no addition to his previous sentence. All this time the town, the jail, Nawab's sipahees, kept perfectly quiet. I ought to have mentioned above, that when the false alarm of rebels having come to the ghât was given, that instant some budmashes arose and plundered one or two shops in the bazaar; also that on two separate occasions Mr. Mayne found a violent and inflammatory proclamation posted up by some anonymous Mahomedan, calling upon the faithful to rise and murder the Feringees, &c.; but Mr. Mayne, I believe, never could trace these ishtehars to their source, nor were they productive of harm. The police, I think, discovered and brought these papers to Mr. Mayne both times. I should also have mentioned that Mr. Sherer brought over with him Rs. 6,000 (Government money) from Futtehpoor, in six bags of Rs. 1,000 each; those bags, for security and concealment's sake, were stowed away in Mrs. Webster's and my wife's boxes containing their clothes. I said above, all was outwardly peace and quietness, but it was but the prelude of the coming storm. We knew this stillness could not last; we knew something must happen, what or when we knew not. The whole of the Dooab we knew to be gone, and we were cut off from that quarter. Of any thing beyond Humeerpoor to the west we knew nothing. Humeerpoor itself was like us. Major Ellis used to write very doubtfully about Nagode. From Nowgong we had no intelligence, or rather were expecting to hear every day of the 50th N. I. at Nagode and the Nowgong Brigade mutinying, and that, as a matter of course, they would come to Banda en route to Dehli, Oude, or elsewhere. On the night of the 12th I think it was, of June, however, we had the first warning. At about midnight, or 1 A. M., the sky in the direction of the station became illuminated, and we knew a bungalow had been fired: it turned out the next day some one (it was unknown who) had set fire to two empty bungalows and burnt them. On Saturday, the 13th, I held a sessions trial in the Nawab's house, and sentenced the accused to seven years' imprisonment with labor in irons. He was duly removed to the jail. I think it right here to mention, that, although the Senior Civilian at Banda, from my recent arrival there, and consequent ignorance of the place, from my peculiar circumstances, having a wife to look after, while he had none, and from his being obviously more fitted for such a post than myself, I at once surrendered the command, as it were, of the party and operations to Mr. Mayne, and contented myself with following his directions without question or hesitation. I became and remained a private soldier, while Mr. Mayne was the chief; and I did this the more willingly, because I saw from the very commencement the imperative necessity of our having but one leader, of ranging ourselves under one banner, and of obeying but one man. I hoped therefore that my example would have its due effect, and perhaps it had. With one consent, but tacitly, we all submitted to Mr. Mayne, and well did Mr. Mayne rule over us.

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On Sunday, the 14th June, I observed more than the usual solicitude in Mr. Mayne's countenance, and reticence on his tongue. He, Mr. Webster, the Military Officers, and others, were more than usually restless; met for frequent consultation, and separated in silence. I did not know "what was up," and did not like to ask, for fear of giving annoyance, so contented myself with watching and keeping near the ladies, in no way enviable frame of mind. At length it oozed out that the Jailor, in whom Mr. Mayne had hitherto trusted, had turned traitor; that the sipahees were going to rise, and the Nujeeb guard to join them. Mr. Mayne therefore, and the other Europeans, had determined upon the attempt of taking the Nawab's soldiers, horse and foot, going to the jail, disarming the Nujeebs, taking away the supplies previously stored there, and also the gun just dug up; or if they could not do the latter, spiking it; from thence they were to proceed to the sipahees' lines and disarm them. I, for obvious reasons, was not invited to join in this hazardous expedition; my duties were otherwise. Accordingly, in the afternoon, after dinner, the Nawab's troops fell in. Lieutenant Bennett was to command. The compound was full of people looking on; no one knew what was going to happen. I stood on the steps of the house, watching the proceedings; the ladies were in a room behind me. Suddenly arose a tremendous uproar. I could discern nothing, but I think I saw the Nawab's men, after a while, pile arms and walk away. It appeared that on one of the men being out of his place, and Lieutenant Bennett putting his hand on his shoulder, and gently pushing him back, the cry was raised that "he had been hit; that he wouldn't be hit; that he was not going to kill "his bhaiebunds to please the Feringees," &c. &c; whereupon a crowd of the Nawab's men rushed up to Lieutenant Bennett with their bayonets fixed, and if he had not shewn the most remarkable coolness, and stood unmoved, would have transfixed him then and there. An attempt was then made to control the men through their own Commandant, Captain Benjamin, but it failed. The soldiers then left the Nawab's compound, singing, I heard, revolutionary (Mahomedan religious) songs. In the meantime a sowar had galloped off to the sipahees and given the alarm. The gentlemen then came back to the palace, re infectâ. Mr. Mayne appeared; told us the game was up. The sipahees would be down upon us immediately; that we must get our horses, buggies, &c., and fly. I asked him "where to?" He whispered out "Nagode." We had had our bundles prepared for some days past; our horses and conveyances were all in the Nawab's compound, and it did not take long to get them ready. Many however of the gentlemen left, I believe, with only the clothes on their backs. By this time it was dark. There was a great noise and confusion in the compound, and, as I afterwards heard, the Nawab said to Mr. Mayne he could no longer protect us, and was about to retire, when Mr. Mayne caught hold of his arm, and told him he *must* stay and see us safe off. The Nawab's disappearance would undoubtedly have been the signal for the Mahomedan mob to set upon and murder us all. The party then advanced to the gate; the gentlemen were all mounted. I was driving a Brougham of mine with the two ladies, upwards of a thousand rupees in cash, and a few little articles of value inside, a saees by my side on the coach box. The gate was closed, but opened at our summons; no opposition to our exit was made. We then assembled outside, (surrounded I believe by a mob,) anxious to be off, and crying out for Mr. Mayne, who alone knew the road. I confess I felt extremely nervous just then, for I was in momentary expectation of the sipahees coming down upon us. At length Mr. Mayne appeared; he had been the last out of the palace; and off we started, at foot's pace of course. Strange to say, all the Foujdaree sowars accompanied us. We had apparently cleared the town, and I thought I was all right in the line, following suit, (it was pitch dark,) when in one instant the Brougham toppled over, and down we went,—horses, Brougham, ladies and all,—a bank, khud, ditch, or something, ten or twelve feet deep! It appeared the road we were travelling along was newly made and raised; I could not see a yard before me; and the horse gradually nearing the edge of the road, before I was aware of our position, fell over the edge and took the carriage with him! The whole cortêge was obliged to stop; the ladies, (how or by whom I have not a clear idea, the saees and I thrown off the box, but through mercy unhurt, strove to loose the horse,) were got out of the carriage,

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drawn up the bank, and put into an empty buggy belonging to one of the Railway officials, Mr. Bews, who, though mounted himself, had had the prudence to bring along with him his buggy and a dog-cart. Of the two ladies, Mrs. Webster was found to be hurt in her neck, (I fear the collar-bone was slightly broken,) Mrs. Edmonstone was unscathed. The carriage contained, as above stated, some money and other valuables, but little time had we to halt and recover them. The sowars had deserted us in the confusion; we dare not stay. The sipahees and mob we believed to be close at hand, and there was nothing for it but to leave the carriage with all its contents where it had fallen, and proceed for our lives. The saees coolly returned with the horse to the Nawab's stable! I fortunately found an empty seat on Mr. Bews's dog-cart, and again the party moved on. (I very soon perceived that we should have had to abandon the carriage after all, the road, a little further on, becoming a common hackery track, with unbridged ditches, and quite impassable for a four-wheeled vehicle; but then no one could have been hurt, and we could doubtless have saved its contents.) We had not proceeded far when the darkness became light; we looked behind us, and saw a broad expanse of sky brightly shining. We knew what it was; the station of Banda was burning. Again we advanced. As we passed by certain villages, Mr. Mayne passed down the order for strict silence, fearing, from his previous knowledge of them, that the inhabitants, if they heard of our approach, would rush out and attack us. And thus we travelled on the whole of the first night, the night of the 14th June. The heat was very great, our thirst excessive, and we feared to halt until we had put a distance between ourselves and Banda, sufficient to render any pursuit by sipahee or mob improbable. At length day dawned, but we had not arrived at our journey's end. Shortly after the sun rose we met, as we expected, a Havildar and twelve sipahees of the 1st N. I., returning from Nagode, whither they had started a few days before from Banda, escorting treasure. Lieutenant Bennett immediately rode up, spoke to the Havildar as usual, asked him if all was right, and told him to go on, and that he would shortly return, as we were merely going for two or three days shooting in the jungles! The Havildar and party, quite put off by Bennett's coolness, and suspecting nothing, saluted him and went on. We did so also, thankful for our escape. A little further on, and we had to pass under a village built on a mound, on the edge of which a number of men, with lattees in their hands, were collected in an apparently hostile attitude. Two of our party, Mr. Webster and Clarke, drew sword and pistol, and galloped on in front, when away went the hostile men, so rapidly and in such fear, that many of them tumbled over each other down the mound! The sight was so ridiculous, that although we were by no means in a merry mood, we could not help laughing. A little further on, and we came to a plain, on which several deer were seen grazing: nothing would suffice some of our party but that they must halt, take their rifles, and stalk the deer! At the villages we now came to, or rather at the wells at which we stopt, and where were villagers drawing water for any purpose, we went with the greatest civility; they seemed positively delighted to see us, (why I could not make out, but it looked as if they were expecting us as deliverers from their enemies,) and although at one place they were Brahmins, they scrupled not to allow us putting our mouths to them, to drink freely out of their vessels! The fact was, we were travelling just twelve hours in advance of the rebellion; the Banda news had not as yet reached them; no prisoners escaped from Jail had as yet arrived: we were the first, and they thought it all right. Another day, and assuredly we would have met with a very different reception. At ten A. M. of the 15th June, under the sun and hot winds of Bundelkund we reached Kallinjur, forty miles from Banda, and the boundary of that district; and here ended our first night's journey. At Kallinjur the only place to receive us was the thannah, and thither we betook ourselves, Mr. Mayne at our head, never forgetting for a moment his authority as a Magistrate. The two ladies were put into an empty hut close by, seated down upon some straw, and desired to make themselves as comfortable as they could. The thannah people got some food for us and our horses, but evidently suspecting our real history, they were not very willing to do anything for us, and were barely civil. Curious enough though, the thannah mohurrir and

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two burkundazes, two Hindoos and one Mahomedan, came away with Mr. Mayne, and have stuck to him most faithfully ever since! The day, under all the circumstances, was not pleasantly spent, and we felt for the two poor ladies, one of them hurt, but neither of them said a word. As the time for our departure drew near, the villagers began to collect and wear a doubtful appearance; but the firm attitude assumed by Mr. Mayne and others seemed to cow them. The only southern exit from Kallinjur is through a gate; there was nothing to prevent the people from closing that gate, and thus having us at their mercy. But it was not so; the gate remained open, and just at sunset our party defiled through it, passed on, and commenced the ascent of the range of hills dividing Banda from Nagode. The road itself winding up the hill was excellent, and we had left the enemy's country; but it was a wearisome night, and spent under great toil. We feared for our cattle, we feared for the ladies; we had not started long, when some man's rifle accidentally went off and wounded one of our party, Mr. Macnaghten's horse in the leg, the ball lodging there. Ineffectual attempts were made to extract the ball; the horse had to be abandoned, and Mr. Macnaghten to walk the best part of that night. I began to walk also, but very soon blistered my heel so severely that I could not move another step, and had to resume my seat on the dog-cart. At midnight we halted somewhere; the ladies sat down under a shed, apparently in the midst of rubbish, and tried to get some sleep, but in vain. All this time we were approaching Nagode it is true, but we were by no means certain of that place's state. The 50th Regiment N. I. were there, all the country was more or less convulsed, and Major Ellis's letters to Mr. Mayne had not been encouraging. Mr. Mayne had contrived to send on ahead a letter to Major Ellis, telling him of Banda's and our fate, and begging him to send out to meet us some food for the party in general, and a carriage for the ladies in particular. The 17th June broke, the sun got up, on we went, but no reply from Major Ellis. We all became anxious, Mr. Mayne especially so. We fully expected Nagode had "gone," and in that case our only course was to make the best of our way to the Punnah Rajah, and trust to his hospitality. In the meantime we called a halt; we were then, I think, about ten or twelve miles from Nagode; after a while, it was decided to go on and take our chance, or Mr. Mayne had heard from Major Ellis, I am not sure, on this point. We had not advanced much further, when, to our inexpressible joy and relief of mind, we saw the Major's carriage, as also a conveyance despatched by Mr. Coles, the Superintendent of Nagode, together with men carrying provisions coming out to meet us. Into the carriage got the two ladies, Mr. Mayne and a fourth, who I now forget, while I mounted the box. We now hoped we had seen the end of our troubles thus far. Not so, however; for on reaching the outside of the station of Nagode, we perceived a great commotion among the inhabitants, and people flying in every direction. We asked what had happened; some said dacoits had come, others that the sipahees had mutinied. We asked what we should do; we were advised to drive up to the Rajah of Nagode's killa and seek shelter there. We did so, and as we were reaching the gate, we saw an European with his coat off, running away in an opposite direction. After a while a wicket in the gate was cautiously opened, and we were admitted within, scowled at by numbers of matchlock-men hanging about. Inside the killa we found Mrs. Coles, the Superintendent's wife, and the European we had just seen with his coat off running away, turned out to have been Mr. Coles himself, who having also heard of the alarm, had just been depositing his wife with the Rajah for safety, and was returning to his office close by. The Rajah, a young man, received us very kindly, and was preparing apparently to make us comfortable, when Major Ellis having got intelligence of our whereabouts, sent and fetched us away to his own bungalow. There we learnt that some of our party, who were mounted when we had arrived near Nagode, had made a short cut across the fields into the station, while we kept the road in the carriage, and having been seen ahead of us all, gave countenance to a report we heard from Major Ellis's coachman, had been prevalent in the bazaar, viz. "that four companies of Gorahs were coming to *mar* the sipahees," and caused the whole Regiment to turn out unordered and commence loading, and the bazaar people to fly! Moreover, to our horror we heard

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that the Rajah was the last man from whom we should have sought protection, his loyalty being very doubtful, and that we had actually entered a lion's den! The Major's house not being large enough to accommodate us all, Mr. Mayne, Mr. Webster, myself, the two ladies, and one or two more remained there, while Mr. Coles took in the rest. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness and sympathy which we experienced at Major and Mrs. Ellis's hands, and I trust we were grateful: the same may with equal truth be said of Mr. and Mrs. Coles's behaviour to their guests. Very thankful were we for some rest; for I am sure none of us, the ladies especially, could have borne up against another night's fatigue. I myself was perfectly exhausted, and dropped asleep even in the lion's den. At Nagode we found the 50th N. I. not to have mutinied as yet, but to be very "shaky," and the district much disturbed. It then became speedily necessary to decide upon our future movements. We had either to go on to Mirzapoor viâ Myhere and Rewah, a distance of two hundred miles, or to go to Jubbulpoor or Saugor, or remain at Nagode. Major Ellis was very anxious we should remain with him till he could get the Lieutenant Governor's orders from Agra viâ Indore and Hoshungabad. We, however, taking all things into consideration, and looking at the season, viz. the approach of the rains, when the Deccan road would become impassable, decided upon going to Mirzapoor, and that at once. While at Nagode, Mr. Webster and myself were enabled to purchase two palanqueens out of the bazaar, and to lay a regular dâk of bearers for our wives; and in this manner they travelled the rest of the way to Mirzapoor. Mr. Mayne, on leaving Banda, had secured a bag containing a thousand rupees, his private money, and brought it away with him. On the road he had wrapt it up in a blanket, and fastened it behind a buggy. At Nagode this bag disappeared, and just as we were leaving Nagode, some saeeses, who had accompanied us thus far, deserted: there was no doubt but that they had discovered the Rupees' presence, abstracted and hidden them, and remained behind to enjoy their ill-gotten booty. Mr. Mayne's bearer, who had heard from his master, when leaving Banda, where we were going to, had mounted a spare but harnessed buggy horse belonging to Mr. Mayne, and kept with us the whole of the way. He was the only private servant belonging to any of the party that came with us. My man, when we were coming out of the Nawab's palace, asked me where we were going, and I told him, but not loud enough, (we did not want our destination to be known too soon, for fear of being pursued;) he did not hear me, or would have come away too. He afterwards got to his home, and rejoined me at Allahabad.

But little more of my "personal adventures" remains to be told. We started on the evening of 20th June (I think it was) from Nagode, and after a night of intense heat reached Myhere, about forty miles on the Deccan road, the following morning. There we found a dâk bungalow, but half of it was occupied by Mrs. Coles, who had preceded us, but remained there. The two ladies and myself stayed in the bungalow, while the rest of the party betook themselves to a native house a little way off. We had no sooner reached the bungalow but an accident occurred. A young Bengalee Baboo, who had accompanied Mr. Bews from Futtehpoor, took off a horse that was in a dog-cart's bridle, with the intention of giving him something to eat, but without taking him out of the shafts. Away started the horse; bang! bang! went one or two of the loaded rifles tied on to the cart, fortunately without hitting any one; and over went the cart, horse and all, on to the Baboo, who was all this time bravely hanging on to the horse. The Baboo was much hurt; the horse was not. We started again for Rewah, spending the best part of the next day in an empty Road Sergeant's bungalow, and in more intense heat than I ever remember to have before experienced. While there, we were startled, and much gratified by the sudden appearance of Lieutenant Osborne, Political Assistant in charge of Rewah, who having heard of our arrival, had immediately got upon the mail cart, and come on during the heat of the day, and in not very good health, to meet us. He desired us to go to his quarters, the dâk bungalow at Rewah, whither he would rejoin us the following day. This we did, but found Lieutenant Osborne had already arrived, and was prepared with boundless hospitality. In the mean-

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time, however, Mrs. Edmonstone had fallen sick, extremely sick, so much so, that at one time I began to fear for the consequences. At Rewah, therefore, I determined to push on, and get Mrs. Edmonstone into Mirzapoor for medical advice as quick as possible. Lieutenant Osborne laid the dâk for me. I had not gone far, when I found that his orders had been disregarded, and that there were no bearers! However, what with paying one set to go a double stage, and getting men at the chokees when I arrived there, Mrs. Edmonstone and myself managed with great difficulty (Lieutenant Osborne had most kindly lent me his palkee) to reach, in two days, the dâk bungalow at Drummondgunj, at the foot of the Kutra pass, and thirty-six miles from Mirzapoor. Mrs. Edmonstone, through mercy, was not only not worse, but somewhat better. Ever since we had left Nagode, we had been travelling through a friendly territory, (to be sure, at Myhere the Tehseeldar told me, he was in hourly expectation of his Tehseelee being attacked by the budmashes;) but we had now arrived within the limits of another district, and of its condition I had considerable doubts, as the letters we had received at Nagode from Mr. Lean, the Judge, and to whom I had written, asking him to receive us, were somewhat gloomy. Added to this, no bearers were to be had at Drummondgunj! I was quite alone, and no one seemed at all inclined to help me. I was sadly afraid I should have to wait there till the rest of my party arrived, but which prospect, looking at Mrs. Edmonstone's state of health, and the disturbed state of the country, (the Drummondgunj dâk bungalow stood quite away from the village and police station, and I could have been attacked and destroyed there,—especially as the only arms I had with me were a couple of wretched little pocket pistols the Nawab of Banda had lent me, and a single barrelled gun,—half a dozen times over, before assistance could have reached) was not encouraging. In the afternoon, however, I was informed that the Dhya Rajah had come to see me. Why he should come to see *me*, who had never been stationed in the Mirzapoor district, nor had the slightest knowledge of him, or he of me, I could not divine. However, he came, a young and very fat man, with a number of armed retainers. I told him of my difficulties. Nothing could be more civil and polite than he was; he exerted himself, and somehow or other, by hook and by crook, I got together some thirty-six men, who were to carry Mrs. Edmonstone and myself the whole way to Mirzapoor, and at 9 P. M., in the presence of this Rajah and his armed men, we started. I never to this day have been able to ascertain why this man came to see me. He lived, I was told, close by; whether he came, as it were, to reconnoitre; whether he had any evil intent towards me and mine; how even he found out I was at the bungalow, I know not. Sure enough it is, however, that he was most kind and unassuming; kept his men, except one or two confidentials, away from me, and never exhibited any thing else but the frankest cordiality. The next time I saw him was at Allahabad, where he was summoned by the Magistrate to explain his disloyalty in harbouring notorious dacoits, &c. He made me give him a certificate of good behaviour before I left the bungalow. Well, we started, but had not got on very far, when there was a commotion among the bearers,—a scorpion had bitten one of the men, and it was necessary to "jhar phoonk" him. Down went the palkees, the "jhar phoonk" commenced and continued for about half an hour, but with no effect. We went on, and the man I believe was left to his fate. Then out went the mussal; it could not be relighted. We had to stop two and three times to *make* up fresh mussals, but they would not burn. There was I on the ground with a sick wife by my side, utterly helpless, quite in the power of insubordinate kuhars. The night inclined to be stormy, and, what seemed to me, in the light of blazing villages on all sides, I was not easy in my mind. At length we proceeded, and at length the following morning, somewhere about ten or eleven A. M., we reached Mr. Lean's door, quite worn out, but I trust very thankful for all the mercies we had experienced. Mrs. Edmonstone, from Mirzapoor, proceeded to Calcutta, and from thence to England. I fell ill, and was unable to accompany my former companions to Allahabad, whither we had all been ordered by the Supreme Government. Some days after however I joined at Gopeegunj a party of Her Majesty's 78th, who were proceeding by bullock train up the country, and on the 11th July, arriving at Allahabad, assumed charge of the Judge's office of that district, in which I had been in the meantime appointed to officiate.

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This Narrative has been submitted by order, and not because of its stirring incidents, or that the writer took any prominent part in the events therein related. A period of eighteen months nearly having elapsed since they occurred, many of the circumstances may have been erroneously described; many omissions may have taken place. Mr. Mayne could doubtless make many a correction and supply many a deficiency. But it is a pleasing task to record my humble testimony to Mr. Magistrate and Collector Mayne's judgment and bravery from the very commencement of the rebellion at Banda. Deeply sensible of the responsibilities attached to his position, not only because he was the District Officer, but because we all looked to him, Mr. Mayne never lost his coolness and collectedness of mind, or evenness of temper for a moment. The prospect, both public and private, before him was very dark; he did not quail before it; no, not for a moment; and after the final and irrevocable step of retiring from Banda was taken, Mr. Mayne was still doubtful and low-spirited, questioning with himself whether he had not been too precipitate; whether *he*, at any rate, ought not to have remained behind, and perished with the district. I can truly say that, to the best of my judgment, Mr. Mayne demeaned himself as an Officer and a British gentleman indeed. I desire also to mention the unanimity and subordination that prevailed among our party: There was no bickering, no opposition.

I must not conclude either, without referring to the conduct of the two ladies throughout the trying scenes to which they were exposed. One, a long resident in this country, feeble in health, not strong in nerve; the other, young, strong and vigorous in body, but severely hurt at the outset; but not a single word of complaint or of suffering, not a gesture even of dissent or objection proceeded from them: they were our silent, and, as far as circumstances would permit, cheerful companions. All they wished was not to be any hinderance or delay to the party in its plans and movements. I cannot conclude either without one particular notice of myself. In the early part of last year, on the Futtehgurh Judgeship becoming vacant, the late Mr. R. Thornhill, then Judge of Banda, was transferred thither, and I was posted in his room to Banda. For various reasons I thought myself somewhat ill used in not having been sent to Futtehgurh, and murmured accordingly. I had not however joined my new appointment from Futtehpoor, when the Cawnpoor Judgeship became suddenly vacant, and I applied for permission to go there, instead of Banda. My application was refused. I thought myself harder used than ever, and, while going to Banda, as already ordered, murmured this time loudly. I had not been six weeks at Banda when the rebellion broke out. Had I gone to Futtehgurh, I should have met with Mr. Thornhill's most sad fate. Had I been allowed to go to Cawnpoor, I should have arrived there in time, to perish in Sir H. Wheeler's intrenchments. I was sent to Banda against my will; my wife's and my life escaped; and a good deal of my property was subsequently recovered! Have I not good reason to be thankful for a clear and overruling Providence in my behalf?

GEO. EDMONSTONE, JUNIOR,

*Late Officiating as Judge of Banda.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES,

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# FUTTEHPOOR,

IN 1857-58.

THE sound of heavy firing from the direction of Cawnpoor on the afternoon of Saturday, 6th June, distinctly heard by us at Futtehpoor, was our first intimation of the outbreak at the former place. The post had indeed been stopped for two days; but as great irregularities had occurred before, this circumstance, though it caused a good deal of alarm, was not considered a decisive proof of the real state of things. Up to this day the district of Futtehpoor had been perfectly quiet; indeed for the fortnight preceding the outbreak a very remarkable diminution in the extent of crime was observed. It appeared as if the bad characters were awaiting the time when they should commit outrages on a larger scale. Notwithstanding the quiet, however, there had been rumours to the effect that certain Zemindars, men of known bad character, were procuring ammunition, and collecting round them bands of retainers.

2. The sound of the guns created great excitement in the town, but the Tehseeldar of Kullianpoor, so late as the evening of Saturday, reported that, although a battle was raging at Cawnpoor, his pergunnah was tolerably quiet, except for one or two Zemindars, who were looting neighbouring villages.

3. We felt very great anxiety next morning in reference to the return from Allahabad of a treasure party, consisting of seventy sepoys, I think of the 56th Native Infantry, and about twenty-five sowars, who had escorted a remittance of coin intended for Calcutta, and were on their way back to Cawnpoor. As their arrival seemed extremely likely to create a disturbance in the town, every precaution had been taken to meet this contingency. A body of 800 matchlock-men had been placed at my disposal by Sheodyal Singh of Jumrain, and Ahmed Yar; these were to have been sent early in the morning, and to be disposed in concealment, 400 behind the Jail, and 400 in a grove near the treasury, in order to assist the treasury guard. A body of 50 men of the 6th Native Infantry, the Nujeebs at the Jail, were directed to keep their muskets loaded. We had fortunately sent away all the ladies; the gentlemen lived in the large house belonging to Mr. Edmonstone, with the exception of Mr. Tucker, who remained in his own house during the day, and passed the night at the treasury guard. As a precautionary measure, we had barricaded the roof of our own house with furniture, and such other materials as were available, and rendered it to some extent capable of defence. We had also got together as many sowars as we could for patrolling at night about our house and the treasury. I had sent word to the Burdashtkhana to have supplies ready for the expected party, and at the same time despatched instructions to the Jemadar in command to remain on the encamping ground, which was on the Allahabad side of the city, and not to permit his men to come into the bazar.

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4. This order became known in the city, and was unaccountably construed into an indication of a design, on my part, to have the men disarmed before they passed through. These arrangements being all made, we passed the night on the roof, in anxious expectation of the morning. At a very early hour the Zemindars fulfilled their engagement by sending in the matchlockmen already mentioned, who were at once disposed in the places I had selected. About 8 A. M. a sowar came up at full speed, and told us that the treasure party had arrived, and on receiving the orders to which I have alluded, without even turning towards the encamping ground, proceeded straight into the city, the Infantry at the double, the sowars trotting, and with their pistols in their hands. We were perplexed to find that they seemed to have no intention of exciting any disturbance in the city, but rather appeared to wish to guard against some surprise, which they fancied was prepared for them. They went on through the city straight to the treasury, which was at no great distance from Mr. Edmonstone's house, passing on their way the 400 matchlock-men, whom I have mentioned as being stationed here, and who immediately took to flight. These circumstances naturally caused a good deal of alarm and anxiety on our part. Our suspense lasted, however, only a few minutes, for a messenger came and informed us that the party of the 6th Native Infantry had entirely refused to fraternize with the newcomers, and would not even suffer them to come near the treasury, threatening, if they did so, to fire into them. The Soubadar in command of the guard told them that if the money belonged to any Regiment, it belonged to the 6th, so they should have nothing to do with it. The new-comers retired to a short distance, and lay down under a grove of trees for a few minutes, and then resumed their march.

5. Upon this, Mr. Tucker and myself rode down to the main guard, and thanked the Soubadar for his conduct. He declared his intention of remaining staunch.

6. In the afternoon we heard that this party had, while on their march, destroyed a thannah on the road from Allahabad, and stopped the mail, and thrown out all the letters. I may as well add, in reference to the proceedings of this party, that on their way to Cawnpoor, they robbed the Tehseelee, and carried away all the money.

7. On the arrival of this force great excitement was manifested in the city. The budmashes rose, the shops were closed, and panic universally prevailed. But when the news of the side taken by the treasury guard, and of the departure of the other party became generally known, order was restored, and the city remained pretty tranquil until Tuesday.

8. In the course of the afternoon news reached us of the rising at Allahabad, and though very vague, it was sufficiently alarming. The whole of this afternoon, reports kept coming in from the district of villages being looted, and general confusion prevailing. Escaped prisoners from Cawnpoor Jail were also reported to be doing much mischief. Rumour after rumour came rapidly in, deepening the anxiety we felt for our own position, and meantime the noise of the cannonade at Cawnpoor assured us, that great as our anxiety might be, others had far more to fear and to endure. But that day and night passed without any serious disturbances; with the Jail still safe, and even with some show of submission to constituted authority. The next day little or nothing occurred to distinguish it from the preceding one, save that then certain intelligence reached us of the rising at Allahabad, and the massacre of the Officers of the 6th Native Infantry, and complete revolt of that corps. This news deprived us of whatever confidence we might have previously felt in our treasury guard; and Mr. Tucker, who still continued to sleep at the main guard, informed us that the Soubadar had been heard to make use of language so insubordinate and offensive as to make him, (Mr. Tucker,) though previously inclined to trust him, doubtful of his loyalty and

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fidelity. In the course of the afternoon we heard that a large body of escaped prisoners, with a party of Irregular Cavalry, had arrived at Khaga, and would come into Futtehpoor the next morning; and it was apprehended that an outbreak would be the result. It was useless to rely upon the matchlockmen, who had been already tried, and found wanting not only in the ability, but the disposition to assist, and I was consequently compelled to make the best preparation I could with the aid of the ordinary police. I need not say therefore that I was in no small degree perplexed by learning, in the course of the evening, that the Nazir and the Cotwal, on whom I had chiefly depended, as well for intelligence as for preserving order, had both fled, and that the city police were entirely disorganized. Most of the newly-raised sowars also left me that evening, and the few who had been longer in the service I had sent out to give warning of the approach of the party from Allahabad. Lo! as the night approached, we found ourselves completely deserted. The idea of preserving order, or defending the city from external attack, was now of course definitely abandoned, and we confined our efforts to securing our personal safety. The furniture of the house was all removed into the garden, and from thence to the roof, where it was employed in strengthening the parapet, and in dividing off that part of the roof which we actually occupied, so as to render it more easily defensible. The punkahs were all cut down, and every thing taken away which could have been made use of for the purpose of setting fire to the house. We armed ourselves with all the fire-arms and other weapons which we could obtain, and took turns of sentry duty on the roof of the house. The preparation for our defence occupied the whole of the night, and meantime we could trace the advance of the prisoners and Irregulars by the burning of bungalows along the line of the Railway. About 4 A. M. a peasant rushed in, wild with terror, to tell us that he had been sleeping in a field a short way off, and being roused by the trampling of horses, had found himself surrounded by Cavalry. This proved to be a party of the 12th Irregular Cavalry, which had advanced beyond the main body of the prisoners, and in making a detour to avoid the city had passed through this field near our house. The prisoners also on their arrival avoided the city, and, separating into gangs, went off into the adjoining villages.

9. About 8 A. M. on Tuesday, the city mob rose and went to the treasury, but the guard stood to their arms, and the Soubadar declared, that if any attempt were made to plunder, he would fire upon the crowd. There can be no doubt that his motive was to preserve the treasury for his own Regiment, which he probably expected to see at Futtehpoor on their way to Dehli. The mob then went to the Jail, but here again they were opposed by the Nujeebs. I had on the previous day praised the Nujeebs, and given presents of money to some of them, as they had kept their post at the Jail when the treasure party from Allahabad approached. On this occasion they certainly fired at the mob, but I imagine without any serious intention, as no one was hit: it had however the effect of making them retire. Mr. Tucker also, with a few sowars, in another direction, drove back a part of the rabble towards the town. The crowd then went to the Mission premises, which they first looted, and then burned, and burning down also the dâk bungalow, they returned into the city, where a violent tumult commenced. Whilst we had been occupied in watching the movements of the city mob, and our partial successes at the treasury and the Jail, we had scarcely observed that from the surrounding villages an innumerable multitude was pouring in, amongst whom doubtless were the prisoners who had arrived in the morning from Allahabad. These occupied all the bungalows in the station, and began looting and wrecking, and finally burning them. The Doctor's bungalow was very near the main guard, and one of the Doctor's servants declared that he had seen one of the sepoys of the guard set fire to the roof of the house. During this time occasional sorties on the part of the gentlemen connected with the Railway, attended by a few sowars for the purpose of rescuing their property, had the effect of driving away small parties of the insurgents; but their places were speedily supplied

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from the numerous hordes that surrounded us. On the approach of the rabble from the city, Mr. Macnaughten had sent his three horses to a place at some distance, and afterwards his syces had returned, and said that a Zemindar had removed the horses and taken possession of them. All the morning I had seen nothing of the Deputy Magistrate, Hikmut-oollah; but about 2 o'clock he sent to ask permission to wait on me. At 4 he came to the house, but attended by an immense crowd of Puthans, and other Mussulmans armed with matchlocks, swords, and other weapons. On seeing this multitude, I sent to the Deputy Magistrate to request him to come alone, and leave his retinue outside of the compound. No attention was paid to this message, and in a moment the compound was filled with the armed mob. My companions, with the exception of Mr. Macnaughten, were then on the roof. I happened to be lying down in one of the rooms when Mr. Macnaughten brought in Hikmut-oollah, and three or four of the leaders of the rabble. On my asking him the reason why he had not been at his post, endeavouring to preserve order all the morning, he stated that he had made several attempts to come to me, but had been confined to his house by the rioters, and that on one occasion he had been thrown out of his palkee, his bearers had been maltreated, and himself forcibly compelled to return to his house. I then asked him what was the object of his visit; and he replied, that it was to assure me of the fidelity of the city, and to tender the assistance of the persons whom he had brought with him. Upon this I enquired why, if they were really disposed to assist, they had not come forward in time to save the bungalows; and he answered that they were afraid to come out at that time. Some of his companions, who remained in the verandah, displayed great anxiety to learn the number of our little garrison, and our state of preparation as to arms, provisions, &c. Hikmut-oollah, after expressing himself in a very friendly manner, took his leave, and carried away his retinue with him. When I consider that these loyal Puthans, who were so ready to assist us, were the very men, who, on the following day, murdered my unhappy friend, Mr. Tucker, and that immediately these same loyal subjects despatched a letter to the Nana, tendering their submission to the miscreant's rule; and that Hikmut-oollah, within a week, began to issue purwannahs, in which he assumed the style of Chukladar of Futtehpoor, I cannot but express my opinion that the interview just recorded was one of the most audacious acts of dissimulation which has ever been witnessed. I received intimation in the course of the afternoon that there was treachery at work in the Jail, and it was afterwards discovered that the Jail Darogah had written to the Soubadar at the treasury to say that he awaited his pleasure to set free the prisoners. I need scarcely remark that our future movements had during the last few days been the subject of constant and anxious discussion. We had all, with the exception of Mr. Tucker, come to the conclusion that there was no resource but to withdraw for a time from a post which was now become perfectly untenable. But where we were to go, was a point upon which some difficulty still existed, and in truth our position was not a little perplexing:—the Nana was besieging Cawnpoor;—the residents of Allahabad were shut up in the fort, their fate hanging on a hair;—Salone, beyond the river, had revolted two days before;—Banda alone remained in a state of doubtful allegiance; and to Banda, accordingly, I endeavoured to direct the hopes of my companions as a place where we might perhaps find safety, and should at least in extremity as the event proved, find an exit for further retreat. On the melancholy subject of the disapproval of these plans by one member of our party, I cannot now dwell. Suffice it to say, that every persuasion was used, but all proved unable to shake his fixed determination of remaining; and his firm belief that the treasury guard, notwithstanding the suspicious conduct of its Officer, would maintain its fidelity. Having deliberately arrived at the conclusion that our only safety was in retreat, we prepared, as night approached, to retire in as good order as possible. When the rabble appeared to have dispersed for the night, we mounted our horses, and made our way towards the Jumna, passing, as we did so, through villages crowded with liberated ruffians from

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the Jails, and narrowly escaping, on the bank of the river, a large party of insurgents, who had just carried off some bullocks, placed for the night under the protection of the Ghât police. We found Sirdar Khan, Deputy Magistrate of Banda, on the opposite bank with boats, some of which he sent over to fetch us, and thus we crossed over into the district of Banda.

10. From this point the record of our adventures becomes entirely of a private nature. The history of the insurrection in Banda will be supplied by another Officer.

11. The next time I saw Futtehpoor, I entered it with the force under General Havelock.

12. As regards Cawnpoor, the history of the Nana's usurpation is unhappily but too familiar, and the subsequent history of the district does not seem to fall within my province, being altogether of a military character. I may however remark, that three distinct phases of feeling were observable in the population. On our first arrival the people seemed perfectly willing to submit themselves to our authority, had we been but strong enough fully to restore it. On perceiving however that we were not able to do so, a strong re-action took place; but after the expulsion of the Gwalior mutineers, a desire of quiet at any price again took possession of the populace, and with some exceptions this feeling seems to be still prevalent.

J. W. SHERER.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

IN THE

# DIVISION OF BENARES,

IN 1857-58.

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No. 523 of 1858.

FROM

F. B. GUBBINS, Esquire,

*Commissioner 5th Division,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, Esquire,

*Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

DATED CAMP MUCHLEESHAHUR, THE 6TH NOVEMBER 1858.

Sir,

In obedience to the instructions contained in General Order No. 212, of the 30th April last, the Officers of the five Districts subordinate to this Division were called upon to submit an abstract Narrative of the events attending the outbreak of the Rebellion within the limits of their jurisdiction.

2. Mr. Lind's untimely malady, during the months of July and August, entailed a considerable delay in the preparation of these records, as both the Narratives of Benares and Jounpoor were to be compiled by him.

3. On the whole of the Returns being received, they were made by me over to Mr. Taylor, the Officiating Joint Magistrate of Jounpoor, to form into one abstract for the entire Division. This having now been prepared, I do myself the honor of submitting it to Government, proceeding myself to record the services performed by the several subordinate Officers of the Division, as directed in Para. 7 of the Circular, as also to indicate the marked instances of assistance rendered by persons unconnected with the Government of the country.

To commence with Benares, I would beg to enumerate the following Officers as having rendered the most important services to the State :—

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*Mr. F. M. Lind*, Magistrate and Collector, contributed, by his coolness and presence of mind, to the preservation of order; stood forward with the Judge to prevent senseless panics, and the abandonment of the station; was occupied during the period intervening between the receipt of the intelligence of the Meerut massacre and the outbreak, in patrolling the city, re-assuring the timid, and cowing the turbulent. On the day of the outbreak, commanded along with the Judge at the Civilians' rendezvous, and saved the treasure and records.

*Mr. A. R. Pollock*, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, showed great energy, zeal and determination, during the period intervening between the intelligence of the Meerut massacre and the outbreak; took charge of the Trans-Gangetic pergunnahs, and remained there unsupported, when most Europeans did not like to live in a house by themselves, and by his presence kept the country quiet; was, with his brother-in-law Captain Davidson, indefatigable in laying the dawks of bullocks and coolies for hurrying the European soldiery up-country.

*Mr. E. G. Jenkinson*, was employed by the Judge and Magistrate in raising and drilling a small body of sowars, half of which were subsequently transferred to Jounpoor on the re-occupation of that District, was most daring and energetic, and always ready for a dash at the enemy.

*The Judge*, the writer of these remarks, tried to make himself generally useful.

*Pundit Gokoolchund*, the Nazir of the Judge's Court, being a very high-caste Brahmin, and knowing every body in Benares, was employed to collect information, and proved invaluable in both this and all other branches. His zeal was untiring, and he worked in our interests day and night.

*Iamin Shah Khan*, Kotwal of the City, behaved well during the whole of the rebellion, and deserves well of Government.

*Moonshee Sheo Suhai*, Serishtehdar of the Magistrate's Court, was very zealous, and assisted greatly in keeping the price of grain down.

*Nusseer-oollah Khan*, Thannahdar of Dussorsoomedh, worked hard in our favor, and arrested many rebels. Has been made a Tuhseeldar in the Banda district.

*Meer Ibadut Ulee*, Darogah of the Jail, behaved well and loyally, and kept the prisoners and Jail guard from breaking out by his good example; has been made Tuhseeldar.

The following are the persons unconnected with Government, who have rendered us valuable assistance during the disturbances:—

*Rao Deonarain Singh*, a most loyal and devoted subject, who proved invaluable to us during our crisis. A full report has already been submitted about him, and he has been made Rajah, as the forerunner of more substantial rewards.

*Sirdar Soorut Singh*, a gallant Sikh gentleman, who has taken a prominent part in our favor, and whose conduct has been fully reported upon. A pension of Rs. 400 per mensem has already been given him, as well as a khillut of Rs. 5000.

*Meer Ryaet Ulee*, a Vakeel of the Judge's Court, who exhibited marked loyalty to the State, and formed one of the Commanders of the party, who proceeded into Oudh to rescue the Sultanpoor fugitives.

*Baboo Davee Singh*, an influential Rajpoot, who has espoused our cause most warmly, and has been of the greatest use in the intelligence department, and in feeling the pulse of the native community.

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Besides this I should add that Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner, as well as the Judge, the Rajah of Benares, Rajah Deonarain Singh, Baboo Gooroo Dass Mitter, Baboo Hurruk Chund, Baboo Narain Dass, Baboo Dabeedyal Singh, and Baboo Ramkishoon Dass, son of Baboo Hunoomaun Dass, all of them contributed horses, of which they made a free gift to Government, wherewith to horse the guns which accompanied General Havelock's forlorn hope, as it advanced from Allahabad to Cawnpoor. The two Rajahs that I have above mentioned have, besides this, furnished us according to their respective means, with horses wherewith to mount our Cavalry, Elephants, Camels and matchlockmen.

In the Jounpoor district, the following Officers have made themselves most conspicuous for the services they have rendered:—

*Messrs. F. M. Lind, E. G. Jenkinson, and P. Carnegy*, the Magistrate, Joint Magistrate, and Deputy Magistrate were, from September 1857 to February 1858, doing the duties of soldiers, as well as those of Civilians. They accompanied the Goorkhas throughout the campaign that ensued on the re-occupation of the District, exhibited great gallantry in the field, and were most indefatigable in the performance of their duties. Their conduct presented a striking contrast to that exhibited by the representative of Government, when abandoning the District in the month of June 1857, on which occasion the European gentlemen composing his party were persuaded by him to leave their arms behind them, lest their sight should irritate the natives. The consequence of this was, that an armed party of their countrymen had to sally out from Benares, and escort them into that station, they being unable to protect themselves.

Of the persons unconnected with Government, who rendered it valuable assistance, I would beg to enumerate the following:—

*Mr. A. Waleski, Senior, and Mr. A. Waleski, Junior*, both of them Indigo Planters; who, out of pure loyalty, accompanied the Authorities on their return to Jounpore, and then shared in the whole of the subsequent Goorkha campaign, without receiving any salary or support from the State.

*Hingun Lall*, of Kerakut, who gave shelter from the Dobhee Rajpoots to the Jounpoor fugitives, and has since been made a Deputy Collector.

*Madho Singh*, Zemindar of Bisheruthpoor, who sheltered a considerable party of Indigo Planters, until they were escorted into Benares by Sirdar Seorut Singh's party, and has ever since proved a loyal subject of Government.

*Rajah Muheshnarain*, has ever since the re-occupation of the District been a warm partisan of ours, giving us a number of matchlockmen to assist our Police, and rendering every other assistance in his power.

*Rajah Sheogholam Doobey*, is well spoken of by Mr. Lind.

In the Mirzapoor district, the following gentlemen have particularly distinguished themselves:—

*Mr. Saint George Tucker*, Magistrate and Collector, was the only person who refused to abandon the station in the panics that occurred in the months of June and July, when all the other officers and European residents fled to Chunar. Besides this, Mr. Tucker headed many expeditions made against the enemy, in which he exhibited great gallantry.

*Mr. Elliott and Mr. P. Walker*; the former Assistant, and the other Deputy Magistrate, likewise distinguished themselves by gallantry in the field when accompanying the expeditions made against the rebels. Mr. Elliott joined Mr. Tucker at Mirzapoor from Benares during the panic, in which the rest of the European residents fled to Chunar, volunteering for the service as one of danger.

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*The Rajah of Kuntit*, and his brother, are also reported to have behaved well, and to have supplied matchlockmen for the protection of the City; who were however paid by Government.

*Messrs. Venables, Dunne, and Legge*, in the Azimgurh district particularly distinguished themselves immediately after the mutiny. Although in no way connected with the Government, they volunteered to return to the station, and held it in the most gallant manner when the Authorities themselves did not venture to join. Of Mr. Venables, I need say nothing, as he has made himself a well earned Indian reputation, and I would that he were alive to enjoy it. Mr. Dunne's services have as yet received no acknowledgment from Government, and yet it was he who first persuaded Venables to return to Azimgurh; and his courage and daring on every occasion in which the enemy have had to be met, is spoken of by every one with admiration. Mr. Legge, since made Deputy Magistrate, has done invaluable service to the State, accompanying every Military expedition that has been undertaken against the enemy, and being the Civil Officer in charge of one of the detachments of Brigadier Douglas's Force when Koour Singh was hunted from Azimgurh to Arrah.

Subsequently, Messrs. A. R. Pollock, R. H. Davies, G. H. Freeling, J. Simson, and H. G. Ross, did good service to the State by accompanying the Military in all expeditions made against the enemy, in which they displayed both zeal, energy and gallantry. I would particularly mention Mr. H. G. Ross, who, while a student at Benares, attached himself to Major Cotter's battery, and perfected himself in gunnery, so as to be able when he joined at Azimgurh to make himself of the very greatest use. Mr. Pollock accompanied Colonel Longden through his campaign on the frontier, and was foremost where danger was to be found. Messrs. Davies and Freeling displayed great gallantry during the siege of Azimgurh, and the former accompanied Brigadier Douglas in his pursuit of Koour Singh, where he greatly distinguished himself. Mr. J. Simson was present at the first battle fought against the Pulwars at the station, and was the only official then present, who voted with Venables and Havelock for holding their ground against the enemy.

Of the Native Officials, those who have prominently distinguished themselves are,—

*Alie Buksh Khan, and Usgur Alee;* the first, Nazir of the Magistrate's Court, the second Thannahdar of Nuggra, displayed the most marked and undoubted loyalty on the occasion of the outbreak; and on the abandonment of the station held it on the part of Government, till the return of Mr. Venables and his party. They have on several subsequent occasions behaved most gallantly in the field, and the former has been made a Deputy Collector for his good conduct, while the latter has been promoted to a Tuhseeldarship.

Second to these I would put,—

*Sufdur Hoosein, and Mohomed Tukkee;* the first, Serishtehdar of the Magistrate's Court, the second Naib Tuhseeldar of Mohomdabad. There is no doubt, but that it was principally owing to the good management and loyalty of Sufdur Hoosein that the gallant Venables was able to hold his own during the months of June and July 1857, while Mohomed Tukkee at Mohomdabad took the place of his rebel superior the Tuhseeldar, and maintained order in the town throughout the whole of the rebellion, by organizing a force with which he repelled all attempts of plunder on the part of the Pulwars.

I now come to the last of the five Districts which compose this Division, Ghazeepoor, which, in company with Benares and Mirzapoor, have the proud distinction of having passed unscathed through the late rebellion, and of having stayed the torrent of insurrection. I would in this District particularly notice the conduct of,—

*Mr. A. Ross*, whose prudence and firmness as Magistrate, had a great effect in preserving the peace of his jurisdiction.

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*Mr. J. Bax*, the Joint Magistrate, who accompanied Major V. Eyre to Arrah, in perhaps the most brilliant passage of arms that has been witnessed on this side of India during the rebellion.

*Mr. L. Probyn*, the present Joint Magistrate, who has made himself conspicuously active at Bulleah during the latter part of this year, and whom I consider a most valuable young Officer.

*Mr. Dunne*, of Azimgurh, again appears in the field as accompanying Brigadier Douglas's Column, and remaining in the neighbourhood of Bulleah with Mr. Probyn to assist him in his opposition to the rebels. It was at this time that both Messrs. Probyn and Dunne were besieged in Byreah by the rebels, for four or five days.

*Sheikh Khyr-ood-deen, and Ubdool Ruhman Khan*; the first, Deputy Collector, and the second Moonsiff of Bulleah, have both of them made themselves conspicuous for good conduct and loyalty.

*Rajah of Huldee*, the head of an ancient family, which used to hold large estates in the south eastern Division of the District. This old gentleman has still great influence in the country, and though urged to side with the rebels, all along refused to do so, and prevented his kinsmen from withdrawing their allegiance from the British Government.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. B. GUBBINS,

*Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE: 5th OR BENARES DIVISION, CAMP MUCHLEESHAHUR,
*The 6th November* 1858.

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# THE REBELLION OF 1857

IN THE

# PROVINCE OF BENARES.

1. It has fallen to my lot to write the general Narrative of the events of the Rebellion of which the Benares Division was the scene; and though that Province was not the theatre of any of those fearful or heroic deeds, whereby the name of Hindoostan has been made to stink in the nostrils of the whole world, while the fame of the imperial race has gained yet greater lustre, yet is my tale far from devoid of interest. The general reader may find exciting incidents, and certainly will see events fraught with like danger, like terror and suspense, as elsewhere; while the statesman will see the road to the upper Provinces kept open, the last frail barrier between the Rebels and the rich Provinces of Behar and Bengal, maintained in the retention of the river Districts of this Division, and especially of Benares.

2. The wide Territory of Goruckpoor was, after no long time, entrusted to a Commissioner of its own, and the events of which it was the scene he will record: those of the remaining five Districts are chronicled below. Of these five, Azimgurh, garrisoned as it was by the 17th N. I., was considered far from safe; but it was hoped that the Sikhs of the Loodianah regiment, and the Sowars of the 13th Irregular Cavalry, would overawe the ill affected 37th N. I. at Benares, that the 65th N. I. would stand fast at Ghazeepoor, that the Ferozepoor corps of Sikhs would hold Mirzapoor against any foe from within or from without, and that whatever might happen in the District of Jounpoor, the Authorities, with their guard of Sikhs of the Loodianah regiment, would still be able to hold the station in peace and safety. How far these expectations were fulfilled, how far disappointed, official records tell; and those records have supplied the matter for the brief chronicle which I have thus begun.

3. On this state of things the month of May opened, finding all fearfully expecting troublous times rather than able to state the ground of their belief; and quietly counting the strength which should enable them to weather the storm, whose beginning, not whose end, they clearly foresaw.

4. The month begun thus gloomily, brought gloomier warning in its course. About the middle of the month the news arrived of the Delhi and Meerut massacres. Yet excepting that rendezvous in case of need were agreed on, it was only in Benares that the evil news produced a marked effect. The City, always the most turbulent in India, was now the more dangerous from the severity with which the high price of corn pressed on the poorer classes; the Poorbeah sepoys, who had been more or less restless since the beginning of March, now publicly called on their gods to deliver them from the Feringhees; clubbed together to send messengers westward for intelligence; and finally sent away their Gooroo lest, as they said, in the troubles which were coming, he should suffer any hurt.

5. At this junction the 13th Irregulars were summoned in from Sultanpoor, in the hope that their different faith would make them a counterpoise to the power of the sepoys; and great hopes were entertained that they would prove true to their salt. The Magistrate and Judge, (Messrs. Lind and Gubbins) exerted themselves with great skill to maintain the peace of the City; now patrolling with parties of sowars, now persuading bunyas to lower the price of corn, now listening to the tales of spies who reported clearly the state of feeling in the City, and told the minds of the sepoys far more truly than the Officers in command.

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6. Yet in spite of this insecurity, there was neither weakness nor affected confidence. A proposition to retire to the strong fort of Chunar was rejected; but at the same time it was arranged, that in case of need, all the Christian residents should congregate at the Mint. On June 3rd, however, it was further decided that the Civilians should assemble at the Collector's Kutcherry, and hold it till a party of Europeans should be sent to escort them to the Mint. For this last arrangement there were many reasons. The roof of the Kutcherry, a lofty pucka building, is approached by a single winding staircase, and close alongside is the Treasury, which at this time, besides Stamp paper of great value, contained four and a half lacs of treasure, and the jewels of the Ranee Chunda of Lahore, which were valued at twenty lacs. Thus from a post of complete temporary security, the little party of Civilians could completely overawe the Treasury guard, and save this great wealth from falling into the hands of the mutineers.

7. The importance of Benares in the times of which I speak was so great, that it were almost impossible to pass on without enquiring who could have suggested so false a step as retreat to Chunar. A step indeed, the principal result of which would have been to occupy with the tale of the siege and defence of Chunar, that page of history now so much more grandly filled with the story of Lucknow. And on this point Mr. Lind speaks so explicitly, that I cannot do better than tell the tale as he tells it, and without any comment of my own.

8. As soon as the news of the outbreak at Meerut reached Benares, a Council debated as to the best rendezvous for non-combatants in case of alarm; and next day Captain Olpherts (Commanding Artillery) with Captain Watson (of the Engineers) called on Mr. Lind, suggesting the propriety of an immediate retreat to Chunar. Although the proposer implied that the plan had Colonel Gordon's sanction, Mr. Lind, without discussion, simply replied that he would not leave his post; and as soon as his visitors took their departure, hurried to Mr. Gubbins. They both returned to Mr. Lind's house to discuss the best means of opposition, and were soon joined by Mr. Tucker (the Commissioner) and Colonel Gordon. When the former alluded to the plan, in terms which seemed to imply that he approved it, Mr. Lind condemned it most strongly; and on this Colonel Gordon asked Mr. Gubbins his opinion. The reply was brief enough: "I will go on my knees to you not to leave Benares." Nor was Colonel Gordon's answer less quick and clear: "I am very glad to hear you say so, for I was persuaded against my will in favor of the scheme." Never was so false a move more happily prevented.

9. Thus May passed away; but on its last night, the first open evidence of the coming disturbances appeared: for at 1-30 A. M. the lines vacated by the 67th N. I., were seen to be in flames. Yet this was not wholly unexpected; for Major Guise (Commanding the Irregular Cavalry) had been warned that it was intended, and also that the 37th N. I. meant to seize the guns in the confusion.

10. This brought to light an earlier step in the plot: for next day some men, who were seen consulting near the spot where the fire had broken out, were tracked, and one party traced to the "Shiwala," where most of the Delhi Princes lived. These men, a branch of that wretched family which had fled from Delhi some fifty years before and taken refuge at Benares, who ever affected all the state of royalty, and treated Englishmen with lordly scorn, now thought they did no wrong to the Government which had saved their lives and cherished them with lavish care, in concerting with its mutinous menials the ruin of that very Government, in daily, nay in hourly interviews, of the most familiar character, which they gave freely to any who might ask.

11. None could now doubt that a crisis was near at hand; and on June 4th, a Council (both Civil and Military) was called to debate the question of disarming the 37th N. I. It was still sitting, when a Sowar arrived with the

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news of the mutiny at Azimgurh. This decided the question, and it was arranged that next morning the Civilians should assemble at the Collector's Kutcherry while the 37th was paraded and disarmed. The debate had been very full, and the decision deliberate; yet the Civilians had scarce reached their homes when they were alarmed by the roar of the guns on the parade ground. The whole plans were in vain; they had been frustrated by the following circumstances.

12. It appears that as Brigadier Ponsonby was returning home after the Council, he met Colonel Neill, who recommended him to disarm the Corps at once. Disregarding all other consideration, on the spur of the moment he hurried to the parade ground. The troops turned out: on one side were drawn up Captain Olpherts with his three bullock guns and thirty European gunners in charge of the two hundred of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who had just arrived; opposite to them were the 37th N. I., and on either side the 13th Irregular Cavalry, and the Loodianah Corps of Sikhs. The 37th was ordered to pile arms, and replied with a volley, to which the guns gave a speedy and efficient answer: but at this unhappy moment, Captain Olpherts perceiving a movement among the Sikhs on his right, promptly turned the guns and opened fire on them. For some minutes the event was doubtful: thrice the rebels charged the guns, thrice were driven back with grape: the guns continued their destructive play, the mutineers wavered, and then broke and fled. Never was rout so complete: a thousand armed men were flying from two hundred, who did not dare stir; and that with such abject terror, that they flung down their loaded muskets, their accoutrements, every thing that could hinder their flight, and flying for dear life, did not stop to touch the few Europeans who fell in their way. 'Afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt.' Had now the 13th Irregulars stood firm, scarce a man of the Benares mutineers would have escaped to tell how, at the Holy City, the God of the Christian had shown himself more powerful than all their grim Valhalla. But no, even thus early in the day they preferred threatening those who tried to keep them faithful, to firing on the mutinous crowd they affected to hate and to despise.

13. It would be impossible to write of the mutiny at Benares, without saying a few words as to the much vexed question of the loyalty of the Loodianah Sikhs: the facts are simply these. They were brought out not knowing what was going to be done; suddenly the guns on one side opened on the 37th, men, officers and all; and on the other side, the Irregular Cavalry began firing into and abusing the Sikhs; then a bad character stepped forward and tried to shoot Colonel Gordon. The Corps then mutinied; first fired into a group of young Officers standing behind them, and then charged the guns. The *fact* of the mutiny is indisputable. The only question is, whether any other course could be expected. The parade, the firing, the attack on themselves, were all a surprise: they saw the 37th mown down, and could not know that the Irregulars were not obeying orders previously given. To expect them to stand firm under such circumstances is, I think, to expect a great deal more than could be hoped for from Europeans. On the other hand, some *did* stand even this rude test: the mutiny at Jounpoor surprised the natives even more than the European residents. The Treasury guard at Benares, even in the first burst of their surprise and rage, were kept firm by the interference of two well-known natives. I contend, then, not that there were no bad characters in the Regiment; not that the loyalty of none was tainted; but that, as a corps they were loyal, and would have stood any test less rude.

14. In three hours the mutiny was over, and the mutineers cleared away in the full rush of their terror-stricken flight. And the whole affair was so sudden, that the roar of the guns on the parade ground was almost the first notice the Civil residents had that any thing was going to happen. But then the Missionaries fled to Ramnuggur, and thence to Chunar, while the Civilians, in number about twelve, all armed to the teeth, and guarding some four or five ladies, took their stand on the roof of the Collector's Kutcherry,

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Strong as their position was, so great was the agitation of the Sikhs on hearing the fate of their Regiment, that the Europeans on the roof, though safe from capture, would not have been safe from attack, had not Sirdar Soorut Singh and Pundit Gokool Chund (at their own great peril) gone amongst them, and succeeded by many words in calming their rage at the treachery they suspected, and burned to avenge. So the little party remained in safety, till at 2 A. M., on June 5th, it was escorted to the Mint by a party of Europeans.

15. In summoning this guard one event occurred, which I cannot pass over in silence. It is an act of no common heroism. Messrs. Gubbins, Caulfield, and Demomet went in a buggy to the Mint, and Mr. Jenkinson, Civil Service, accompanied them on horseback. As the party was crossing the bridge, Mr. Jenkinson saw some ambushed sepoys aiming at the party in the buggy. There was no time for warning or for hesitation, and he at once reined back his horse, covering with his own body his companions in danger. It were far easier to praise such an act than to praise it worthily; and I praise it best, by not praising it at all.

16. And now, as though this night had not been full enough of trial, the party had scarce reached the Mint House when news was received that some Mussulmans had determined to raise the green flag, in the temple of Bissessur, the most holy of the many holy places in the City of Shiva. Yet this, which was fraught with the greatest danger, was turned into a source of strength by Mr. Lind, who called on the Rajpoots of the City to prevent this insult to their faith. So the Mussulmans retired peaceably, and the rest of the night was quiet.

17. Next day the Treasure was removed to the Magazine ; the Mint House was slightly fortified; and for the moment the worst of the storm was over. And tranquillity was the more assured, that every day small parties of Europeans were passing through on their westward journey, being pushed forward by Mr. Pollock (Joint Magistrate), who had been sent out for that purpose to Nowbutpoor the day before the mutiny.

18. I must now turn to tell of an event earlier in point of time, and really accelerating the one I have been describing,—the Mutiny at Azimgurh; and here I must make a slight retrospect in order to represent clearly the real state of affairs.

19. The 17th Native Infantry had been brigaded at Lucknow, with the 19th and 34th Native Infantry. The Regiment at the station was numerically weak, not mustering above five hundred men; but it was vehemently suspected, and not without ground, for it was known that men of the disbanded 19th Native Infantry were entertained in its lines. On May 24th, too, when some men impudently rejected extra cartridges which were served out to them, and afterwards violently assaulted a Native Officer, Major Burroughs (the Commanding Officer) found himself too weak to punish, and the Brigadier at Benares had enough to do in keeping his own Troops quiet, without thinking of sending help to out stations.

20. However, threatening as was the aspect of affairs, there was every reason to hope that, if the Gun guard stood firm, a long and successful resistance to any attack of the mutineers might be made. The fortification of the Collector's Kutcherry, begun before, was now speedily completed; the verandahs closed with loopholed walls, the parapets crowned with sand bags, the entrance gate swept by the two post guns, covered with a trench, in charge of the native gunners, and the best men of the 17th Native Infantry, as a gun guard. Would they stand fast? If so, the Europeans were safe; if not,—

21. The trial soon came. On June 1st, the Regiment held a seditious meeting; on June 2nd, an attempt was made to tamper with some of the 13th Irregulars, who had come with Lieutenant Palliser to escort to Benares the spare Treasure of Goruckpoor and Azimgurh. Orders for this despatch

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had been given; all the warnings and entreaties of Mr. Horne (the Magistrate) were in vain; and on the morning of June 3rd, a company of the 17th Native Infantry, and some eighty sowars of the 12th and 13th Irregulars, marched in from Goruckpoor with five lakhs of Rupees in charge. The 17th Native Infantry hesitated no longer, but openly declared that the Treasure should never leave the station. However, by mingled threats and promises, the same guard was induced to march again that night, and under their escort the Goruckpoor Treasure, with two lakhs from Azimgurh, was sent on to Benares.

22. So far all went well; and though the excitement of the sepoys had hastened the despatch of the Treasure, still that excitement seemed to have exhausted itself in words; and it was hoped that, for the time at least, the danger was escaped. But at 8 P. M., some three hours after the Treasure left the station, a musket shot was heard. On the instant the sepoys armed themselves, shot down Lewis (the Quarter Master Sergeant), ordered their Officers to fly to Ghazeepoor, and hurried down towards the City. The Magistrate and Joint Magistrate, (Messrs. Horne and Simson) who were in the lines, saw that all was lost, and galloped back to the station, only staying to bid the Kotwal with his increased Police and the doubled Jail guard do what he could to check the advance of the sepoys through the City. But it was all in vain; the Kotwal could do nothing, and the Jail guard, releasing the prisoners, at once joined the advancing rebels.

23. At the Treasury the Gun guard had mutinied: Lieutenant Hutchinson was shot while trying to harangue his men; but all the rest, both ladies and gentlemen, escaped to the roof of the Kutcherry. Their position was desperate enough; but the sepoys caring less for murder than for plunder, suddenly took the guns and hurried off towards Benares. But it was clear they meant to return, for their lines were still strongly guarded; so the Civilians taking advantage of their absence fled to Ghazeepoor. That place they reached in safety about the same time as the mutineers, who, having captured the Treasure, and returned with it to the station, left Azimgurh in haste, but with all the pomp of war, en route for Fyzabad.

24. The events of the mutiny at Jounpoor are few, and easily told. It had long been felt that if there were any serious disturbances any where, this Zillah would have its share; for in none are Auction purchasers more numerous, old Zemindars more powerful, or the present landholders on worse term among themselves. Still the Planters had all crowded in the City as a place of safety; and when the outbreak did take place, the native inhabitants seem to have been even more surprised and alarmed than the European.

25. Thus on the morning of June 5th, all the European residents were assembled at the Collector's Kutcherry well armed and prepared for the worst. They had not long to wait. The news of the rising at Benares and the slaughter of the Sikhs arrived; the Sikh guard (a part of the Loodianah regiment) was roused to fury: here was no Soorut Singh to throw himself into the breach; they shot their Commanding Officers; they murdered Mr. Cuppage, (the Joint Magistrate) as he was galloping down to the Jail; and then, each with a bag of treasure and all his arms, marched off to Lucknow. The Europeans at once fled. The Doobey Rajpoots drove them from their refuge in the house of Rai Hingun Loll. Then they hurried to Pussewah Factory, and on June 9th were brought in safety to Benares by a party of Volunteers who had gone out for that purpose.

26. Meanwhile a strange scene was enacted at Jounpoor. The plunder of the Treasury had been completed by decrepid old women and wretched little boys, who had never seen a rupee in their lives; and the houses of all the Officers were thoroughly gutted, and nearly all destroyed. A committee of public safety was formed in the City, but though the refusal of Rajah Sheogholam Doobey to act, removed the chief cause of religious discord,

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still the Mussulmans could not agree even to save their own lives, and the City was left to anarchy till Mr. Fane (the Collector) returning to Jounpoor for a day to take some Europeans to Benares, formally made over charge of the District to Rajah Sheogholam Doobey.

27. This appointment produced but little good even in the City: in the District, not a semblance of authority was left to any one. Those who had lost their estates under our rule, thought this a good time to regain them; those who had not, thought they could make a little profit by plundering their weaker neighbours: the bolder spirits thought to secure more brilliant advantages by intercourse with the rebel powers in Oudh: and in this state of anarchy (the normal state of every eastern Province) they remained till the arrival of the Goorkhas on September 8th restored a semblance of authority to the British Government.

28. While these events were passing, it must not be supposed that Mirzapoor or Ghazeepoor were left in perfect peace. And indeed Ghazeepoor was far from being without ground of alarm. On all sides of the District, itself always most troublesome, were disturbances real or reported; in the Station was the 65th N. I., and in the Treasury five lakhs of Rupees. Still no very pressing danger was apparent; and on June 3rd, a hundred men of H. M.'s 10th, who had just arrived by steamer, were hurried on to Benares. But after the outbreak at Azimgurh a great change took place. The fugitives indeed were brought safely to the station, but the country seemed to rise behind them; and by June 6th the whole District was raging in civil war. The police were helpless, and robberies were perpetrated to the very door of the Court-house itself. But severe summary punishment was inflicted by the European Officers, with small parties of the 65th and sowars in different parts of the District; the Treasure was sent to Benares by steamer; Martial Law was proclaimed; a hundred Europeans stationed at Ghazeepoor for the time; and the influence of these soothing measures was such that by June 16th, when Messrs. Dunne and Venables went out to Azimgurh, the District seemed nearly to have regained its former state.

29. Mirzapoor had much less cause of alarm. Its guard was half of a Sikh corps, and its Treasury only contained two lacs of Rupees: but the greatest misery of the time was the complete uncertainty of the real source of peril, and so of the real source of safety. Thus when on May 21st, firing was heard to the eastward, the residents retired (with the Sikhs) to the Kutcherries; and though on the discovery that the firing was only at a marriage procession, the Civilians returned to their own houses, it was thought advisable for the Sikhs still to remain on the spot.

30. News of the outbreak at Benares and Jounpoor, greatly increased the uneasiness of the European residents; nor did the arrival of part of the 47th N. I. under Lieut.-Colonel Pott at all tend to restore confidence, even though that Officer allowed very many of his men to go away on leave.

31. Nor were the events of the next day (June 8th) more inspiriting. The Sikhs were called away to Allahabad in such haste, that though advantage was taken of their escort to send Rupees 60,000 away, they were not able to take with them their spare arms, or to remove or destroy the large quantity of ammunition in their Magazine. Now too, neither road or river was safe from armed plunderers; large bodies of armed men were reported at Mandah on the Allahabad frontier; rebels were hourly expected to attack the station itself, and the fidelity of the 47th N. I. was far from assured.

32. For the time however all stood firm; the nipples of the spare muskets and the ammunition of the Sikhs were thrown into the river by Colonel Pott's order, and the remaining Treasure was despatched to Benares by steamer. But on June 9th the rumours of an attack from Mandah assumed a form so definite, that all the inhabitants of the Station, with the exception of the

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Magistrate (Mr. St. George Tucker), and a few others, fled to Chunar. Mr. Tucker however did not flinch; the Mandah men never came; and when on June 10th, the property of the East India Railway was plundered in broad day, some four miles from the Kutcherry, he went out with fifteen of the 50th Native Infantry, (who had just brought in a prisoner from Nagode, and have ever been doing excellent service) and dealt out a severe retribution.

33. Thus the week which had destroyed the name of Civil Government in Jounpoor and Azimgurh, had left the remaining Zillahs in little better state. The Police was paralyzed; not a road was safe; and the Rajpoots generally returned to their normal state of plunderers and plundered. And there was no force to check them. Lieutenant Palliser and his sowars (in Mr. Jenkinson's charge) had scarcely begun to punish some of the worst villages in the Benares district, when he was recalled to join a party of Europeans in an attempt to re-open the communication with Allahabad, cut off by a raid of men from Bhadoee, (Zillah Mirzapoor,) who had cut the telegraphic wire and carried off the dâk bullocks. The expedition was of course successful, but the execution of some of the criminals at Gopeegunge was only too speedily avenged by the murder of Mr. Moore.

34. Soon however the punishment inflicted by Lieutenant Palliser in the Benares district was forgotten; dacoitees became commoner than ever; and it was speedily apparent that the Civil Officers would cease to possess even a vestige of authority, unless some procedure were adopted, more speedy and severe than the Regulation allowed. A report to this effect made to Government speedily bore fruit in the now well-known XVI. 57; and the permanent gallows, and a few instances of a crime committed after breakfast and avenged before dinner, reduced a large part of the District to comparative tranquillity.

35. Mr. Jenkinson (Civil Service) was now directed to raise a Corps of Police Sowars, and speedily found work ready to his hands; for the Rajpoots of Dobhee (Zillah Jounpoor) waxing bold from impunity, disturbed the peace of Benares, and cut off communication with Azimgurh. Mr. Chapman went out against them with a force of Europeans, Sikhs, and Sowars; but though he only returned in June 30th, after inflicting a punishment which seemed sufficient to have crushed the Dobhee people for years, they regained confidence to such an extent, that early in July they marched to attack Benares itself. Nine miles from the station however they were met by a force, which supplied whatever was wanting in their former chastisement; and on July 17th, they most gladly came in and have behaved well ever since.

36. These endless disturbances however caused an uneasy feeling at Benares. This was the last point where the river was really safe; here the Trunk Road crosses the Ganges; here was the chief Depôt of the Commissariat; and the loss of Benares would have left us the whole country to reconquer almost from the gates of Calcutta. Messrs. Lind and Gubbins then pressed earnestly on the Military Authorities, the importance of erecting a post at Rajghât to command the landing-place, on the very site indeed of an old Hindoo castle, whose existence was little more than traditional. Convict labour was freely offered; the last difficulties on the score of expense were removed by orders for the construction of a fort received from the Supreme Government," and so originated that extensive and irregular, but strong, fortification which now dominates over the City of Shiva.

37. As the date at which I have now arrived in my Narrative of events at Benares, (July 18th) is also the date of the return of the Civil Authorities to Azimgurh, I am by this reminded how much in arrear is my history of that District. On June 16th Mr. Dunne, himself a fugitive from Azimgurh, determined to fetch in those who, saved by the sepoys' hasty flight, were living under the protection of friendly Zemindars. He was accompanied by Mr. Venables and some sowars given him by the Magistrate of Ghazeepoor, and

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accomplished his march without opposition. At Azimgurh he found a small party of the 13th Irregulars, who seemed not quite to have resolved on their line of action, but soon left the place. The Europeans hastened from their retreats, and were anxious to leave at once. On June 20th the majority of the party with the sowars started for Ghazeepoor, (which they reached in safety;) but Mr. Venables, yielding to the entreaties of the Omlah and the chief citizens, stayed (with Messrs. Dunne, Legge, and Dodsworth) at Azimgurh, and was at once invested by the Commissioner with full Magisterial power.

38. Among the Europeans thus rescued was Mr. Niblett, the head Clerk of the Collector's Office, who after the outbreak had obtained shelter in the house of Alee Buksh, the Nazir. In his presence a council was held to discuss the chance of the return of the English, and to decide on the proper course to be pursued. Here too all concord was prevented by the religious differences, here no doubt politicly aggravated by the efforts of the faithful Nazir, who with a few of the Omlah assumed the office of a committee of public safety, and reported proceedings daily to the Commissioner at Benares.

39. Mr. Venables had fallen on no bed of roses. Though his authority was unquestioned in the eastern and larger half of the District, the Rajpoots of the west had enjoyed a fortnight's license far too keenly to tolerate willingly the slightest check. The Police helpless with terror, the provisional Council at Azimgurh unable to rule even the neighbouring villages, had not tried to cope with these audacious plunderers; and Mr. Venables soon found he must try his power against them in the field, or be forced ignominiously to save his own life by again abandoning the station.

40. Yet was the debate an anxious and important one. There could be no doubt as to the proper objects of attack; for the Pulwars, a powerful clan living on the borders of Oudh, had been pre-eminent among the free-booters. But they were far from the station; they were not at all wanting in Military stores: there were many forts on their lands; and there were but a hundred and fifty sepoys (of the 65th Native Infantry,) seventy-five sowars, and the old post gun, which Mr. Venables had mounted, to form a column of attack.

41. Still on June 26th, (the day on which Moozuffur Jehan seized and proclaimed himself Rajah of Mahool,) Lieutenant Havelock moved out against the Pulwars, but returned after three days' not very profitable fighting. Mr. Venables had meanwhile made a little dour on his own account, and with a little more success; and on the 30th he moved again with a larger force to attack Mohubbutpoor, a village but a few miles from the City, which had been conspicuous in the marauding. The attempted resistance was a mere feint, and several noted scoundrels were carried off and consigned to safe custody in the Kotwalee. But on July 23rd, one Rujub Allee attacked the Kotwalee with some four hundred followers in broad daylight: the Police made no prolonged resistance, and the prisoners were rescued with little loss in conflict, and as little in Mr. Venables' hasty pursuit.

42. I am now compelled by my duty as compiler to make a digression, in order to reconcile discordant narratives, before I can tell of the further proceedings of the Pulwars, who now rapidly gathered head.

43. There are two accounts of affairs at this time; one written by Mr. Astell (the Judge), chiefly from the verbal information of Mr. Venables; the other by the Magistrate, which may have been placed in the Office even in that stirring time. And the discrepancies of these two records are far too striking to be passed over in silence. Mr. Astell speaks of Bainee Madho, of Atrowlia, as from the first ill-disposed; as having early busied himself in making preparations for war; as having refused to admit any messenger of Mr. Venables into his fort, though keeping up a show of loyalty; and as having assumed the title of Naib Nazim of Azimgurh. Mr. Davies, on the contrary, speaks of

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this man as uniformly well conducted, and as having protected the Thannahdar, &c. of Atrowlia; and says that Madho Pershad, the head of the Pulwars, whose fort and chief estates lie beyond the Oudh frontier, assumed the title of Chuckladar, and entered the District with a large force early in July.

44. It seems to me evident that the similarity of name has caused this confusion. Bainee Madho, by caste a Koormie, had in quieter times been on very bad terms with his neighbours the Pulwars, and spoken of his warlike preparations as being only prudent precautions against them. But when Lieut. Havelock went out on that June dour of which I have spoken above, he found many Pulwars in this man's service, and was not allowed to enter the fort, though food was served to his men outside. And for the protection he is said to have given to the flying Thannahdar, it was believed at the time (and his own urzee confirmed the tale), that he himself had forced the Officers to enter his fort, and was taking care of the records, &c. in the way popular among strong Zemindars at that time. His nominal loyalty would seem thus to have been veering round to open hate, even as his blood feud with the Pulwars was changing into the more amicable relations of leader and partisan.

45. Madho Pershad, on the other hand, had sheltered and kindly treated the fugitives from Fyzabad; he never appeared against us till the battle of Koilsa (to be spoken of below), where he said the few men who had come as his personal attendants for an interview with the Tuhseeldar, (an interview which was really taking place when the battle begun), were by accident mingled with the enemy, and so fell under the undiscriminating bullets of our men: and when at the great attack of the 18th on the City itself, a message was received from him, saying that the attack was none of his making, the message was believed; and a reply sent through his own messenger, advising him to attack the enemy in the rear, when the fight begun in front. It is evident then, that at this time nothing was known of his having accepted a title from the Rebels' chancery, and that he was looked on rather as a doubtful friend than as a decided enemy. Nor is it a point of no weight, that very recently his estates have been exempted from confiscation by Government, while no 'Deus ex machina' has interposed in favor of Bainee Madho. To this evidence I am inclined to give more weight than to scanty memoranda, which may have accumulated in the Office afterwards, and to assert that, decidedly hostile as was the part he afterwards took, early in July he was still wavering, and was far from taking a step so decided as the assumption of chief authority in a District where he had little property, and where the perwannahs of a Government which was not, even nominally, a fortnight old, which was struggling not to be strangled by its own partisans, and which (above all) was nearly two hundred miles away, would not meet with much respect.

46. About July 12th, then, Mr. Venables found it necessary to go out with all his force (which now comprised about three hundred of the 65th N. I.) to attack the Pulwars at Koilsa. The attempt was unsuccessful; the enemy lost very few men; the gun carriage broke down, and the sepoys, clamouring for the furlough, which many claimed as then their due, retreated so precipitately that even the cowardice of the enemy could scarce save the gun from falling into their hands. Still, emboldened by their retreat, the rebels began their march on the City of Azimgurh; but advanced so slowly, that at noon on July 18th, they were still two miles from it, when Mr. Venables moved out to meet them. Fortunately he had that morning been reinforced by the return of the Civil Authorities to the station, accompanied by some ten Officers marching to join the Goorkha force at Goruckpoor, twenty-five sowars of the 12th Irregulars, and Captain Catania with his hastily-raised, half-drilled, half-armed levy of 350 men from Benares; but the larger portion of the 65th N. I. who had been with him at Koilsa had returned to Ghazeepoor. At noon then he moved out; leaving Mr. Simson, the Joint Magistrate, with Captain Catania's levy to protect the Kutcherries and the breast works he had thrown up commanding the roads through the City; and posting some

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800, recently entertained, matchlockmen under Native Officers in different parts of the City to prevent any attack on that quarter. They found the enemy in great force strongly posted in groves, with his front covered by the high crops of season; then the Cavalry were useless, the effect of the fire was imperceptible; and at last (after the enemy had for a full hour from a distance of two hundred yards poured a thick hail of bullets on the exposed place, where the gun, &c. were posted without hitting a man) it was perceived that our right flank was rapidly being turned, and the retreat was sounded. The retreat soon became a flight; and had the City been a little more distant, there would have been as much apparent discipline in the pursuing rabble as in the flying troops. Order however was so far restored, that a vigorous street fight (in which the matchlockmen with the Tuhseeldar took no part) was maintained, and the Kutcherry was reached without loss. The rebels had suffered severely in the passage of the town; the grape tore ceaselessly through their dense array; the sepoys fought well behind the earth works; but not till after three hours hard fighting, when a flank movement had been defeated by a charge of sowars, did they think of retreat. Still none felt confidence enough to leave his post, and the question of retreat to Ghazeepoor was discussed in a Council of War; but at last it was agreed, that till morning dawned no plan should be decided on; and morning brought with it the welcome news that the rebels were far away.

47. Welcome indeed was the news. No supplies were to be found; the whole country was up; and the sepoys, never over-fond of fighting, and at this time inclined against rather than for the side on which they were marshalled, positively declared they would not fight without being fed. Indeed had the Pulwars held their ground, it would have been difficult even to retreat safely to Ghazeepoor; and the question for the Council was, whether it was not absolutely necessary to retreat at once, rather than whether it was proper to retreat at all.

48. The flight of the enemy, and the distribution of some opportunely discovered grain, raised the spirit of the sepoys rapidly; and they were quite ready in the afternoon to assist at the execution of some of the rebels who were taken prisoners by the men of a village they had attempted to plunder in their flight. Our loss in that long battle was but seventeen men: the rebels lost at least 250. The Pulwars themselves at this time retreated quickly into their own country; but the roads on all sides were closed by the villagers, who would reap the profit of a battle, whose dangers or whose losses they had not dared to share.

49. In the ten days which passed between this attack and the second evacuation of Azimgurh (on July 28th,) little was done. The eastern portion of the District, as before, obeyed passively; the western was in open rebellion: but the ill-will between the sowars and sepoys seemed likely to prevent any danger from within; and all were well contented to await the arrival of the two regiments of Goorkhas, who were to be sent to Azimgurh from the force which was expected to reach Goruckpoor by July 27th. News of their having reached Goruckpoor was expected on July 28th; but that day brought far different tidings. Two messengers arrived in hot haste, with the news that the 12th Irregulars had "gone" at Sigowlee; and as now none could doubt that the sowars of that Corps who were at Azimgurh would follow the example of the main body as soon as they heard of it, it was speedily decided to retire on Ghazeepoor.

50. Next morning a letter from Mr. Tucker arrived, telling also of the mutiny at Dinapoor, and bidding the Officers act as might best ensure their own safety. An immediate departure was ordered, and the District formally and completely entrusted to the Rajah. But the news that the City was again to be left to the mercy of any villains who might choose to plunder it, caused the deepest consternation; and when the march began, the troops were accompanied by a long line of carts in which the flying citizens

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were carrying away their most valued possessions. And this haste was not unreasonable. Scarcely had the troops turned their backs, when their lines were plundered: nay more, some of the Officers' stores were violently taken by the bad characters of the City from a strong guard of Catania's levy in whose charge they were left. And some who took their part in that dreary march have told how evident the feelings of the people were as they stood by the roadside gazing on that long line, and looking like vultures who are not quite sure that their prey is dead enough to be attacked.

51. Arrived at Cheria Kote, where they were to halt a while, the Europeans with the sepoys entered the pucka Surai, barred the gate, and placed the loaded gun in front, leaving the sowars outside. When they resumed the march at one A. M., only thirty sowars were present; the rest said, these had gone away, but would no doubt return if Lieutenant Havelock would go to them. Happily this specious proposal was rejected, for we have since learnt from different sowars how coolly the wretched traitors had planned thus to get the Europeans from the bright bayonets which were then so ready and so secure a retreat, in order that they might enjoy the safe luxury of murder and of torture.

52. The march however was not to be accomplished without further trouble. A dawk from Ghazeepore was opened, and a number of sepoys' letters which it contained were without consideration distributed to the men. These brought them the news of the mutiny at Dinapoor. Their manner instantly changed. It had long been known that their Corps had determined to be guided by events at Dinapoor; but up to this moment their manner had heen nearly as respectful as of old, but now they openly boasted that they would mutiny as soon as they reached Ghazeepoor, that they might join their friends from below. But the march was accomplished peaceably and happily. At Head Quarters better counsels prevailed.

53. I have spoken above of the murder of Mr. Moore, of Mirzapoor; and it is now time I should relate the events in that Zillah, of which this murder is the most striking and important part.

54. On June 13th, a party of the 1st Madras Fusiliers arrived at Mirzapoor, and then it was proposed to disarm the 47th Native Infantry. Colonel Pott however did not think it necessary, and a party of them (with the Fusiliers) attacked and destroyed Goura, a village on the right bank of the Ganges near the Allahabad frontier. The inhabitants had been peculiarly daring, and now too prepared for resistance; but finding themselves attacked both by land and water (for the 47th had landed to take them in the rear), they fled. Still some of the leaders were taken and handed over to the Magistrate.

55. This little expedition and the destruction of a band of river dacoits by Mr. Walker (Deputy Collector) made the right bank of the river safe: the left bank was a far more difficult subject. Here in Pergunnah Bhadoee the Rajah of Benares had inherited from his fathers large estates, from which the former Rajpoot owners had never been wholly uprooted. Early in June the head of this clan, Udwunt Singh, assumed his ancestral title of Rajah of Bhadoee, and appointed two Deewans. On the strength of this newly regained nobility, he collected a body of men of his own tribe, took "benevolences," plundered his weaker neighbours, and soon grew strong enough to close the Trunk Road. I have above related how Mr. Chapman with some Europeans and Lieutenant Palliser's sowars were sent to reopen it; and when they were at Gopeegunge, Moonshee Durshun Lall (the Agent of the Rajah of Benares in those parts) delivered up this titular Rajah and his Deewan, who had been captured by the Moonshee in some quiet, and probably not very creditable, way. They were of course at once tried by court-martial and hanged. Their people vowed vengeance. Unfortunately they argued that Mr. Moore, Joint Magistrate of Mirzapoor, and so official Superintendent of the Rajah of Benares' wide

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domains, must for this very reason have been the chief cause of the execution; and so they chose him as the proper victim of their revenge.

56. On July 4th, he made a raid from Gopeegunge and arrested some prisoners, whom he brought to an Indigo factory at Palee; the house was soon surrounded by Joorhye Singh, and a large body of men. Mr. Moore and the two managers of the factory were murdered in attempting to escape, and Mr. Moore's head carried off to be sold to the widow of Udwunt Singh, for the Rs. 300 she had promised for it. The bodies, however, were recovered by Lieutenant Woolhouse, and some of H. M.'s 64th, who hurried out from Gopeegunge that night. The Magistrate and some of the 47th N. I. arrived from Mirzapoor, and next day attacked the rebels; but the real murderers escaped both from him and also from an expedition of European troops, who went with Mr. Chapman to search them out.

57. Now the District was comparatively tranquil, and there are few events to chronicle; indeed the arrival of the fugitives from Nagode, of one hundred European troops from the eastward, and the return of the muskets of the 47th N. I. into store, are all that are thought worthy of mention even in the district Report.

58. In the meanwhile, (*i. e.* between the 16th June and 28th July) nothing of importance had occurred at Ghazeepoor; two or three villages behaved badly, and one was punished. This one (Chaura) had on June 21st attacked Mr. Matthews in his factory; and while he barely escaped with life, his property was plundered and destroyed: but after Mr. Bax with a party of Europeans and sowars had destroyed the village on July 7th, every thing settled down to its usual state. Revenue came in as usual, and the chronic panic of the Ghazeepoor residents was subsiding, when on July 14th it was reported that Koour Singh was defying the Magistrate of Arrah, and carrying on intimate correspondence with the sepoys at Dinapoor. On July 27th, news of the Dinapoor mutiny was received, and every one at once prepared for the worst. And though the presence of an European detachment gave a little confidence to the officials of the station, their situation was far from pleasant; for the 65th N. I., who had declared their intention of joining the Dinapoor men as soon as they should mutiny, were nearly all of them inhabitants of the District, so that a rising among them would be the signal for rising in the District; for active hostility to Government, and not mere quarreling among villages as elsewhere. Still they stood in unstable loyalty: why, no one knows. And the news of the relief of Arrah, (whither Mr. Bax had proceeded with Major Eyre's force,) and the flight of Koour Singh, soon removed all ground of alarm. Here ends for the year the peaceful chronicle of Ghazeepoor. The quiet disarming of the 65th Native Infantry took away the last source of anxiety; the intrenchment of the Opium factory provided a retreat in time of need; European detachments stationed there were an efficient guard; and nothing was left to the Authorities but to devote themselves to their ordinary duties, and (a far more important business) the collection of stores and carriage which were all hurried westward to supply the European troops.

59. The mutiny at Sigowlee, which had caused the evacuation of Azimgurh, caused some alarm at Benares, and the prisoners were removed into a strong walled enclosure near the College. The danger however soon passed away, and gave place to a more threatening one; for the Dinapoor mutineers were in full march on Benares. Their defeat at Arrah had not however at all increased their confidence; and having narrowly escaped from the force sent to prevent their passing the Bridge at Nowbutpoor, they marched with all speed westward, doing what damage they could in their hasty flight. Unopposed by the cowardly servants of the Rajah of Benares, they traversed the narrow defiles of Chuckea; and on August 11th, poured down on the fair fields of Mirzapoor. Here feeling themselves safe from pursuit, they lingered several days; the plundering and ravaging with which they busied themselves made their progress very slow; and it was not till August 20th, that they drew near

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to Mirzapoor. On that day however, about seventeen miles from the City, they found themselves face to face with some three hundred of H. M.'s 5th, who had been sent out against them. At the first fire, without noticing that their assailants were but a fourth their number, the rebels broke and fled; their loss was not worth mention, and after plundering all the villages in a most leisurely manner, they entered the Allahabad district on August 25th.

60. Slight as was the loss of the first body of mutineers in their attempted advance on the City of Mirzapoor, it sufficed to deter all others from a similar attempt. The District however was less fortunate. On August 14th the little party of mutineers from Hazareebagh entered that Pergunnah which lies south of the Soane. The passage of the Rahind they effected with the aid of the Rajah of Singrowlee; and after doing all the injury in their power to the coal mines at Kotah, marched with a similar intention to those in Rewah; but a rising of the country people prevented such wanton mischief. Nor did Koour Singh himself meet a more hospitable reception in that little principality; for when (September 8th) on his plundering march through Mirzapoor he mounted the Rewah Ghats, he was forced to make a hasty retreat, and continuing his march along the Deccan Road, quitted the confines of Mirzapoor.

61. I have now reached a point of time when it becomes an easy task to close my Narrative, as far as Benares itself is concerned. From this date there is nothing to relate. Months after this date one event occurred, to which I shall have occasion to refer; meanwhile there was less to mark the flight of time even than in common years. Benares assumed the appearance of a vast Military storehouse, and the chief thought of all who dwelt there was the number of Europeans who each day arrived, the haste with which they were forwarded, and the best means of collecting at this point the great stores of corn and coinage so urgently needed by the Army in the west.

62. Thus my task now centres on the three Zillahs of Azimgurh, Jounpoor, and Mirzapoor. This history of the third I have already brought up to the beginning of September; the history of the second only recommences from that date; and as the first was re-occupied a few days sooner, I will proceed to tell of events in that District from July 28th. Then all was confusion. The old material for a committee of safety no longer existed, as the Nazir and Serishtehdar had gone to Ghazeepoor with or soon after the European Officers. The Police, save at Nagra and Mohomdabad, left their posts, and soon after the hurried advance of the Sigowlee mutineers had taken them beyond the limits of the District, the Pulwars under Pirtheepal Singh came down in great force on the City. Here they levied a contribution of Rs. 10,000, and remained from the 9th to the 25th August, when the arrival of the Goruckpoor Officers with Colonel Wroughton, and the Goorkhas near the eastern end of the City, caused the Pulwars to seek safety in flight. During all this time the Thannah and Tuhseel business at Nagra and Mohomdabad was most creditably conducted by the native Officers of those places, but their example was not imitated at any other post.

63. The Goorkhas then arrived in Azimgurh in August 26th; and on September 3rd, the Judge and Magistrate of Azimgurh joined them with Messrs. Venables and Legge. The southern and eastern parts of the District speedily settled down; the northern and western demanded more active measures. And indeed though Moozuffur Jehan and his Rajcoomars remained quiet at Mahool, the Pulwars of Atrowlia had no idea of patiently awaiting attack. Accordingly, after hovering about for some days, their leader, Bainee Madho, announced on September 15th his encampment with a large force at Mundonee, but nine miles from the station, by firing a salute.

64. This insolence was not long unpunished; for on the 20th, Mr. Venables with a large force of Goorkhas, under Captain Boileau, surprised and routed the rebels, killing some three hundred of them, and capturing three guns.

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Bainee Madho himself took refuge in his own fort at Atrowlia; but hearing a few days later that the Goorkhas were again advancing, fled precipitately into Oudh, and his stronghold was for the next two months occupied by the native officers whom he had before taken there as prisoners.

65. Nor were the Pulwars the only rebels who made trial of the Goorkha power; for Mr. Bird, Joint Magistrate, led them out against Mahool, on his way burnt the forts of Shumshabad and Beramudpoor, (the property of Moozuffur Jehan and Pirtheepal Singh,) and finding Mahool evacuated, put the Police in possession; and this second expedition, nominally at least, restored the sovereignty of the British Government over the whole District of Azimgurh.

66. Affairs in Jounpoor progressed less rapidly. The Goorkhas arrived on September 8th; next day they were joined by Messrs. Lind, Jenkinson, and Turner, (Magistrate and his Assistants) and a few days later by Messrs. Astell and Carnegy, (the Judge and Deputy Collector). The first care of course was the re-organization of the Police force. The Thannah of Julalpoor alone had held out without intermission, and that of Kerrakut had been re-established by Rai Hingun Lall immediately on his recent appointment as Deputy Magistrate of Jounpoor. The force of all the other Thannahs was considerably increased, and arranged as seemed most prudent; but with strict orders not to advance beyond their posts. The Thannahdar of Khutgurh saw fit to disobey these orders, but was speedily driven back with some loss.

67. These efforts to restore peace and order met with considerable opposition. The authority of the European Officers was little more than nominal in any part of the District, but the Zemindars of the north and west remained in open rebellion. Rajah Moheshnarain Singh, Madho Singh, and Roostum Sah, (of Dehrah in Oudh) tendered their submission, and have ever continued doing distinguished service; but few other of the great Zemindars took any notice of Mr. Lind's demand for their obedience and active help.

68. Several days of quiet working now ensued, varied only by the despatch of a reinforcement for the threatened garrison of Azimgurh; but at midnight of September 27th, a strong force marched on Mobarukpoor, the stronghold of the rebel Rajah Iradut Jehan, the would-be Naib Nazim of Jounpoor. Nor did they find him unprepared. His house had been strengthened; his retainers summoned, and he opened the contest by firing on the advancing troops. The guns were at once brought to the front, and their persuasive eloquence soon induced a surrender. Iradut Jehan, and another Chief, (Fusahut Jehan) were taken, tried by court-martial, and hanged.

69. Next day about half the force was sent to Adumpoor to destroy a little fort, the home of Umur Singh. Fortunately this individual (who shortly after Mr. Lind's arrival was reported to be preparing a combined attack on Jounpoor itself) had just returned to send off his valuables to a safe place; and in the fight which now ensued he was killed with some fifty of his men. Two of the chief Rebels of this District had just been cut off, and the others who had assembled in the neighbourhood escaped a battle by flight.

70. Though Mullik Mehndee Buksh had driven in the Police of Kutgurh, the Magistrate had promised to pardon him on his surrender; but as he had not seen fit to accept these terms, on October 2nd his property was confiscated. The Magistrate did not loiter at Munihur, but leaving a small party of Roostum Sah's levy in charge, at once returned to camp; but hearing that an attack on the little garrison was being planned, he hastened back with a reinforcement. The report was false; he again returned to camp, and on October 5th, the whole force moved back to Jounpoor.

71. A few days after these events, Colonel Wroughton was ordered to proceed with the larger part of the force to aid in attacking some rebels in

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the Allahabad district; but he had scarce left the station, when news so alarming arrived that Mr. Lind urged him to return. He at once complied, and on October 15th again the force marched toward the Oudh frontier. Some rebels of little note had been attacking the frontier police stations, and the country was wholly disorganized; but the most threatening news was that the Nazim, Mehdee Hussun, had collected some 5000 men near Sultanpoor, and was meditating an attack on Jounpoor.

72. Encamping at Singra Mow on October 19th, the army was met by the intelligence that Hussun Yar, the Chukladar, had invaded the District with some 1500 men, (of whom 600 were new levies and the rest matchlockmen) and was then encamped some four miles off at Koodhooa, in the hope of coercing Deewan Runjeet Singh of that place. Orders were at once given for an attack; but Rundheer Singh of Singra Mow had assembled a large force in the rear, with very questionable intentions. He was seized after a good deal of trouble, but a large body of his followers continued hovering on the left flank. The force advanced cautiously through the high crops, but the enemy had not expected to be attacked so speedily, and had only commenced his preparations for defence on hearing of the advance from Singra Mow. He therefore offered little serious resistance, was routed with great slaughter, and after a flight so precipitate that even the fort of Chanda was left empty, joined Mehdee Hussun in his camp at Hussunpoor.

73. On the march to Singra Mow many sepoys going on leave had been seen, and among the slain at Koodhooa were some of these very men. Of their willingness to co-operate with the rebels then there could be no doubt; and as it was wellknown that the rebel Nazim was doing his utmost to rally his forces, Mr. Lind considered it necessary to hasten in person the advance of Colonel Longden's force from Jounpoor. Scarcely had Mr. Lind left the camp when news arrived that the rebels were collecting in great force beyond Chanda, their vanguard holding that fort. Further delay was deemed unadvisable; and early on the morning of the 30th, 1,100 Goorkhas and two guns, moved out against them. A march of eleven miles brought them to Koeripoor, only a mile or so from the enemy; but the frequent topes and high rain crops covered his front so completely, that the attack was planned solely on native reports of his position. These proved most accurate; a heavy Artillery fire of half an hour was followed by a charge of the Goorkhas; the enemy's guns were taken, and the battle was won. Then only was it apparent how great the odds had been; for the Goorkhas, accustomed to an entirely different style of fighting, had met an enemy four times their number covered with heavier and more numerous Artillery in the hands of trained gunners. Yet the victory was not dearly purchased; the enemy had suffered heavily, had lost their chief leaders and their guns; twelve men killed, and fifty-nine wounded, was all the price the victors had to pay.

74. This period at Mirzapoor had been less eventful. Lieutenant Buckley, who had evacuated Gopeegunge when the Dinapoor mutineers entered the District, returned after a single night's absence; and early in September, when Koour Singh was marching down the Deccan Road, the parts of Allahabad and Mirzapoor, on the left bank of the Ganges, were entrusted to Mr. Mayne, late Magistrate of Banda. This appointment, though unprecedented, was rendered necessary by the position of affairs; the energy of Mr. Elliott, an unpassed Civilian, who had been posted at Gopeegunge, and indeed was not removed, could ill make up for his want of experience, and the overtasked Magistrates of Allahabad and Mirzapoor were thus relieved from a part of their charge, which was very troublesome from the restlessness of its inhabitants, and very important from being traversed through its whole length by the Great Trunk Road.

75. The Dinapoor mutineers, after leaving Mirzapoor, threatened Nagode. On their nearer approach, Major Hampton (on Septr. 15th) destroyed the Magazine, and sent the ladies away. Next day the regiment (50th N. I.)

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mutinied, but without violence, and 240 of the men accompanied their Officers to Rewah. The position of the fugitives at this place was critical: threatened on all sides by powerful enemies, there was no place to which they could look for help. Happily none of the rebel force advanced; a small party of volunteers from Mirzapoor escorted the fugitives to that station in safety; a strong reinforcement of Madrassees arrived; and when on September 28th the remnant of the 50th N. I. reached Mirzapoor, they were at once ferried over to the northern bank, disarmed and sent on leave.

76. The District was now rapidly settling down. October passed tranquilly. A rumoured advance of Madrassees from Mirzapoor drove some mutineers who had crossed the Soane in hasty flight to the southward: an attack, (by Mr. Elliott) with some Sikhs and the Benares Police levy, on two notorious villages in the north-west of the District, was completely successful. Some slight movements of the Madrassees overawed the restless spirits of Rewah; and on October 27th the Madras troops were recalled. Still comparatively peaceful was the state of affairs; it was thought more prudent to send the guns and stores of the intrenchment to the complete security of Chunar.

77. But little space is now required in order to bring up the history of events in the District of Azimgurh, to the end of 1858.

78. The newly recovered authority over the whole of Azimgurh (of which I told above) was rudely threatened by powerful enemies on two sides. Mr. Pollock (then Officiating as Magistrate) made private overtures to the one party (the Pulwars); and, while they were hesitating in surprise, hurried to meet the other. The latter (the Goruckpoor rebels) had colllected in great force at Burhel, and was preparing a descent on Azimgurh; but when a vigorous cannonade from gun under Mr. Ross, C. S., drove the enemy from his strong position on the northern bank, a party crossed and cut out the flotilla there collected for the passage of the Gogra. The broad river was a better rampart for his District than any Engineer could build; so having charged the leading Zemindars with the protection of Dohree Ghât, Mr. Pollock returned well satisfied to Azimgurh.

79. Here learning that the hesitation of the Pulwars was chiefly caused by a doubt of their reception, he determined on a tour through their country. Thus, marching with a force sufficient to crush any attempt at resistance, he passed through the Rajkoomar country, punishing these people on his road, and destroying their chief holds; and then at Koilsa met the Chiefs of the Pulwars in a friendly manner. The fruits of this policy have been conspicuous ever since; for neither when the rebels came down early in November, nor when Koour Singh besieged Azimgurh in April last, did a single Pulwar Chief raise a hand for their aid.

80. With the former of these two events I will close my tale. Early in November, the rebels in great force occupied the fort of Atrowlia. A call for aid from Jounpoor met a speedy response in the march of Colonel Longden with a strong force on that place. Night fell on November 9th, before an attack was considered prudent; and by next morning the enemy had evacuated the fort, removing their wounded, but leaving behind three guns. Three days sufficed for the destruction of the fort; Colonel Longden returned to Jounpoor, and Azimgurh was quiet for the year. Even the alarm caused by the threatening attitude of the rebels in the end of November did not cause the frontier Police to quit their posts, though the Civil Officers were in readiness to leave the District, and the Rajah of Gopalapoor was quite able to defend the marches of Oudh till the arrival of Colonel Longden with his little army in the last days of December, took away all fear of attack from that quarter.

81. Once more the scene changes to Jounpoor. After the battle of Chanda (of which I told before) the force at Singra Mow was amused with

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reported dissension among the rebels. The only apparent effect of this dissension was to cause them to assemble again more rapidly. Roostum Sah was compelled to join the rebel force; but all the efforts of the Rajpoot Chiefs could not stir the cowardly nature of the Nazim to a speedy attack.

82. On November 22nd Colonel Longden returned from destroying Atrowlia, and the whole army marched out to Singra Mow. Here all sorts of rumours reached them; an official from Uldemow was in the rebels' camp; an attack was to be made in force at night; an attack was to be made in two columns by day; Moozuffur Jehan, Mullik Mehndee Buksh, and every other rebel of note was lending his aid to the Nazim. At all events the Rebel army (which had increased from 10,000 on November 22nd, to 16,000 on November 28th) now began to advance cautiously; and the English army, after the question had been fully debated in a Council of War, retired on Jounpoor. The budmashes at once flocked together: the frontier Police were driven in; the Rajpoot levies were able to do but little against dacoits whose leaders were in the service of the chief Rebels. Still Pundit Kishen Narain did good service in the north in checking the progress of the enemy, till on December 24th Muckdoom Buksh (Agent of Iradut Jehan) attacked him with a large force at Tighra. The treasure and the records had previously been removed from the Tuhseeldaree; and the Pundit, after resisting bravely for some days, was obliged to retreat by night to Jounpoor.

83. On January 4th news was brought that part of a large body of rebels, who had collected near the frontier of Oudh, were threatening the newly re-established Thannah of Badlapoor, ever a favourite point of attack with the rebels of Oudh as being the furthest outpost of the English power. As General Franks was now planning a simultaneous advance from three points into Oudh, no aid was to be got from him; but the rebels were thoroughly kept in check by Rajah Moheshnarain and his levies, and no further occasion for Military support occurred till after General Franks' final departure from the Jounpoor district on February 19th.

84. A few days before this last date an event occurred in Benares, which requires a brief record in this Report. Twenty-six sepoys, under sentence of transportation for life, were confined in the Benares Jail, and under the pressure of circumstances were employed in grinding corn. On February 8th, two of them having taken the ground corn to the storehouse, seized one a sword, the other a lattee, which had been lying there for many years. Thus armed, they marched past the sentries into the outer court; but, having cut down the Jemadar who tried to seize them, ran back to their comrades. The whole twenty-six now rushed out with three other prisoners, and made their escape. The Europeans and Sowars were now summoned, and search and pursuit was carried on so vigorously and successfully, that all the sepoys, and one of the other run-aways were captured and shot, or hanged, the same night or the next morning. Apathetic and cowardly as Natives in general are, yet in this instance, the Jail guard of Benares showed these noble qualities so eminently, that it is hard not to suspect on their part that fellow-feeling for the criminals which is said to make us wondrous kind.

85. The little band of rebels who had from time to time been traversing the Mirzapoor district, met neither resistance nor aid from the people. The supplies which were necessary for their support, the valuables which excited their cupidity, the horses which could facilitate their march, they ever took without scruple; but they were guilty of no wanton destruction of private property, though all Government property and Schools were fair game.

86. On December 16th, a Thannahdar and Jemadar were murdered at Marwar, a village on the borders of Rewah. Though he seems to have provoked his fate, it was necessary to make an example of the criminals. The murderers themselves had escaped into Rewah, but a heavy fine was levied on the village before the Magistrate left it to proceed to Bijeygurh.

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87. The condition of this Pergunnah requires a brief retrospect. The Rajah of Bijeygurh, Chief of a family of Chandel Rajpoots long seated in that District, died, leaving a Ranee and a daughter. The latter was betrothed to a brother of the Rajah of Kuntit; and when in October 1857, a portion of the property had been transferred to this child, the marriage was completed. Luchmun Singh, the nearest male heir of the deceased Rajah, who had unsuccessfully contested, first, the succession to the Raj, and then the division of the property, looked with no favour on the interference of his new relative in the Pergunnah. Accordingly he called to his aid some mutineers from Shahabad, proclaimed himself Rajah, and began collecting revenue; the Tuhseeldar, going to summon him to Mirzapoor, was obliged to fly for his life; but when the Magistrate approached, the mutineers with about a hundred others retired to a jungle near Rohtasgurh. At dawn on January 9th, after a long night march, Mr. Tucker attacked them in their retreat with complete success: several were killed, several more captured and hanged at Benares; considerable booty recovered, and the remainder of the mutineers driven across the Soane.

88. Their Chandel leaders, however, had escaped into Rewah, and again with the help of a Rajah, of their own caste, made an incursion into the Territory of their successful rival. Again Mr. Tucker came out against them, and having driven them back into Rewah moved to Guhurwar, the fort of the Rajah of Singrowlee. This noble was at this time at his Rewah residence, whither he suffered no messenger to come; and his professions of loyalty were rather belied by the reports constantly received of the warlike preparations in which he was engaged, of the fortifications of his house, and of his intercourse with the rebels of pergunnah Bijeygurh.

89. So leaving the fort of Bijeygurh in the charge of the servants of the Rajah of Benares, Mr. Tucker returned to Mirzapoor, to quit it again after no long interval for a Commissionership in Oudh. Mr. Mayne also left to resume his charge at Banda, so that the District was left in its former state. The departure of the 47th N. I. for China, leaving behind in their lines arms never issued to them by Government, and the brief raid of Joodhye Singh on the north-western portion of the District, are the only other events I have to record.

90. My task draws to a close. Of Goruckpoor I have said nothing; its history employs the able hand of its own Commissioner. The events in this Division up to the final restoration of peace may employ some other pen, after no long period. I would hope meanwhile I have told as briefly as might be, of the early days of the mutiny; and I have carried on my tale, for Benares and Mirzapoor to the middle of the present year, for the peace of these Districts seems for the present established. I have told of Jounpoor up to the time when its great garrison marched out to other fields and other victories, leaving it (not indeed at peace but) untroubled by foes from without; But of Azimgurh and Ghazeepoor what is there not left to tell? At the end of 1857, they were resting in full assurance of peace to be awakened suddenly to an anarchy more lasting and more trying than in the gloomy months which had passed away; an anarchy which seems no nearer an end than it did when it had just begun.

91. Thus I commenced the history of this Division, from those days in 1857 when stations though 'going' were not yet 'gone'. I bring it to a close when four acts of that great Drama 'The Rebellion in India' have been played out, and the fifth, 'The Retribution' may speedily conclude with the punishment of the guilty head, and the pardon of the erring hands.

ROBERT TAYLOR,
*Offg. Joint Magistrate, Jounpoor.*

JOUNPOOR:
*The 15th October* 1858.

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# Supplement

TO THE

# NARRATIVE OF EVENTS, &c.

IN THE

# BENARES DIVISION.

In commencing (willingly enough) a supplement to the Narrative I have already prepared, I must remark that my task, though apparently of much less magnitude, is really no less laborious. Before, I had furnished to me from each district a separate narrative, carefully arranged, compiled from the best authorities, and illustrated by any subsequent information the passing months had brought to light; now I have merely disjointed weekly notices, undigested and uncorrected. Nor is it the least of any difficulties that I must prepare this paper in a space of time barely sufficing for a careful perusal of the reports I have to condense. Little pretensions as my former Narrative had to any grace of style, the present one will have even less; and I shall have done my work well if the Reader do not find any important event misstated or omitted. Nor can I leave unnoticed the fact (and it adds much to the difficulties under which I labour) that more than one important paper is alluded to (in the notes I have at hand) as submitted in original to Government, and not returned.

But to proceed. To the history of Mirzapoor and Benares, I have no more to add. A few lines in their proper place will tell all there is left to tell of the history of Jounpoor; and my work is mainly confined to the unsatisfactory annals of Azimgurh and Ghazeepoor,—annals which tell rather of a flame dying out, than of a flame extinguished.

The beginning of the year, then found Mr. Brereton, Magistrate of Ghazeepoor, in Jung Bahadoor's camp, threatening the rebel force in Goruckpoor. The speedy flight of the Nazim from that station, and the consequent abandonment by the rebels of several posts they had hitherto held, relieved Azimgurh for the moment of any pressure from that quarter; but before the end of the month the steps taken to facilitate the advance of our forces into Oudh, and the steps taken by the rebels to oppose this advance, had had the singular effect of leaving the marches of Azimgurh threatened by strong bodies of rebels, and unprotected by any British force. In the face of this more pressing danger, the descent of the vassals of Ooddraise Singh and Mozuffer Jehan on their old lands excited no attention. Sunday brought a rumour that Mehndee Hussun, the would-be Nazim of Jounpoor, would gather in Azimgurh the laurel he had not dared to seek at home. On Tuesday it was Mahummud Hussun would try whether the open field were more favourable to his genius than the earthworks of Goruckpoor. Wednesday again came news that Mân Singh was coming down to sweep Azimgurh into the Ganges. On Friday Mân Singh had preferred the less daring task of defending the passage of the Gogra against the Goorkhas from the east: and Sunday at last dawned with the soothing news that, though in very truth Mân Singh had come to Fyzabad, it was not to oppose our Nepalese allies, but to find

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(if it might be) among their ranks one who would plead to the British Government that the English folk he had saved in the early days of the mutiny were a fair-set off against the many noble hearts which through his treachery had found a grave in Oudh. But aided by the first Steamer that ever plied on the waters of the Gogra, the army crossed safely, and for the time we hear no more that Azimgurh is threatened. A month later, the Authorities of that district, instead of being threatened from the frontier, are beleaguered in their own jail.

Kooer Singh, flying from Lucknow, entered the northern part of Azimgurh. Colonel Milman, moving out to oppose him, drove his advanced guard out of Atrowlia, and carried on the pursuit up to the main body. But he subsequently fell back, abandoning both baggage and stores, on Azimgurh. Mr. Davies urged Colonel Dames, but without success, to defend the passage of the town, a plan the adoption of which had caused the Pulwars so severe a loss in July, and the value of which he himself found when after many delays on Saturday March 27th, he attempted a sortie, and had to retire, leaving one of the best Officers of his Corps behind him on the field.

The reliefs thrown in from Ghazeepoor warned the sepoys of the advantage they were letting slip in not destroying the bridge over the Tonse. The Madras Rifles hindered this work one day, and the next Lord Mark Kerr forced his way into the intrenchments, inflicting on the rebels a chastisement so severe that they suffered Colonel Cumberlege to bring in a convoy without opposition, though they had made great preparations to prevent his advance.

The siege of Azimgurh was now at an end. On April 15th, Sir E. Lugard arrived to its relief. After a brief resistance at the bridge, the enemy fled hastily along the Burhul road. They were closely followed up, and in this pursuit Mr. Venables received the wound which cost him his life. Down the right bank of the Gogra viâ Byreeah to the Ganges, the flight and pursuit continued with unabated spirit. At Ameer Khas on the Gogra, Brigadier Douglas chastised the rear guard severely, capturing much carriage. But the main body far out-marched the British force, and Colonel Cumberlege's slow advance, the boats supplied by the loyal Zemindars of Shahabad, and the shallowness of the water, made the Ganges but a slight obstacle to their flight. Indeed they would have effected the passage without any suffering, but for the timely presence of the *Megna* Gun-boat, whose well directed guns caused no small loss among the fugitives, and above all inflicted on Koour Singh that wound which speedily ridded us of the only foeman worthy of our steel, and deprived the enemy of the only leader who has displayed throughout the rebellion either skill or courage.

The sepoys were safe away in the jungles of Jugdeespoor. But they had left a wide wake behind. Eastern Ghazeepoor was up. Far from the Sudder station, unpierced by roads, bounded by two great rivers, by crossing either of which the fugitives would be in another province, and under another law, that district seemed marked out for an Alsatia. But a few years back at one time twenty proclaimed offenders were living openly in a single village. From another, did any evil chance lead thither any servant of Government, he thought himself happy to escape with a broken head. Did fickle fate at length give up any inhabitant of a third to the strong grasp of the law, he might with perfect truth write in the first line of his defence that river dacoitee was the trade whereby he earned his daily bread. Why such a country had not risen before, is one of the most perplexing and not least interesting problems the mutiny has left us to solve. There too were the homes of many sepoys who had fled back to their hearths with halters round their necks. These men served as rallying points and leaders to their neighbours and clansmen. Still the gathering at Jugdeespoor for the time relieved Ghazeepoor, and the rebellion was a passive rather than an active one. In the middle of May, Mr. Probyn succeeded in persuading Colonel Cumberlege to

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advance on the village of Burragaon without waiting for a siege train. It was found empty, and the victorious General, having destroyed the houses of those who had been chiefs in the revolt, marched back to Ghazeepoor.

Azimgurh, meanwhile, continued much disturbed. Seriously threatened, as it was time after time, from Tanda; conterminous to a very large extent with Goruckpoor, which contained more rebels than faithful subjects; traversed night after night by larger or smaller parties of sepoys flying from Oudh to their new rallying point in Shahabad; that the district should remain peaceful or in good order, was not to be expected. Twice did Purgun Singh successfully attack the Thannah of Maharajgunge, and it was only after a long and hard fight that he retired from the Tehseeldaree of Koelsa. But matters were still worse when the sepoys, driven from their refuge at Jugdeespoor, were flying back to their old haunts in Oudh. A fourth plundering of Maharajgunge, a third attack on the Tehseeldaree of Koelsa, and the murder of the Thannahdar of Bhurowlie, are hardly events we should expect to see recorded as having happened in so central a district twelve months after the mutiny broke out, and four months after the great focus of disaffection had fallen again into our hands.

Ghazeepoor faired much worse. Azimgurh was but a district to fly through; Ghazeepoor a district to plunder. Every building south of the Ganges, which belonged either to Government or to any European, was plundered and burnt; every person who had served either was tortured and murdered. Then they crossed to the northern bank, and the Tehseeldaree of Sydpoor on the Benares road was soon the only post unabandoned and undestroyed. Colonel Cumberlege and his force were unable to offer any effectual check. A threatened attack on Sydpoor in the end of June was prevented by a force sent from Benares, and the rebels driven northward. Still little was gained by a momentary dispersal of the mutineers. The sepoys themselves were residents of the district; wherever they went they found followers ready to their hand, who disappeared again the moment their leaders moved away. The cruelties inflicted on the police who fell into the hands of the rebels had thoroughly cowed a body never overbrave. In short, no language can describe too strongly the utter disorganization of the whole district at the end of June.

Early in July Mr. Bax the Magistrate marched out to Bulliah. The rebels had broken down a bridge on the road, but did not venture to contest the advance. Bulliah too was found empty, and Mr. Probyn was left there with a garrison of Sikhs; soon dividing his troops he marched towards the confluence of the Ganges and Gogra. The rebels, coming down in great force, besieged the little party at Bhyreeah; but finding themselves no nearer success after a siege of several days had marched off to surprise Bulliah, when Brigadier Douglas's advance raised the siege and drove the rebels northward. And as Major Havelock's rapid advance drove the rebels for a time out of the zillah, the Cis-gangetic pergunnahs gradually settled down; but on the southern bank the Tehseeldaree of Zamaniah was the only post left in our hands. Meanwhile (*i. e.* up to August 14th) Azimgurh was tolerably tranquil. Purgun Singh still kept hovering about the northern portion frontier, and when the Sikhs marched from Nugra to raise the siege of Bhyreah, the Tehseeldaree of Koilsa was again abandoned. A week later, a party of rebels marched to Nugra, and threatened the peace of Ghazeepoor. Finding themselves powerless, they doubled back to Ghosee, and fled into Goruckpoor (the only path left open to them) just as the remnants of Sidha Singh's party managed to escape observation and fly into Shahabad.

Henceforth the history of Azimgurh is perfectly eventless. The northern fronter, constantly threatened, was never actually crossed, and the advance of Colonel Kelly, in the middle of October, relieved it even from the apprehension of danger. Nor is the history of Ghazeepoor much more interesting. Bulliah still unsettled; the Trans-gangetic pergunnahs still in revolt; the steamer *Benares* doing good service; is the sum of every weekly report up

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to the middle of October: but before the end of the months, a strong party was posted at Burragaon, and the enemy driven from Ghazeepoor.

The Jounpoor supplement is brief and simple enough. Some large parties of rebels (under Gholam Hussun and Mehndee Hussun), who collected in the northern and western parts of the district after the fall of Lucknow, were attacked and dispersed by Sir E. Lugard. A raid made by Joorhye Singh in May on the Muchleeshuhur and Mirzapoor districts, was defeated by combined movements made against him from all sides, the people of Muchleeshuhur themselves defending their houses till he fled. There is no more to tell. The bands of robbers collected by Dirgpal Singh, near Badshahpoor, are not worthy of the name of rebels; and that leader himself, like Sungram Singh, his Murreeahoo brother in arms, though terrible enough to the unresisting peasantry, and troublesome enough from perpetually re-appearing, evinced no wish to face even a Thannahdar.

At last my work is done. The brief time allowed me permits no corrections or improvements: the paper must go forth as it sprang first from the pen. Had I had more time, my tale, though not more polished, had surely been more terse.

R. TAYLOR,

*Offg. Joint Magistrate, Jounpoor.*

CAMP GHISWA:
*The 19th November* 1858.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# GORUCKPORE,

IN 1857-58.

No. 196 of 1858.

FROM

THE COMMISSIONER OF GORUCKPORE,

To

WILLIAM MUIR, Esq.,

*Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

DATED GORUCKPORE, THE 5TH JULY 1858

SIR,

I HAVE the honor to forward the Narrative of the Outbreak of Disturbances in this district as called for in your Circular No. 212.

2. It has been compiled from an official Narrative or rather Journal by the former Magistrate, Mr. Paterson, kept up to the 30th June 1857, from a memorandum of events extending over the same period drawn up at the time by Mr. Wynyard, the Judge, and from a history of events subsequent to the above date, furnished by the present Officiating Collector, Mr. Bird, and from what my personal knowledge has enabled me to add. These authorities have been much abridged by me, for many circumstances, which had importance at the time possess too little interest now to deserve to be placed on record.

3. The Chief European Civil and Military authorities at Goruckpore, when the mutinies began at Meerut and Delhie were:

Mr. W. Wynyard, Judge.
Mr. W. Paterson, Magistrate.
Mr. F. Bird, Joint Magistrate.

Captain Steel, Commanding detachment 17th N. I. The troops consisted of Companies 17th N. I. Resalas 12th Irregular Cavalry.

4. Mr. Wynyard early assumed the powers of a Commissioner, that the Magistrate might be enabled to act with promptitude, and this proceeding on his part was approved by the Commissioner Mr. Tucker.

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5. It appears that up to the 25th May, the district remained tranquil, and the only cause of anxiety arose from the conduct of the 17th N. I. at Azimgurh, of which corps many men had refused to take the old cartridge. The authorities of this station being desirous of getting rid of as many of the Sepoys as possible, decided on sending off the surplus treasure (that was already under orders for remittance,) with an escort of 125 men of the 17th N. I. to Azimgurh. It left on the 29th and reached safely.

6. By the end of the month several precautionary measures had been taken. The Jail guard and district police were strengthened, and the Government proclamations on the mutinies were widely distributed.

7. At this time the ill-affected and turbulent began to commit acts of violence. The zemindars of the notorious village of Pynah plundered boats on the Gogra, and the Nurhurpore Rajah's followers drove the police from the Burhul Ghat station, and liberated a gang of 50 prisoners working there. They also took possession of the Ferry, and stopped the Azimgurh post.

8. On the 5th arrived the news of the head quarters 17th N. I. having mutinied at Azimgurh, seized the treasure, and burnt the station. The Civil and Military authorities immediately assembled and harangued the troops at this station. Those who wished it were offered their discharge, but all refused, and expressed their readiness to die for the Government.

9. From this date to the 15th all communication ceased with Benares and the North Western Provinces.

10. On the 7th the convicts made a desperate effort to break out of Jail, but were repulsed by a volley from the Jail guard, which dropped 20 of them.

11. On the 8th a decided attempt was made by the Infantry to seize the treasure. The Soobadar of the treasury guard, on pretence of being afraid of the zemindaree levies, called out for the protection of the station sent, without intimation, to Captain Steel, to the lines, for a reinforcement. The Sepoys got under arms, their drums beating the advance, when Mr. Wynyard, who had been forewarned, arrived on the scene with the Irregular Cavalry, whose firm attitude overawed the Sepoys, and made them abandon their design.

12. On the 9th a cunningly devised scheme was frustrated. The Soobadar of the treasury guard denounced a Mohurrir of the Judge's Court as having proposed to him to release the prisoners. But the authorities saw this was a device to enable the Mohurrir to get access to the prisoners and arrange another outbreak, which, aided by the Sepoys, should be more successful than the last. He reckoned on being sent to Jail, and as certainly on a speedy release; but he was disappointed, for he was confined in a separate building. The authorities, however, did not feel strong enough then to dispose of him as he deserved. I have never doubted the denunciation of spies, which, with the Sepoys in Oudh, invariably preceded breaking out into mutiny, was a device to throw dust in our eyes, which too often succeeded.

13. On the 10th six European officers, who had escaped from Fyzabad, were inhumanly murdered by the Mahomedan population of Mahooa Daber, a village in the Nuggur pergunnah: the village was subsequently burnt to the ground by Mr. Peppe, Deputy Magistrate, and a party of the 13th Irregular Cavalry; at the same time Colonel Lennox and family, fugitives from the same place, were sheltered, and probably saved from destruction, by Mahomed Hussun, the same who afterwards set himself up as ruler of this district. Two Patrols near Amorha were also saved by Mirza Ali Hussun, who has since gone into open rebellion against us.

14. A small detachment of the 17th Native Infantry at Bustee plundered the Opium treasury there, and went off without injuring the European residents.

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15. About this time it was in contemplation to send Mr. Bird, Joint Magistrate, to recover the Azimghur, which was represented to be perfectly free from disturbances, and the population anxious for the return of the British officers, but the plan was dropped, owing to increasing disorder in this district.

16. On the 19th Captain Boileau and four other officers, who had escaped from Gonda and Secrora, in Oudh, and passed a few days at Bansee, arrived at Goruckpore, and next day proceeded to Ghazeepore with the ladies of this station, under an escort of sowars and matchlockmen furnished by the Bansee Rajah.

17. About this time Martial law was proclaimed throughout the district, and several European gentlemen engaged in commerce were made Deputy Magistrates: two Police battalions of 360 men each were ordered to be raised. On the 30th 200 Goorkhas from Palpa, in the Nepaul Teraee, arrived at the station.

18. The northern and western pergunnahs were at this time utterly disorganised. The Gautum Rajpoots, under the instigation, and some times under the personal command of the Rajah of Nuggur, everywhere rose and dispossessed the present proprietors of all the lands tradition assigned to their race. Most of the Amorha zemindars openly defied the Government officials, and proclaimed that our rule had given place to the "Nawabee;" while the Rajpoots of Pynah and the neighbouring villages, by their piracies, closed the navigation of the Gogra. At the same time it was known that frequent meetings were being held by the Rajahs of Nurhurpore, Nuggur, Suttassee, and the Baboos of Pandepar and others, in which it had been decided to obtain assistance from Oudh.

19. On the 26th news reached of the murder of Major Holmes, by men of his Regiment at Segowlee, and fearful of the effect this might have on the men of that corps here, Colonel Wroughton, who was within three marches of the station with six Regiments of Goorkhas, was requested to send one Regiment on by forced march, which he did at once.

20. On the 29th he entered the station with the remaining Regiments, and it was at once decided to disarm the remnant of the 17th Native Infantry, which was quietly effected on the 1st August. The Senior Ressaldar of the 12th Irregulars, Mahomed Bux, who had accompanied Captain Wroughton from Segowlee, undertook, with the men on whom he could rely, mostly Punjaubbee Mussulmán, to disarm the suspected portion of his corps, deprecating the interference of the Goorkhas. He was allowed to have his way, and but for an unforeseen accident would have succeeded. Fifty men rode off on their horses, but were pursued by the loyal portion under the Ressaldar and Adjutant, who killed eight, besides wounding more, the heavy jungle that lies close to the station alone saved the mutineers from severer loss. The conduct of the Ressaldar was beyond all praise.

21. The troops from Segowlee, after murdering Major Holmes, marched by Seleimpoor, where they plundered and burnt the house of the Opium Agent, and attempted to carry off the treasure, but were prevented by the guard of fourteen men of the 17th Native Infantry, who brought it into the station.

22. Notwithstanding the arrival of the Goorkha troops, disorder spread rapidly through the district. On the 10th the Tehseel of Khuleelabad was plundered by rebels of this district, assisted by a party from Oudh, and on the same day the Baboo of Bukra expelled the Police from that Thanna, a crime which he has since expiated on the gallows. The Tehseel of Captaingunge similarly fell on the 12th into the hands of the rebels, among whom, Mahomed Hussun, made his appearance for the first time. On this occasion forty troopers of the 12th Irregular Cavalry, who had been sent for the protection of the Tehseel, went over to the rebels.

23. The Goorkha officers were most averse to detaching any portion of their troops into the interior of the district, and pleaded the necessity for

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giving them repose after their long and harassing march, generally ancle deep in mud and water from Segowlee. And in truth their sufferings had been great. Cholera, of which 150 died, having accompanied their camp the whole way, and great numbers besides being prostrated with fever. The Commander publicly stated that his force was reduced to the strength of four effective Regiments.

24. The insurgents in the district and from Oudh were well aware of this state of things, and therefore the presence of so considerable a body of troops at the Sudder station failed to check them at all. Besides they stood in no great awe of the Goorkhas.

25. The reasons that led the Civil authorities to decide on evacuating the district have been given at length. It will be sufficient to say, that they declined to remain with less than four Regiments, and the instructions of the officer in political charge of these troops did not warrant his leaving more than two.

26. The Europeans residing in the interior having been previously summoned into the station, the entire Goorkha force marched out on the 13th, taking the treasure six lacs with it, and encamped on the road to Azimghur; all the European and some Native officials accompanying.

27. By a resolution come to on that day, the management of the district was entrusted to a Committee of five Rajahs, noted in the margin, of whom the Rajah of Gopalpore alone attended in person. Mr. Bird, the Joint Magistrate, however remained behind, hoping by the aid of the well affected zemindars to preserve the district for Government, which every one foresaw was a vain hope.

Rajah of Suttassee,
ditto Gopalpore,
ditto Suleimpore,
ditto Tumkhoe,
ditto Bansee.

28. The prisoners were liberated from Jail on the 15th, agreeable to a previous resolution of the authorities. On the same day the Tehseel of Munsoorgunge was plundered by a party of rebels, and several Thannas fell at the same time.

29. The insurgents under command of Mahomed Hussun, followed the Goorkha army on the road to Azimghur, and at daybreak on the 18th, attacked it while encamped at Gugha, about 10 miles from the Gogra. The Goorkhas as soon as they could be formed up charged the enemy, and soon put them to flight, with a loss of at least 200 killed. Mohumed Hussun's palanquin was captured on this occasion.

30. After this the Goorkha army continued its march unmolested, and on the 22nd had crossed the Gogra into Azimghur.

31. Mr. Bird soon found how little dependence was to be placed on the men whom he had most relied on to support him, for of the whole Toman or Jail guard, a disciplined body of 150 men, only 17 would accompany him to break down a bridge of boats two miles from the station, over a branch of the Raptee, by which the rebels must cross.

32. The helplessness of the Rajah of Gopalpore soon became apparent also. He first attempted to enlist his relatives of the Nuggur family on the side of order, but failing, and meeting with no support in any quarter, left the station for his residence at Gopalpore. He wished to take the treasure and Mr. Bird with him, but both these propositions were rejected by Mr. Bird, unwisely, as I think, for it was plain he could not hold out many days, and it was the only way of saving the treasure from falling into the hands of the rebels. I dwell the more on this point, because I have always blamed the Rajah for not taking away the treasure to Gopalpore, and thus preserving it for the Government. But now Mr. Bird has openly stated in his narrative that he alone prevented this being done.

33. It must be observed that none of the other members of the committee of Rajahs repaired to the station or entered upon the duties entrusted

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to them. The Committee in short never had practical effect. The Rajah of Suttassee has since proved an active rebel, and was then known to be deep in rebel counsels, but it was thought safer to admit him than to exclude him.

34. After the departure of the Rajah of Gopalpore, Mr. Bird did not long enjoy even the semblance of authority. The leading rebels at Goruckpore insulted him with offers of protection, and of their good offices with Mahomed Hussun, while the Nuggur Rajah's uncle placed a guard over his house. On the 20th Mahomed Hussun arrived at the other bank of the Raptee, opposite the city, and was welcomed by the Agent of the Rajah of Suttassee and the leading Mahomedan inhabitants. The Jail guard also joined him in a body. Mr. Bird saw it was time to consult his own safety, and on the same day retired into the forest to a distance of five miles. On the following day Mahomed Hussun made his public entry into the station.

35. Mr. Bird remained in his retreat the whole of the 22nd, when receiving information that Mahomed Hussun had set a reward of 5,000 Rupees on his head, he set out for Mootiharee, which he reached in safety.

36. The first act of Mahomed Hussun after his assumption of power was to order all Government employées to enter his services on pain of punishment. None of the Deputy Collectors and only one Tehseeldar obeyed, but several Thannadars accepted him as their master. He maintained the existing fiscal and criminal jurisdictions to the great disgust of many of his partizans among the landholders, who objected that Thannadars were unknown under the "Nawabee" as the district had become. The decrees of the Civil Court were even executed on payment of half the amount adjudged.

37. The records were preserved, though his disorderly soldiery stripped off the cloth bundles and bindings of books for their own uses. From these documents, and the Canongoes who mostly joined him, he obtained full information of the demand due from each landholder.

38. The great proprietors who early made their submission to him in person received dresses of honor, salutes of guns, and were permitted to exercise full Civil and Criminal authority within the limits of their respective estates, or what they claimed as such for obsolete titles, were revived. In return they furnished contingents to his Army. The chief among these were the Rajahs of Suttassee, Nuggur, Nurhurpore, Burhyapore, Nichloul, Shahpore, the Baboos of Tigra, Pandepar, Rhudowlee. The wealthy Mahomedan families of the town naturally were among the first to welcome him, and from them his officials were mostly selected. There was a Judge, a Collector, and Naib Nazim, Mooshurruf Khan, who perhaps enjoyed more real power than Mahomed Hussun himself.

39. Most of the Bungalows were set on fire, but none of the masonry houses were injured, except the one occupied by Mr. Bird, which was destroyed by particular orders. Mahomed Hussun seems to have at first thought his power permanently established: at least he never imagined it would be disturbed by us.

40. Large sums of money were extorted by violence or threats of it from the Merchants and Bankers of the city, and the female members of many families were dishonored by his lawless and licentious soldiery. In the district those who had lost their estates through the Agency of the Civil Courts, now ousted the purchasers and re-entered on possession: great search was also made for deeds and decrees. The strong preyed everywhere on the weak.

41. The Rajah of Gopalpore beat off a party of the rebel troops sent to demand revenue from him, but an overpowering force being despatched against him, he was compelled to abandon his home and seek shelter in Azimgurh, where he remained from October up to the re-occupation of the district.

42. The Rajah of Bansee also refused to recognise the so-called Nazim's authority, or give up the Government treasure at the Tehseel, and on one occasion defeated a large rebel force sent to coerce him; but on still more formidable preparations being made to subdue him, and discouraged by the

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fate of the Rajah of Gopalpore, he felt constrained to submit and receive a rebel Tehseeldar at Bansee. The Ranee of Bustee held fast by her allegiance, and would not allow the rebel Thannadar to enter her town. But being a woman and neice of Koor Singh, great latitude was permitted her.

43. The Rajah of Tumkhoe, who also remained loyal, was too remote to attract immediate attention; but the Rajah of Mujhowlee or Suleimpore, at the south eastern extremity of the district, would most assuredly have succumbed before Hurkishun Singh, brother of Koor Singh, who with 500 sepoys and other rabble had entered the district at Fyzabad, and advanced close to Suleimpore, with the view probably of ultimately making his way to Arrah, but that he was saved by the arrival of the Saran Field Force under Colonel Rowcroft, at Myrwa.

44. This Force defeated Hurkishun Sing, who had been reinforced by a large body of Sepoys and Irregulars under Mooshurruf Khan from Goruckpore, and advanced towards Burhul. Simultaneously the Goorkha army under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor crossed the Gunduk at Peepra, and moved on Goruckpore. There was a slight skirmish with the rebels on the banks of that river, another at Pipraich, 15 miles from the station, which was occupied by the Goorkha army on the 6th.

45. The rebels attempted to make a stand in the forest, but were soon driven from their position, and being quickly followed up through the town of Goruckpore, many perished in attempting to cross the Raptee. Mahomed Hussun and his principal officers fled early in the morning, and made such speed, that by the evening they were across the Gogra at Tandah.

46. With reference to the 7th para. of the Government Circular, I can but say that Mr. Bird does not bring a single native officer to notice. He would, however, I am sure, name the Nazir who served the Government with zeal and devotion, and whom I have recommended for reward. With this exception, I know of no one whose conduct calls for commendation. Most of the native officials, though they refused office under the rebel Government, continued to reside in the district. But one Tehseeldar and one Native Judge have been reinstated in their situations.

47. I have in reply to another Circular dwelt on the loyalty and services of the Rajahs of Bansee and Gopalpore, and the Ranee of Bustee, and recommended them for rewards, which in the case of the first named Rajah have been liberally accorded.

48. I should perhaps have mentioned earlier that the Rajah of Gopalpore endeavoured to form a league of loyal Rajahs against Mahomed Hussun, but the scheme failed, from the apathy or timidity of most of them. Also that he gave shelter and assistance to several ladies and gentlemen escaping from Fyzabad. I know of no other similar instances except the two noticed in my para. 13, which there is no use reverting to now.

49. The Rajah of Tumkhoe protected Government servants, and now makes loud boasts of his loyalty and resistance to the rebel Government, on which subject he would do more wisely to be silent, for though he never went in person, I can prove he sent his Agent with a petition to the usurper.

50. The Rajah of Mujhowlee did throughout refuse to recognise the rebel authority, and also protected Government servants, but his failure to attend as a member of the Committee of Rajahs, to whom the district was made over, and to co-operate with the Rajah of Gopalpore in his scheme of expelling Mahomed Hussun, shew that his loyalty was not sufficiently strong to induce him to run any risks.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
C. WINGFIELD,
*Commissioner.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES,

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE

# AJMERE DISTRICT,

IN 1858.

## PART I.

No. 149 of 1858.

FROM

BRIGADIER GENERAL G. ST. P. LAWRENCE,
*Offg. Commissioner, Neemuch and Ajmere,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to Government,*
*North Western Provinces.*

DATED CAMP AJMERE, THE 30TH DECEMBER 1858.

SIR,

In furnishing the narrative called for in circular letter No. 212, of 30th April last, and adverted to again in your letter No. 971, of 28th October, I would beg to bring to the notice of the Government North Western Provinces, that I have already detailed at length the progress of events attending, and subsequent to, the late outbreak throughout Rajpootanah, including those of Ajmere and Neemuch, for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council. As it would however appear that another such record, as far as relates to Ajmere and Neemuch, is also required, I have to express my regret, that under a mistaken notion that it was simply for the information of the Supreme Government, I did not forward to you a report on those districts at the same time I transmitted the narrative adverted to.

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2. Previous to the mutiny, the troops at Nusseerabad consisted of No. 6 Native Horse Field Battery, the 15th and 30th Bengal N. I., and the 1st Bombay Cavalry (Lancers) at Neemuch, the 4th troop 1st brigade Bengal Native Horse Artillery, a wing of the 1st Bengal Cavalry, 72nd Bengal N. I., and the 7th Infantry Gwalior Contingent.

3. On receipt of the first intelligence of the outbreak at Meerut and Dehli, deeming that from the heinous atrocities there committed, no confidence could be placed in the Bengal sepoys, I made a requisition on Deesa and Bombay for troops. The period following was one of deep anxiety, as it was known the Nusseerabad troops were ripe for revolt.

4. I will first proceed to detail events as they occurred in the Ajmere district, occasionally extracting or condensing from the general report. I should here intimate that I myself left Aboo on 1st June, arrived at Beawr on 5th, and there received a letter from the Lieutenant Governor North Western Provinces, appointing me to command the troops in Rajpootanah, with the rank of Brigadier General, in addition to my own duties. I there found Colonel Dixon, Commissioner of Ajmere, in a dying state; and on his death, on 25th June, took upon myself the assumption of his duties also.

5. The mutiny at Nusseerabad commenced at 4 P. M. on the 28th May, by the Artillery and Infantry seizing the guns. The Cavalry, (1st Regiment Bombay Lancers,) whose conduct during the previous trying and arduous three weeks had been worthy of the highest praise, and had fully proved that, as a body, they did not sympathize with the mutineers, received orders to charge the guns. This they did, with the loss of two Officers killed, and two wounded. The charge being without effect, Brigadier Macan discreetly retired with all the Europeans, under cover of the Lancers, to Beawr. Colonel Penny, commanding that corps, died on the road from excitement and exhaustion.

6. After destroying the cantonments, the mutineers, the next day, took the road to Dehli, whence, it is supposed, they had received an urgent summons. The knowledge of the approaching Deesa field force* probably hastened their departure, and it may have precipitated the mutiny;—it certainly prevented an attack on Ajmere.

* 4 Guns European H. A.
1 Squadron Bombay N.Cy.
250 European Infantry.
200 N. I. Bombay.

7. In the meantime, information of the outbreak reached Ajmere on the night of the 28th May. Immediately on receipt of this intelligence, Lieutenant Walter, Assistant Commissioner, with great promptitude, despatched a messenger, calling on a large body of Marwar troops stationed at Allianawas, about 24 miles from Ajmere, to resort there for its protection,—at the same time making a similar call on the Rajah of Kishengurh. Both requisitions were promptly responded to, and, on the 29th, troops from those places arrived,—all precautions, as far as possible, having been taken for the protection of the Arsenal and Treasury.

8. The rebels were pursued by a force of 1,000 of the Marwar troops, with Lieutenant Walter, Assistant Commissioner of Ajmere, and Lieutenant Heathcote, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General. They could never however be induced by those Officers to attack the mutineers, which is perhaps hardly to be wondered at, when we consider that one was a disciplined body, with guns, and the other but indifferently equipped, without guns, and also wanting the confidence which discipline inspires.

9. I should not omit to mention, that previous to the outbreak, the (at any rate) temporary safety of the Arsenal and Treasury at Ajmere had been

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secured through the tact and energy of Lieutenant Carnell, then 2nd in command of the Mhairwarah Local Battalion, who, being detached by Colonel Dixon with 100 men, made a forced march of 37 miles from Beawr to Ajmere, and with the assistance of a company of the Mhairs at Ajmere, relieved the company of the 15th Regiment N. I. on duty, before it had time to communicate with its disaffected brethren at Nusseerabad;—this very company afterwards taking the most prominent part in the mutiny.

10. After the departure of the mutineers, the Bombay Lancers returned to Nusseerabad, subsequently followed by the detachment sent from Deesa. For a short time it naturally resulted that the villages contiguous to Nusseerabad, obeying their instincts, and natural love for plunder, took advantage of the general license generated by mutiny, and committed depredations in the station and bazar. Order was however speedily restored, and since then the entire district has continued undisturbed; nor otherwise affected by the momentous crisis through which the country was then passing,—all has proceeded in the even tenor of its way. The Thakoors generally behaved exceedingly well, and were profuse in their expressions of attachment and wishes, that the mutinous soldiery might speedily be punished.

11. I have much pleasure in recording the good conduct of the Mhair and Mhairat population of the Ajmere and Mhairwarah districts, who, attributing the origin of their prosperity to the British Raj, acted up to their professions of loyalty, and were steadfast throughout. This I deem in a great measure owing to the very judicious exercise of his almost absolute power, by the late Colonel Dixon, which, endearing him to these wild tribes, was so important an agent in securing their affection and good wishes. I took upon myself to raise a second corps from among them, which has since been sanctioned by Government. To the fidelity of these soldiers is mainly attributable the preservation of Ajmere as reported; the loss of which, viewed as it is in so holy a light by both Mahomedan and Hindoo, and as the capital of Rajpootanah, would have been a great shock throughout Rajpootanah, possibly affecting the fidelity of its Princes.

12. On the 12th June the 1st detachment of troops from Deesa arrived at Nusseerabad, from which I detached 100 of the 83rd to Ajmere.

13. From June 1857 to January 1858 I resided alternately between Ajmere, Beawr and Nusseerabad, continually visiting the city of Ajmere, and never ceasing to hold open cutcherry.

14. On the 9th August about 50 prisoners escaped from the Ajmere Jail. During this outbreak the city remained quiet, and many of the fugitives were cut down by some of the civil mounted police,—many of the principal Mahomedans not only offering me assistance, but accompanying me in pursuit.

15. The great Mahomedan festival of the "Mohurrum," and Hindoo "Jooj Joolla," both falling on the same day, passed off without any disturbances or collision between the sects. I was myself, in my several visits during the day and night, invariably received with marked respect.

16. On the 10th July I despatched to Neemuch the small force as per margin.*

* 100 H. M.'s 83rd.
200 12th Bombay N. I.
1 Squadron 2nd Light Cavalry.
2 Guns from Ajmere Magazine.

17. At Nusseerabad, on the 10th August, symptoms of disaffection appeared among some of the Hindoostanees of the 12th Native Infantry; the detachment

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was promptly disarmed. A trooper of the 1st Lancers, unable to excite the men of his own Regiment to mutiny, fled to the lines of the 12th, who refused either to give him up, or march to the rendezvous. The trooper was cut down, and on the 25th, five of the 12th were hanged, and 25 deserted. The Hindoostanee soldiers were discharged, and subsequently their arms restored to the rest. Their conduct has since been unexceptional, both in the field and quarters. This is the last occurrence to be noted as taking place at Nusseerabad, which has since been garrisoned in strength.

18. I will therefore now enumerate the events as they occurred at Neemuch. Here, as elsewhere, great anxiety had been prevalent, as the state of the troops was such as to excite serious apprehensions. All practicable measures had however been taken by Colonel Abbott, Commanding, and Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent of Neemuch; and when, on the night of the 3rd June, the troops broke out into open mutiny, the safety of the Europeans was generally secured, all with the exception of the wife and children of Sergeant Tupple, of the Artillery, managing to effect their escape to Oodipoor and Jawud, near which latter place was the camp of the Political Agent, Harowtee. The station was burnt, and the Brigade, after releasing the prisoners from the Jail and plundering the treasuries, marched on the 5th in order viâ Deolee and Agra for Dehli, the former station being plundered and burnt on their way; from that station, a day or two previously, I had most fortunately removed the families of the Officers and Sergeants, the Kotah Contingent having previously marched to Agra. On the day following the departure of the mutinous troops from Neemuch, Captain Lloyd and his Assistant, Lieutenant Ritchie, returned and re-established the Civil Government, restoring confidence throughout the district.

19. On the 6th, the Harowtee Agent marched into Neemuch with an Irregular force from the Harowtee States, consisting of 2 guns, 15 camel swivel guns, 375 Cavalry, and 725 Infantry: this force remained till relieved on the 18th July by that despatched from Nusseerabad by me on the 10th idem.

20. Captain Showers, Political Agent, Meywar, accompanied by some British Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers, with an Irregular force of Meywar troops, followed the rebels as far as Jehazpoor, but without being able to induce the Meywar force to attack.

21. Until the 12th August affairs remained pretty well in *statu quo*. On the night of that date, however, Colonel Jackson called out the Europeans, believing, from information received, that the Native troops purposed mutinying, although doubtless there was a little disaffection proved by the desertion of several. It had been magnified, and the only consequences were, a European soldier shot by his comrade, and an Officer, Lieutenant Blair, wounded in the ill-managed affair which ensued.

22. On the 18th September, by advice of Captain Showers, Colonel Jackson marched the greater part of the Neemuch force against Neembaheera of Tonk, which most impolitic move, disgraceful as uncalled-for, resulted in our occupying the town, finding it evacuated, having previously failed in an attempt to batter it with light guns. Our loss on this occasion was a Corporal, 83rd, killed; 2 Officers wounded, and 16 Natives killed and wounded.

23. The conduct of Colonel Jackson on the occasion necessitated his retirement from the service.

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24. From this period the Mundisore rebels were continually threatening an attack on our small force at Neemuch, and in October actually did seize on Jeerun, a town of the Neemuch district, ten miles from cantonments, which, for the sake of our prestige, it was determined to retake.

25. Consequently on the 23rd October, a force as per margin* moved against it. Captain Trucker had been sent in advance to reconnoitre, and unfortunately lost his life in rashly charging a greatly superior force. Some other Officers and men were killed and wounded as per margin†, and we were for the time unsuccessful in obtaining possession of the town; it was however evacuated during the night, and our authority re-established.

* 2nd Bombay Cavalry.
6 Officers, 120 Rank and File 83rd Regt.

2 ditto 50 Rank and File, and a detachment of 12th N.I.
Two 9-pr. guns and a mortar.

† *Killed.*

Captain Tucker, 2nd Lt. Cavalry.
Capt. Reid, H. M.'s 83rd.
1 Trooper 2nd Lt. Cavy.

*Wounded.*

Capt. Simpson, 2nd L. C.
Lieut. Blair, Do.
Lieut. Legyt.
Capt. Laurie, Line Adjt.
Capt. Soppitt, 12th N. I.
2 Troopers 2nd L. C.
2 Privates H. M.'s 83rd.
7 Privates 12th Regt. N. I.

26. On the 8th November, this was followed by a demonstration by the enemy in far greater force, some 4,000 of the Mundisore rebels, who had gained considerable accessions of strength, marched with two or three guns against Neemuch: our small force there was consequently obliged to abandon the station to its fate, and seek refuge in the fortified square which had been prepared by laying in of supplies, &c. for any such emergency; the Cavalry portion, for whom there was no accommodation, retiring to the district.

27. All the buildings in the station that had escaped the mutineers were now destroyed, and this hitherto pretty station became a blackened ruin.

28. A line of intrenchments had been constructed round the fort by Captain Showers, which proved of exceeding use to the besiegers, affording them excellent cover for their matchlock-men; their guns however were always quickly silenced by the fire from the fort. On the early morning of the 21st, the rebels attempted an escalade, but were repulsed on this occasion; a standard, which had been dropped, was captured by a havildar and sepoy under heavy fire of the 12th N. I., let down over the walls by ropes for the purpose.

29. After fifteen days the intelligence of the approach of the Mhow column on Mundisore induced the rebels to raise the siege.

30. Our casualties throughout were but a few wounded, as we very properly remained entirely on the defensive. The energy and pluck of all was well exemplified, and to those with whom the responsibility rested, but little notice has been granted, especially to Captain Lloyd, who, owing to the sickness from wounds of Captains Simpson and Laurie, was acting as Commandant.

31. On the retirement of the enemy order was re-established, which has continued up to the date of the order calling for this report.

32. I believe I have complied, in this epitome of events, with the requisitions of the Circular letter No. 212, with the exception of para. 7; but as all names of either our own Officers who have been of particular service, or those natives who have been instrumental in assisting the escape of Europeans, or otherwise shewn their loyalty and deemed deserving of reward, have already been brought to the notice of the Supreme Government, I deem it is needless here to trouble Government North Western Provinces with a specific catalogue, judging as he can of the individual merits of each from this brief record.

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33. With regard to the late Mutiny on the confines of our district I purpose making a separate report, when I am in possession of the full particulars, for the purpose of enquiring into which Lieutenant Walter, one of my Assistants, was lately deputed.

34. Although attributable, to a certain extent, to the relaxation of our power to punish, and to the unsettled state of the minds of the people, owing to the late irruption into Rajpootanah of the Gwalior rebels, still I opine that they are entirely distinct from the great mutinous movement, and are merely the natural effect, among a wild and predatory race, of general disorder, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country to indulge their love of plundering.

I have, &c.

GEO. ST. P. LAWRENCE,

*Officiating Commissioner.*

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE:
CAMP AJMERE,
*The 30th December* 1858.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES,

AND THE

# RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE

# NEEMUCH DISTRICT,

IN 1858.

## PART II.

No. 321 of 1858.

From

CAPTAIN J. B. DENNYS,
*Superintendent Neemuch,*

To

Brigadier-General G. St. P. LAWRENCE,
*Commissioner, Neemuch, Mount Aboo.*

DATED NEEMUCH, THE 31st AUGUST 1858.

Sir,

To comply with the call made upon me by the enclosure contained in your letter No. 92, of 13th instant, I conceive that an epitome of the leading events in the Neemuch station and district is all that is required from me.

2. In reference to para. 3 of Circular Order No. 212, of 30th April 1858, you are aware that my predecessor, to whom this remark would otherwise apply, is absent in England; and it must therefore rest with me to furnish you with the information required, which I feel might with much greater advantage have been derived from him.

3. Although in my opinion what has been termed "The Chupattee movement," or the distribution of wheaten cakes, may or may not have had aught to say to the terrible crisis it preceded, I conceive that its existence in this district should not be silently passed over. I find amongst the few records of this office left me, that on the 27th March 1857, Captain Lloyd reported to you, in his letter No. 43, that the sending of cakes had prevailed in this district for a month or six weeks past. I copy in extenso the remaining paras. of Captain Lloyd's letter.—

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33. With regard to the late Meena raids on the confines of our district I purpose making a separate report, when I am in possession of the full particulars, for the purpose of enquiring into which Lieutenant Walter, one of my Assistants, was lately deputed.

34. Although attributable, to a certain extent, to the relaxation of our power to punish, and to the unsettled state of the minds of the people, owing to the late irruption into Rajpootanah of the Gwalior rebels, still I opine that they are entirely distinct from the great mutinous movement, and are merely the natural effect, among a wild and predatory race, of general disorder, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country to indulge their love of plundering.

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"2nd. I have been as yet unable to trace where the practice first commenced in the district, but it is believed to have come from the south and east. In the southern part of the district the cakes travelled from the south in a northern direction; and in northern pergunnahs they seem to have gone chiefly from east to west."

"3rd. The origin of the matter is here, as elsewhere, completely a matter of conjecture; but the general belief is, that it has arisen in a superstitious idea of allaying or preventing the ravages of disease, such as the cholera, by a general distribution of cakes."

"4th. I have been informed that when the cholera visited this district in 1854, similar cakes were sent about for feeding the village dogs."

"5th. There is no attempt to deny or conceal the fact, and apparently it has excited very little notice or wonder."

4. On the 20th of March 1857, Captain Walker's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery relieved the Bombay Artillery Battery at Neemuch; and on the 3rd May 1857, the 72nd Bengal Native Infantry replaced the 21st Regiment Bombay Native Infantry at this station.

5. The events which occurred at Neemuch, subsequent to the occurrences at Dehli and Meerut, becoming known, the mutiny of the 3rd June, the subsequent restoration of authority, the after disturbances originating in the attack on Neembhara, the fight at Jeerun, and finally the siege of Neemuch by the rebel forces from Mundisore, have been so fully described by my predecessor, in his several communications, that I need do nothing more than refer you to them and others, as per margin,* as I observe in para. 5 of Circular Orders No. 212, of 30th April last, I am merely called upon to furnish materials which will enable you to compile an epitome for the Division, embracing a comprehensive and accurate outline of the disorders.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| * No. 83, | dated 15th June, | 1857. |
| „ 85, | „ 16th June, | „ |
| „ 96, | „ 27th June, | „ |
| „ 105, | „ 15th July, | „ |
| „ 115, | „ 12th August, | „ |
| „ 141, | „ 6th October, | „ |
| „ 157, | „ 25th October, | „ |
| Demi-official, | dated 30th Novr. | „ |
| Ditto, | 7th December, | „ |
| No. 179, | dated 6th December, | „ |
| „ 189, | „ 15th December, | „ |
| „ 191, | „ 16th December, | „ |
| „ 194, | „ 16th December, | „ |
| „ 198, | „ 17th December, | „ |
| „ 64, | „ 9th March, | 1858. |
| „ 129, | „ 24th April, | „ |
| „ 130, | „ 26th April, | „ |
| „ 282, | „ 16th July, | „ |
| „ 291, | „ 24th July, | „ |
| „ 296, | „ 31st July, | „ |

6. From the time of the relief of the Neemuch garrison by the Mhow column in November last, up to a very recent period, the whole of this district remained in peace and quiet; but about the end of July, the Gwalior rebels, driven from Tonk by Major General Roberts, approached close to my northern frontier, and for some days threatened an inroad through it. Having been fortunate enough to secure a constant supply of credible information of all their movements and intentions, on the 1st August a force composed as per margin† moved out upon Jawud, and thence ascending the Devee ghât, a difficult and steep ascent, the road up which I managed to have cleared for the purpose, we moved on Kunera, whence pushing on an advanced party to secure and protect Jât, the rebels were completely out-witted, and had no choice left them but to advance in our teeth, or effect their escape to the west, crossing the river Bunass at Beegode, or moving by Busee on Chittore. They adopted the second plan, and consequently fell into the hands of Major General Roberts, and were severely punished in the action fought by the troops under that Officer at Kotarie. The chief leaders however, consisting of the Rao Sahib, Tanteea Topee, the Banda, and, it is said, the Bareilly Nawab also, with the Khujooreea Thakoor, and others of note, managed to effect their escape, and the

† 11th Co. Rl. Engineers, 47 Rank and File.
2nd Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry, 100 Rank and File.
½ Artillery, 64 Rank and File.
H. M.'s 72d Highlanders, 300 Rank and File.
13th Regiment N. I., 200 Rank and File.

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action of Kotarie having been fought on the 14th, it was with a feeling of almost bewilderment that I received intimation from my spies of an undoubtable nature, that these Chiefs, attended by at least 5,000 followers, had reached Busee by a march, almost unparalleled for rapidity, on the 17th.

7. The district we had just saved from their devastation was thus once more at their mercy, for not a soldier could we move from Neemuch to oppose their inroad. On the 18th they reached Jât, which they utterly destroyed, burnt, and plundered. On the 19th they moved on Ruttungurh, plundering that, and all villages they met with on their road, and thence making for Neemree of Meywar, they effected, as you know, their final escape across the Chumbul, in spite of Brigadier Parke's strenuous exertions to overtake them.

8. My demi-official letters have kept you fully informed of all these events as they occurred, and certain official documents as per margin* are annexed for easy reference.

* No. 310, dated 19th August 1858, to Major Thellusson, and his reply.

9. It is indeed to be deplored that the district I so fondly hoped had been saved in the first instance should after all have suffered so terribly at the hands of the rebels. Urgent calls, demanding not only my time, but my actual presence at Neemuch, absolutely forbid my visiting the district at this moment, and seeing with my own eyes the amount of injury inflicted; but I would mention that confidence would be fully re-established, were it not for a circumstance already brought officially to your notice in my letter of yesterday's date. I allude to the large bands of Meenahs, which constantly threaten my northern frontier, whom my police are numerically unable to oppose.

10. The effect however of the successful opposition made on a late occasion at Tookraie by a few of my police against a band of 50 of these Meenahs, and the liberal rewards you kindly sanctioned on that occasion, has been excellent in every way; and as I am trying to enlist some 40 or 50 extra men for duty in the northern pergunnahs in these times of emergency, I will yet hope that one of these bands, on descending some of the passes for purposes of plunder, may be successfully encountered by my men.

11. The extra rupee sanctioned in the pay of my burkundaz has proved invaluable; and I report with some pride not only that I have not had a single case of desertion, but that all have worked hard, and that rebels, seceders from the main body, are being hourly apprehended and sent in to me.

12. The several letters of my predecessor and myself have placed you in possession of the conduct of the Tankadars of the district, and the native Omlah, during the disturbances; and to enable you to complete the report you are writing on the occurrences in the several Native States and British districts under your supervision, it appears to me that the expression of my views on the conduct of the district generally is all that is required on my part.

13. On the whole I am compelled to report upon this as highly satisfactory. The conduct of the Istumrardar Chiefs, as already reported, was of a very negative character; but none know better than yourself that these Chiefs are only such in name, and that the greatest among them, the Raojee of Uttanah, has merely a few private retainers: some of these were sent to us by him, and also by the Rao of Bawul, to assist in the maintenance of order at Jawud; but in point of fact none of them were able to afford us any real assistance, and though perhaps they fell short of what they might have offered, the peculiarity of the times, and their own want of means, may plead in their favor.

14. The behaviour of the land cultivators has been most praiseworthy, but I should fail in my duty did I not point out the cause.

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15. The reason of this, then, I believe rests solely upon the inestimable benefits so lately conferred upon the district by the new settlement, and the large remission made in the Government demand for revenue.

16. The working of this settlement will be retarded for years in consequence of the disturbances, but its blessings have been felt and proved in the almost universal wish of the district inhabitants to preserve order.

17. I respectfully trust, that in your report to Government, the merits of my Native Assistant Buhadur Alee may be deemed worthy of record. I had lately the honor of reporting upon this Officer, and have now to add, that during the last five weeks, he has again proved himself a zealous and devoted servant, and been invaluable to me by his activity and intelligence,—enabling me to procure excellent information, and assisting me in every possible manner.

18. He is now absent on a visit to Jât, Ruttungurh, Singhowlee, &c. to restore confidence, and enquire into the actual damage inflicted on the district.

I have, &c.

J. B. DENNYS,

*Superintendent, Neemuch.*

NEEMUCH:
*The* 31*st August* 1858.

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS AT ALLAHABAD.

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# Narrative of Events

## IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# NIMAR,

IN 1857-58.

---

No. 157 of 1858.

From

Captain R. H. KEATINGE,

*Offg. Political Agent, Western Malwa,*
*In Temporary Charge of Nimar,*

To

Sir ROBERT HAMILTON, Baronet,

*Agent Governor General for Central India, Indore.*

DATED MUNDLAISER, THE 25TH MAY 1858.

Sir,

I have received the Circular Orders of Government, North Western Provinces, No. 212, dated 30th April 1858, and have the honor to transmit a report of the nature called for.

2. No disturbances have taken place in Nimar, although a mutiny occurred on the Northern boundary at Indore and Mhow, and one was with great danger and difficulty suppressed at Asseergurh, in the Southern part of the Province. We passed however through much excitement and some danger, which I shall endeavour concisely to relate.

3. The year 1857 opened in Nimar by a general distribution of small cakes, which were passed on from village to village. The same I am aware has occurred all over Northern India, and has been spoken of as having been a signal for the disturbances which took place later in the year. At the time they appeared in Nimar, they were everywhere brought from the direction of Indore. That City was at the time subjected to a severe visitation of Cholera, and numbers of inhabitants died daily. It was at that time understood by the people in Nimar, and is still believed, that the cakes of wheat were dispatched from Indore after the performance over them of incantations that would ensure the pestilence accompanying them. The cakes did not come straight from North to South, for they were received at Bujengghur, more than half way between Indore and Gwalior, on the 9th February, but had been distributed at Mundlaiser on the 12th January. This habit of passing on certain holy and unholy things is not unknown in Nimar. When Small-pox breaks out in a village, a goat is procured, a cocoanut tied to its neck,

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and it is taken by the chowkeedar to the first village on the road to Mundatta: it is not allowed to enter the Town, but is taken by a villager to the next hamlet, and so passed on without rest to its destination.

4. During April and May, the cultivators of Pergunnahs Burwai and Dhurgaum combined together not to cultivate their land unless Government rescinded certain rules of Forest conservancy, which had been enforced with a view to stopping the reckless waste of timber which has existed for years, and to a great extent still takes place. They would not listen to reason with me; they were equally impracticable with Colonel Durand at Indore, where they proceeded in a body of some four hundred persons.

5. When the events at Meerut and Dehli became known, Colonel Durand wrote to me to make some arrangement, by which we might have no local quarrels on our hands to add to the general difficulties. I commissioned my Sheristadar to meet some of the Patells, and an arrangement was come to for one year, and the question has so rested since, though it will have to be discussed at some future time.

6. There were some dangerous men amongst the people concerned in this combination, and I do not now know how far a knowledge of what was coming may have influenced the movement; certainly no such spirit of opposition has been shown for several years before by the cultivators of Burwai or Dhurgaum.

7. When the mutinies commenced, hopes were still cherished that this part of India might escape; but the mutinies at Nusseerabad and Neemuch convinced all that we must take our share of the evil, and what few preparations we could make were undertaken. The Jail (which is an old native Fort,) was put in some state of defence. The treasure was removed to it, and it was appointed a general place of rendezvous. A detachment of Bheel Corps, and Police horse and foot, was told off for service in the neighbourhood in case of disturbance, and was kept with carriage complete ready to move at a moment's notice.

8. Matters continued thus, the District remaining perfectly quiet, until news arrived of the mutiny of the 1st Hydrabad Cavalry at Aurungabad, accompanied by a report that they were marching North viâ Borehanpore.

9. On the morning of 21st of June I marched from Mundlaiser with about 30 mounted Policemen, with orders to raise what force I could and oppose the passage of the 1st Hydrabad Cavalry and the Gwalior Contingent Troops at Asseer and Borehanpore, if they attempted to pass through Nimar to the North.

10. The project seemed almost hopeless; by that time news of the disasters in the North West had spread throughout the country, and though none of the Nimarees seemed anxious to take advantage of the times to create any disturbance, none on the other hand were willing to take service under a Government in difficulties.

11. I determined to proceed at once to the Pass of the Cattee Ghatee, a spot where the high road from the Deccan to Indore, and Hoshungabad, defiles through the Santpoora mountains. The Pass was so narrow that I found no difficulty in putting a gateway in it; and terraces, giving cover to musketry defenders, were carried along the hill side, so as to make the post a most difficult one to force. An old gun, which lay in the Fort of Khundwah, was brought up and mounted on cart wheels.

12. Whilst these preparations were going on, every exertion was made to collect men; the regular Police from all the neighbouring Thanahs was called to the Pass, and the Thanahdars were instructed to collect villagers to carry on the duty as a temporary measure.

13. By great exertions 400 men were brought together by the sixth day of my occupation of the post, and we continued until the end of June to

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watch the detachments of the Gwalior Contingent who, from my information, I knew had an understanding with Scindiah's Troops at Borehanpore, and only waited an opportunity to break into open rebellion.

14. In the meantime all had gone on quietly at Mundlaiser, where I had left Mr. S. Naher, the Deputy Collector, in charge. But on the 2nd news came in of the mutiny at Mhow, and the retreat of those Europeans from Indore who escaped the massacre at that place. I shall not attempt to narrate what occurred at Mundlaiser, but shall content myself with submitting Mr. Naher's report, and as it has already been forwarded to Government, the reply shall be annexed.

15. I was most anxious not to leave my post at the Cattee Ghatee, but on the 4th I received letters from Mundlaiser, saying that if I did not rejoin the rest of the Europeans they would all be sacrificed, as my authority alone kept the Police to their duty.

16. The universal opinion then throughout the country was, that Holkar had ordered the attack on the Indore Residency, and the Police at Mundlaiser were all under the impression that they would be immediately attacked by Holkar's Troops from Maheswer, situated only 5 miles from Mundlaiser.

17. Most reluctantly then I made over the post at Cattee Ghatee to the Deputy Collector, Mahomed Lall Khan, and proceeded by forced marches to look after the European families and the Head-quarters Station.

18. The families I met near Dhurgaum marching to meet me, and I immediately determined to place them in the Fort of Poonassa, a small complete Fort in the jungle, and on no road likely to be traversed by detachments of mutinous Troops. At Dhurgaum I had learned that the treasure was all safe, and had made arrangements for its transport to Poonassa.

19. I remained at Poonassa until the 10th July, receiving satisfactory reports from the whole Districts. On that date I had the pleasure of seeing the last of the treasure arrive in safety, and by that time the place was put in a position of defence.

20. The mutineers from Mhow had in the meantime marched North, but the danger from Asseergurh continued the same. On the 10th I marched to Khundwah, en route to my post at the Cattee Ghatee, and there received the good news that a detachment of Bombay Infantry and Hydrabad Cavalry had arrived at Asseergurh, and were about to disarm the mutinous Troops at that place. A few hours after information was received of the successful result of the undertaking.

21. Asseergurh was then occupied by Troops on whom reliance could be placed, so I took immediate measures to place the families and treasure in that Fortress; and I myself proceeded South to give aid in bringing up the Column of Bombay Troops, which was moving from Aurungabad under Brigadier Stuart.

22. I must not omit to mention that, on making the families over to my care, Mr. S. Naher the Deputy Collector returned to Mundlaiser, and continued at his post throughout the rains.

23. It was the 17th of July when Brigadier Stuart's Column entered the Southern limits of Nimar; it was a difficult matter to find provision and fodder at that season of the year, but from Brigadier Stuart's letter and the reply of Government, copies of which I annex, you will perceive that arrangements made by the Civil Authorities gave full satisfaction.

24. Whilst passing through the Nimar district from Borehanpore to Simrole, the Column was never on any occasion detained by difficulties on the roads, and in fact the halting ground was usually reached by 8 A. M.; but from Simrole into Mhow, a distance of about 11 miles, took the Artillery, (aided by 60 fresh horses from the Bengal Battery) 12 hours to accomplish.

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25. This fact will, I trust, be borne in mind when the Government of India have again time to bestow attention to the means of internal communication in Central India.

26. The Bombay Column reached Mhow on the 2nd August, and from that time all immediate danger of disturbances in Nimar ceased; and we congratulated ourselves on the Province having escaped from the disasters which have overtaken nearly the whole of the North Western Provinces, and almost all the detached Districts in Central India. No Government treasure has been lost in Nimar, and no injury whatsoever has befallen public or private property.

27. Nimar was protected by a detachment of the Malwa Bheel Corps, and by the Nimar Police Corps horse and foot; the conduct of these Troops has been very similar. They have on no occasion shown any spirit or bravery which would permit me to bring their services to your notice for reward; but, on the other hand, they have never for a moment shown any signs of treachery, or mutiny, and have throughout the disturbances behaved in an orderly and obedient manner.

28. It remains for me to bring to your notice the conduct of my Assistants during the whole period of the disturbances.

29. Mr. S. Naher, the Deputy Collector, in charge of the Sudder Station and Treasury, is the only European Assistant in this Office. The consequence is, that he constantly finds himself in charge of the Agency, and is obliged to take upon himself very considerable responsibility. During the late disturbances in Central India, I was constantly called into the Districts at a short notice, on which occasions I used to leave Mr. Naher in charge of my Office. Mr. Naher's pay is but Rs. 250 a month, and is not I think an adequate remuneration for the responsible duties he is called upon to perform. Mr. Naher entered the Government service in 1845. He has been in receipt of Rs. 200 a month since 1850, and of Rs. 250 since April 1853, now upwards of five years. During the period he has served in Nimar, I have found him an able, zealous, and active Assistant, and I beg most earnestly to recommend him to you for an increase of salary. Mr. Naher was forced to send his family to Bombay during the disturbances, and this has been a heavy drain on his small allowance.

30. Mahomed Lall Khan, the Deputy Collector of Khundwah, afforded me throughout the whole of the trying period we have passed through, the most able and energetic assistance, and showed that personal bravery which was to be expected from an old soldier of the State. Lall Khan, besides his rank as Deputy Collector, holds the first position amongst the Mahomedan gentlemen in Nimar. I am about to submit his name to you for pension, and shall in so doing detail his services, which extend over 49 years; but I wish to state in this communication that his conduct has, in my opinion, been unexceptionable, and deserving of the favourable notice of Government.

31. Ashruf Alee Khan, Sheristadar of my Office, and Bunkut Rao, head Karcoon of Public Works, were my personal Assistants, and accompanied me everywhere during the period in question.

32. Lalla Billas Roy, was Jail Darogah, and kept the prisoners in order with great judgment and energy.

33. Narain Singh, Mahalkurry of Pundania, and Nanoo Ram, Mahalkurry of Roostumpore, showed great courage and devotion.

34. Zein-allah-deen Khan, Kamasdar of Bahadurpore, behaved in every respect to my satisfaction.

35. The same is the case with Umrut Rao, Kamasdar of Burwai.

36. Govind Rao Gunesh, Kamasdar of Pergunnah Maunpore, showed himself a faithful and cool-headed servant, and on the first breaking out of

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the rebellion at Dhar, was most useful in conveying information to Colonel Durand, who was then in Mhow.

37. I would also beg to recommend Gunput Rao, Karcoon of Asseer, who made himself very valuable in procuring information.

38. I trust that some notice may be taken of the above mentioned persons, whom I have selected from amongst a very large establishment from my being certain of their meritorious behaviour. Their salaries are as below mentioned:—

| | | *Salary.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ashruf Alee Khan, ... ... ... ... ... ... | Rs. 60 |
| 2. | Bunkut Rao, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 30 |
| 3. | Billas Roy, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 20 |
| 4. | Narain Singh, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 30 |
| 5. | Nanoo Ram, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 30 |
| 6. | Zein-allah-deen Khan, ... ... ... ... ... | „ 100 |
| 7. | Umrut Rao, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 100 |
| 8. | Govind Rao Guness, ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 30 |
| 9. | Gunput Rao, ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | „ 15 |

39. Of my own exertions during the period under report, I can but state that I believe, by a reference to your records, you will become aware that my conduct met with the entire approval of Colonel H. M. Durand, who at that period officiated as Governor General's Agent for Central India.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

R. H. KEATINGE, Captain,

*Offg. Political Agent, W. Malwa,*

*In Temporary Charge of Nimar.*

Nimar Agency:
Mundlaiser,
*The 25th May* 1857.

(COPIES.)

No. 92.

From

Lieutenant Colonel H. M. DURAND,

*Offg. Agent Governor General for Central India,*

To

Captain R. H. KEATINGE,

*Political Assistant in Nimar, Camp Mhow.*

DATED INDORE RESIDENCY, CAMP MHOW, 4th AUGUST 1857.

Sir,

I have much pleasure in forwarding for your information, the copy of a letter No. 69, of the 4th instant, from Brigadier Stuart, acknowledging in terms that cannot fail of being gratifying to yourself, the value of your assistance during the march of Brigadier Stuart's Column from Edulabad to Mhow.

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2. I have forwarded copies to the Government of India and to the Government of Agra, and consider your road from Asseergurh and the Simrole Ghât so valuable in a Military point of view, that I have requested Captain Cobbe to lose no time in connecting the road of the Simrole Ghât with the Mhow Cantonments, by a metalled line of Road.

I have, &c.,

H. M. DURAND,
*Offg. Agent Governor General, Central India.*

*Indore.*

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No. 67.

FROM

BRIGADIER STUART,

*Commanding Mhow Field Force,*

To

AGENT GOVERNOR GENERAL,

CENTRAL INDIA.

DATED CANTONMENTS, MHOW, 4TH AUGUST 1857.

SIR,

With reference to the late march of the Field Force under my Command, I have much pleasure in bringing prominently to your notice the very great assistance which I invariably received from Captain Keatinge, Political Agent Nimar, during the whole time that he accompanied the Force.

2. This Officer joined me at Edulabad, and from that day up to the date of our arrival here, he worked most indefatigably both night and day to make all difficulties easy, during the time that we traversed Captain Keatinge's Districts. We found that supplies had been laid in for us in abundance at every halting place; and nearly the whole way from Asseergurh to Simrole, we had the advantage of an excellent road, which much accelerated our progress.

3. Captain Keatinge's arrangements for crossing the Force over the Nerbudda were most satisfactory, and deserve my best thanks. At 7 A. M. on the morning of the 27th July, the Left Wing of H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons reached the left bank of the River; and by mid-day, men, horses, and baggage had been passed over by means of both a ford and a ferry, and their camp pitched. Within twenty-four hours afterwards, the whole of number 4 Light Field Battery had crossed the ferry, and three days sufficed to place the whole Force on the right bank.

4. I have entered thus into detail, as I think it but just to Captain Keatinge to acknowledge the valuable assistance he has rendered on this occasion; and I beg to thank you for having deputed so able and energetic an Officer to accompany the Force.

I have, &c.,

C. S. STUART,
*Brigadier, Commanding M. F. F.*

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No. 92 OF 1857.

FROM

C. B. THORNHILL, ESQUIRE,

*Offg. Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces,*

To

LIEUT. COLONEL H. M. DURAND,

*Offg. Agent Governor General for Central India.*

DATED AGRA FORT, THE 3RD SEPTEMBER 1857.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 71, dated 4th ultimo, forwarding copy of one from Brigadier Stuart, of the same date, acknowledging the valuable services rendered by Captain Keatinge, Political Agent in Nimar, on the occasion of the march of the Mhow Field Force under his command from Asseergurh to Mhow.

2. In reply, I am desired to request that you will have the goodness to inform Captain Keatinge, that the report therein rendered of his excellent co-operation and arrangements has been perused by the Lieutenant Governor with high satisfaction and approval.

I have, &c.,

C. B. THORNHILL,

*Offg. Secy. to Govt., N. W. P.*

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No. ——

FROM

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

TO

THE OFFICIATING AGENT, GOVERNOR GENERAL,

CENTRAL INDIA.

DATED FORT WILLIAM, THE 9TH SEPTEMBRR 1857.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 4th ultimo, No. 4; and in reply to request that you will communicate the thanks of the Governor General in Council to Captain Keatinge, Political Agent in Nimar, for the valuable assistance rendered by him to the Column under Brigadier Stuart.

2. The Governor General in Council approves of your having ordered the construction of the Road between Simrole and Mhow in Holkar's Territory.

I have, &c.,

G. F. EDMONSTONE,

*Secy. to the Govt. of India.*

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No. 105 of 1857.

FROM

S. J. NAHER, ESQUIRE,

*Deputy Collector and Joint Magistrate, Nimar,*

To

CAPTAIN R. H. KEATINGE,

*Political Assistant Nimar, Mundlaiser.*

DATED NIMAR AGENCY, MUNDLAISER, THE 24TH JULY 1857.

SIR,

Finding that you have not placed on record the cause of my leaving the Fort of Mundlaiser on the evening of the 3rd July, and it having come to my knowledge that my name has been coupled with those who did not behave well on that occasion, I am compelled, much against my inclination, to lay before you this brief account of what occurred from the 1st July until our meeting with you at Soolgaum on the 5th.

2. On the afternoon of the 1st July, Mrs. Keatinge received a letter from Captain Cumming, to the effect that heavy firing had been heard from thence in the direction of Mhow. That same night a sowar, who had been stationed near Mhow, brought me news of the disturbance at Indore; but being all hearsay, and picked up from travellers, it was such as I thought could not be relied on; I therefore started off two more sowars for Mhow, and an Electic Telegraph message to Ackberpoor for Colonel Durand; the former returned the following day, and in reply to a note from me to the signaller, I was informed that communication with Indore had ceased from 8 o'clock that morning.

3. On the 2nd, one of the sowars above alluded to, came in with a frightful account of what had occurred, inasmuch that all had been killed at Indore, with the exception of Colonel Durand, who had escaped with two guns towards Sehore, wounded in the arm, and that the Europeans at Mhow had taken to the Fort. On hearing this, I thought it advisable to remove the Europeans into the Fort here, the only place of security, and where our Treasury had been placed, as you are aware; after which I proceeded to get in burkundazes and half the detachment of Bheels. About this time the Jemadar of Horse, by name Mahamood Khan, brought me intelligence of Holkar's having turned against us, and that the father of one of our sowars, a Gunner at Mahaiser, had come over expressly to acquaint him of an attack to be made on us at 3 o'clock the following morning. On hearing this, I had the small gate barricaded, got more burkundazes in, and manned the walls for a fight. I then spoke to the Soobadar of the Bheels and others, giving them every encouragement, and promised them Rs. 25 for every man they shot; but perceiving (for it was quite evident, and noticed by more than one) that the spirit of fighting was not in them, I sent them out to relieve the several outposts occupied by burkundazes, whom I got into the Fort in their stead. The night passed over without an attack, as you are aware. An Electic Telegragh message was received by me this day, I believe from the Commander in Chief Bombay, requesting further particulars of the Mhow outbreak, as it was then supposed, which I forwarded from Kusrawed. This paper is, I believe, with you, and is probably a reply to the message I desired to be forwarded to Colonel Durand, informing him of what I had heard of the outbreak at Indore.

4. During the greater part of the night of the 2nd, and day of the 3rd, guns were heard in the direction of Mhow; the Bheels become pressing for pay, asking at the same time for one month's back pay; some of the burkundazes refused to fight inside, and every report brought in only tended to cause still greater alarm. During the afternoon a letter by coolee reached the Post Office, bearing on its face the signature of Captain Fenwick of Indore, to his son at Bombay. This, as you are aware, was opened; and on persual was found to contain an account of the death of every individual at Indore, where

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their bodies had been seen, and how Colonel Durand had been followed up to Dew Gurrareea, and was cut down by a sowar. With such rumours afloat, guns firing at intervals the whole night, and the greater part of the following day; burkundazes refusing to fight inside, and their Jemadar having, as he said, no confidence in them, and the bravery of the Bheels very questionable;—I asked, as you are aware, Mrs. Keatinge to cross the river with the other Europeans, as I wished to be left alone in the Fort. This she repeatedly refused to do with the other two gentlemen, in whose management she said she had no confidence; and as matters seemed to be growing worse, I at once decided on removing the treasure, and marching down to Dhoolias. The necessary orders were given by me to the Jemadars and Soobadar, who left apparently as if to carry them out, but to my surprise very shortly after the Jemadar of Horse with the Duffadar came back to all appearance in great haste, and reported that the Bheels had refused to leave the place; that they were coming into the Fort, and that if I did not take great care there would be, as he termed it, a "dunga." Placed as I was with ladies and children, and two European gentlemen in my charge, I could not help feeling I should only be endangering their lives by my remaining any longer; I therefore considered it advisable (and, if required, can prove it was so) to leave the Fort, making over charge to the two Jemadars, and the Soobadar with his *armed* party, crossed the river, staying the whole night on the opposite side, and the following morning (4th) marched to Kusrawed which, as you are aware, is four miles from this; there we remained until evening when, on receipt of your letter to Mrs. Keatinge, desiring us to join you, we started for Kanapoor. Previous however to our leaving it was reported to me, that all the ladies and children of Surdarpoor had been killed; Lieutenant Hutchinson, a prisoner, and Captain Cumming, a fugitive. The following afternoon (5th) we, as you are aware, met you at Soolgaum, from whence on the morning of the 6th we left for Poonassa. On the afternoon (2 o'clock) of the 7th I received your instructions to return to Mundlaiser, and at 3 I was in my saddle. I arrived at Kherry Ghât at 10 o'clock the same evening, and after travelling the whole night reached this between 9 and 10 the following morning (8th), as you are aware: I have ever since been at my post.

I have, &c.,

S. J. NAHER,

*Deputy Collector and Joint Magistrate, in Nimar.*

No. 4130.

FROM

G. F. EDMONSTONE, ESQUIRE,

*Secretary to Government of India,*

To

COLONEL H. M. DURAND,

*Offg. Agent Governor General, Central India.*

DATED FORT WILLIAM, THE 6TH OCTOBER 1857.

SIR,

I have received, and laid before the Governor General in Council, your letter dated 7th ultimo, No. 86, forwarding copies of letters from the Political Assistant in Nimar, and from Mr. Naher, the Deputy Collector, relative to the proceedings of the latter Officer, during the time of the outbreak at Mhow and Indore.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that His Lordship in Council concurs in the opinion expressed by you, that no blame appears to be imputable to that gentleman.

I have the honor, &c.,

G. F. EDMONSTONE,

*Secy. to Govt. of India.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# KUMAON,

IN 1857-58.

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No. 258.

FROM

MAJOR H. RAMSAY,

*Commissioner of Kumaon,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQ.,

*Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

DATED NYNEE TAL, THE 22ND JULY 1858.

SIR,

I HAVE now the honor to submit the report required by your Circular No. 212, dated 30th April.

Mr. Colvin's letter is enclosed.

2. The news of the Meerut mutiny reached me, then in the Snowy Ranges of Gurhwal, on 22nd May. I hastened back to Almorah, made what arrangements appeared advisable with Colonel McCausland, and then proceeded to Nynee Tal to do what was possible for the preservation of order at the foot of the Hills, to get funds and procure supplies.

3. My applications to Bareilly and Moradabad for money were too late, the sepoys having determined upon protecting the Treasuries for themselves, and no larger sums could be taken out of them. The Buheree Tehseel officers had helped themselves, and I got no money;—the Bunjarahs, collected in large numbers, had closed the roads in Rooderpore, and all trade was at a stand-still. I secured as much grain as I could in the Bhabur, and awaited the course of events.

4. On the 1st June the Bareilly refugees reached Huldwanee, and those of Moradabad who came to Nynee Tal, arrived at Kala Doongee on the 4th June. All who started, except Sergeant Staples from Bareilly, reached the Hills in safety, and from the 6th June we were, for nearly a month, cut off from all communication with the plains. Early in July a dâk line was established across the Hills through Mussooree.

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5. Soon after the 10th June, the most complete disorder prevailed in the plains, and large hordes of dacoits from Rampore and the Moradabad district filled the Bhabur villages of lower Kota; they stole the cattle, removed thousands of maunds of grain, and did as much damage as possible. Our strength at that time was not sufficient to protect the whole of the Bhabur; I therefore confined my efforts to the Chukhata district in the vicinity of Huldwanee. The Hill cultivators of the Bhabur returned to the Hills after a few attempts at resistance, in which about 20 rebels were killed. I could not offer any efficient resistance, and the rebels having in a few days plundered the villages, the country was left a desert.

6. On 27th June, the rebels again collected below upper Kota. I sent a party under Dhun Sing to defend the place, but Mustoo Khan of the Rampore Territory came with an overwhelming force of horse and foot. Dhun Sing and some others were killed, the Tehseel was plundered of the few rupees (about 400) in deposit, and the rebels at once retired without destroying the villages.

7. About the middle of June the evil-disposed of the Hill people, especially on the borders of the plains, began to show that they were sensible of our weakness, and as I had no district Police, I felt the necessity of resorting to extreme measures to preserve order; for I foresaw that if any part of the Province became disorganized, our position at Nynee Tal would be most critical, and if one Pergunnah got into disorder, the probability was others would soon have followed the example.

8. As soon as I saw the danger alluded to above, I proclaimed Martial Law in Kumaon. In the first few cases of dacoity, I sentenced to long terms of imprisonment: this was not sufficient, and I gave longer sentences, but without success, and at last I sentenced some dacoits to capital punishment. This was made known throughout the Province; the bad characters were frightened, the good men felt safe, and the country remained as peaceable as in former years.

9. It soon became evident after the arrival of the Rohilcund refugees, that there was no prospect of immediate relief. Our funds were alarmingly small, and we had then no prospect of assistance. Mr. Colvin and I drew up a scale of allowances, by which we paid every European monthly. Advances were made on receipts, and nearly all have been adjusted.

10. The Rampore Nawab did all in his power to preserve order in his own Territories, and assist us; but from the information we received, it appeared quite possible, and even probable, that at the "Bukr Eed," in the end of July, a disturbance might take place at Rampore, and if the Nawab had been killed the victorious party would at once have attacked us. The presence of many ladies and children would have hampered us a good deal in the event of being attacked, and though that was only a chance, contingent on other events, I preferred a timely, though it might be an unnecessary, retreat to the chance of a discreditable flight. I accordingly sent over the ladies and children, about 200, to Almorah, and when the Eed festival passed over they all returned to Nynee Tal: this was the only occasion on which any body had to leave Nynee Tal from first to last.

11. The Police Sowars and Burkundazes (belonging to the Plains), ran away on 9th September, and only Hill Burkundazes remained, but the Police stations at and near Huldwanee were maintained till 17th September, when a party of rebels, mustering about 1,000 horse and foot, took possession of the place. On the 18th, Captain Maxwell with a party of Goorkhas, and about 40 Cavalry, composed of Officers, and 8 Irregulars, defeated the rebels, killing about 150 of them. Up to the beginning of September the 66th Goorkhas and 8th Irregular Cavalry had protected Huldwanee; but the climate became so dangerous after the rains ceased, I thought it imprudent to risk the lives of such valuable men, and recalled them.

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12. The Police after this retired to the entrance to the Hills, and kept parties moving about the lower part of the Huldwanee district. On the 6th October the rebels, in number about 5,000, again took possession of the place; it was not deemed advisable to attack them, and an attempt was made to entrap the Cavalry portion of the force. Although we failed in securing the Cavalry, we created such an alarm that the rebels fearing an attack, were seized with a panic during the night, cut their heel-ropes, and went off helter-skelter, leaving their grain and some other property behind them. One Sowar was caught next morning and hanged.

13. The unhealthy season had passed away, and as we expected to hear of a force entering Rohilcund, I urged on Colonel McCausland the necessity of taking up a position at Huldwanee, to protect that part of the district, and be ready to assist in the destruction of the rebels, or at any rate to create a diversion. The arrival of the Nepal Contingent, and advanced state of the Kumaon Levies, enabled us to occupy Huldwanee, and leave at Nynee Tal a party strong enough to protect the passes on the Rampore side; while Lieutenant McIntyre's young Regiment was available to take some of the Almorah duties, and, if necessary, guard the Eastern passes.

14. On the 1st January the rebels hearing of a supply of grain coming for our Camp, made a night march from Rooderpore and appeared before Huldwanee about 9 A. M. The force under Captain Baugh defeated them, killing about 50.

15. The impossibility of procuring more supplies of grain, and my store having become exhausted, most of Captain Crossman's Cavalry had been ordered to Kasheepore. In the end of January they returned, and Colonel McCausland came down with the Head Quarters of the 66th Goorkhas, and on 1st February we had about 1,000 Infantry, 250 Cavalry, two 6-pounders, and two mountain train guns.

16. Fuzl Huq's Army of 4,500 with four guns moved up from the East, Kala Khan with 4,000 men and four guns advanced from Buheree. Fuzl Huq's Army encamped at Sunda, 13 miles East, and Kala Khan's took up a position 16 miles South of Huldwanee. They first intended attacking us in front and flank, and the ground was so much in our favor we remained quiet. They then determined upon uniting forces and attacking us in front; this was not desirable, and on 10th February, Colonel McCausland attacked Kala Khan's force at Churpoora. The result has been noticed at length in Colonel McCausland's despatch. After the Churpoora fight the rebels lost heart, and never again settled down in the Terrai Pergunnahs.

17. A party once came to collect Revenue in Kilpooree, and put up at the Setargunge Tehseel. Captain Baugh was sent immediately out with 250 Infantry and Cavalry. Mr. Carmichael, who had formerly charge of these Pergunnahs, accompanied the detachment as Civil Officer, and by judicious management the rebels were surrounded and destroyed.

18. In January, it became known that a few of the Kali Kumaon people had joined the Rebel camp, and I deputed Mr. Colvin to that part of the district. Mr. Colvin prevented the contagion spreading—if it had any tendency to become more general, and kept the passes so well guarded that the rebels never attempted to approach the hills in the direction of Burmdeo.

19. When the Artillery Company at Almorah showed symptoms of disaffection in June, so many of them were sent to jail that there was no room. At the same time there was such a panic among the Natives at Nynee Tal, that coolies were very scarce. I took 40 hill prisoners from the jail, knocked off their irons and used them as coolies, without guards, on the promise that if they behaved well they should be released at the end of the year. They worked on the roads; carried loads; on one occasion attacked

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a body of dacoits near Kala Doongee, killing several of them, and throughout behaved admirably. I therefore released them at the end of the year. I considered it desirable that Mr. Colvin should be present at Almorah, and sent him there in June; his presence maintained confidence among the people of the town, and he was ready to proceed in any direction where an Officer's presence might be required.

20. Mr. Beckett kept the passes into the Hills from Bijnore well guarded, and at once proceeded in any direction where attack was threatened. In consequence of some evil-disposed plain's men attempting to create a disturbance at Sreenuggur, a company of Goorkhas was sent over for a short time from Almorah, but with the exception of some dacoitees in the early part of the mutiny, Mr. Beckett's district,* like Kumaon, remained perfectly well-conducted and loyal. In fact, with the few individual exceptions, the people of Kumaon and Gurhwal have behaved very well. They supplied coolies, grain and men, to protect the bye-passes; and the best evidence I can offer of their loyalty and honesty is the fact of Remittances of 10 to 50,000 Rs. having passed through the Hills from Mussooree to Almorah in charge of a few Chuprassees.

* Gurhwal.

21. Mr. Batten was detained by me at Nynee Tal, as it was uncertain where I might go to, and the presence of one Civil Officer at the Station was absolutely necessary to keep order, and carefully dispose of the numerous applications from all sides without delay.

22. Mr. Alexander by applying to the Nawab of Rampore received 64,000 Rs. in Gold Mohurs; he also received about a Lac of Rs. in the payment of Revenue, and by granting Bills on Moradabad. The Rajah of Gurhwal lent a Lac of Rupees, and we managed to pay our way on a limited scale, until better times admitted of treasure being sent us through Deyra.

23. I consider it proper to mention that I felt it incumbent on me to cancel an order given by the late Lieutenant Governor, requiring all villagers to keep cattle out of their houses. This created great disgust, and was so offensive to the Hill people that I took upon myself to cancel it. I wrote to the late Mr. Colvin explaining the circumstances, and he approved of my proceeding. I got no official approval, but it was conveyed (by Kossid) in a small note from Mr. Thornhill, then Secretary to Government, and I think subsequently in a letter written in Mr. Muir's hand-writing, signed by the late Mr. Colvin. I have noticed this matter in order that I may not appear to have acted disrespectfully in having interfered with the late Lieutenant Governor's orders.

24. In conclusion I would observe, that the facts specified for report in the Circular under acknowledgment had no place in this Province, which happily has no history to record; but I have in the absence of such facts given a brief account of what has occurred from the sad tidings of the mutiny first reaching Kumaon, to the defeat of the rebels by the Huldwanee force at Churpoora, from which date we were never molested by any one.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. RAMSAY,

*Commissioner.*

KUMAON COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
NYNEE TAL:
*The 22nd July* 1858.

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DIVISION

OF

# JHANSIE,

IN 1857-58.

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1. On the death of Gungadhur Rao, the late Rajah, in A. D. 1854, that State was annexed, and it, and the Jaloun and Chundeyree districts, were formed into the Jhansie Superintendency, under Captain Skene.

2. A pension of 5,000 Rupees a month was granted to the Rajah's widow Musummat Luchmee Baee, known as the Ranee of Jhansie. This sum she at first refused to receive, but eventually did so. Ten lacs worth of property, belonging to her late husband, was also made over to her; but she considered herself seriously aggrieved, in not being allowed to adopt a son to succeed Gungadhur Rao as Rajah, appealed against the arrangements made for her support, and sent an Agent to England to plead her cause, but without effect.

3. At this time, however, the Ranee was obliged to smother her ill-will, but it was increased by (what she conceived to be) various petty grievances and annoyances, as follows:—

4. Previous to November 1854, the slaughter of cattle was not permitted in Jhansie. On the country coming under British rule, this restriction was of course removed, upon which the Ranee petitioned against the practice, and caused the inhabitants of Jhansie to do the same. The matter was referred to Government, and the slaughter of cattle was authoritatively allowed.

5. Frivolous as it may appear, the establishment of public necessaries was much objected to by the people of Jhansie, and the Ranee and her adherents took advantage of this to create further ill feeling, by endeavouring to make it appear that the measure tended to interfere with religion.

6. The temple of Luchmee, situated outside the walls, to the east of Jhansie, had long been supported by the Native rulers of the country, and an ancestor of Gungadhur Rao had made over the revenue of two villages for its support. When he died, Captain Francis Gordon, Deputy Commissioner, recommended that this arrangement should continue, but it was ordered that the villages should be resumed. This was strongly objected to by the Ranee, and the case again referred to Government, with the same result. But before the resumption order could be carried out, the outbreak at Jhansie took place.

7. An order was passed, that the rents of the village of Sumburdah which was given rent-free for the repair and support of a tomb of a mistress

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of the late Gungadhur Rao, should be paid to two of the late mistress' female connections, named Motee and Nouruttun, instead of to the Ranee herself. This order, although strictly just, greatly irritated her, and on coming into power, she revenged herself by imprisoning two men, named Mulharee and Gunput, in whose keeping Motee and Nouruttun were; and the night before she (the Ranee) fled from the fort, at the taking of Jhansie by our forces, she put these men to death. I myself saw them lying dead in irons, soon after they had been murdered.

8. The Puar Thakoors and Obareedars of Oodgaon, Nonere and Jigna, who are men of influence, had lost their Obaree rights in several of their villages, and were naturally discontented. It is said the Ranee took advantage of this to procure a promise from them to join her, should opportunity offer. This much is certain, that they did join her, and fought on her side, against our Government.

9. It will thus be seen that the Ranee was in a state of mind, which made her ready to take advantage of any opportunity of gratifying her revenge, and of recovering what were, in her opinion, her just rights; and, as her after-career shows, she, like many other Mahratta women of rank, possessed a masculine spirit, well fitting her to carry out her designs.

10. In May 1857, there was a report spread in Jhansie, as in many other places in India, that Government had caused ground bones to be mixed in the flour, sold in the bazars;—that cow's and pig's fat had been used in making up the cartridges served out to the troops; and that two Regiments of sepoys had been blown away from guns at Calcutta. Although every means was taken by the Civil and Military Officers to contradict these reports, yet, there is no doubt, but that they had their effect in unsettling people's minds.

11. About this time a man named Chotajoo (agent of a Native Chief), informed Captain F. Gordon that an adherent of the Ranee, named Bholanath, used to hold long private conferences with the Native Officers of the Jhansie troops, who frequently visited the Ranee's palace, and that some treachery was intended. No reliance however seems to have been placed on this information, and shortly after the troops having used the cartridges without demur, confidence in the sepoys appears to have been restored, for a time, amongst the Civil and Military Officers.

12. However Mr. Scott, head writer in the Deputy Commissioner's office, who lived near the lines, and mixed much with natives, had much better information of what was going on, and placed his property in the keeping of a loyal native in the town of Jhansie. He persisted in avowing, that he had good reason to know that a mutiny was intended, and that the Ranee and the troops were one. His assertions appear to have had some weight, as great endeavors were made by the Civil and Military Officers, to ascertain the true feelings of the sepoys, who of course made great professions of loyalty; notwithstanding which, a feeling of uneasiness arose, and three clerks of the Civil establishment fled towards Saugor, but were ordered back, and returned to Jhansie.

13. At this time the Ranee obtained permission to entertain a number of armed men, as she said, for her protection.

14. Whilst the above was the state of affairs at Jhansie, the Chundeyree district was fast getting into disorder.

15. About 200 years ago, the Bundelahs appear to have succeeded in overthrowing the Mussulman authority in the part of the country now known as the Chundeyree district. The first Rajah was Ramsehae. In the time of the 9th Rajah, Ramchund, (about A. D. 1764,) the Peshwa wrested from the Chundeyree state the districts of Serai, Dukrani, and Balabehut, and in A. D. 1802, Rajah Ramchund, being incapacitated from age and ill health, went on a pilgrimage, and made over the country to his eldest son, Pirji Pal, who was murdered the following year, and succeeded by his brother, Rajah Moor.

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Pylad. This prince was a drunken debauched sot, and the Bundelah Thakoors did what they liked, and possessed themselves of the greater portion of the kingdom. Continued acts of aggression on the neighbouring state of Gwalior, for which no redress could be obtained, at last stirred up Dowlut Rao Scindia to hostilities, and his army, under Colonel Baptiste, took the fort of Talbehut. Rajah Moor Pylad, who was hated and despised, fled to Jhansie in A. D. 1812, and a negotiation was opened with Gwalior, and at first Moor Pylad was allowed Rupees 25,000 a year; but subsequently, in A. D. 1831, Colonel Baptiste, with the approval of the British Resident at Gwalior, made the "Buttotah," or partition, and, to speak generally, gave two shares of the former Chundeyree State to Scindia, and one share to Moor Pylad, who was henceforth styled the Rajah of Banpoor, from a town in his share. Moor Pylad then proceeded to take possession of all independent jageers in his share, which so exasperated the Thakoors of Palee, Jacklone, Naneckpoor, and others, that they rose in a body, devastated the country, and then preferred their complaint to Scindia, who decided that Moor Pylad's one share should be divided into three, two of which were to be given to Moor Pylad, and one to the Thakoors. The Rajah agreed to this fresh sub-division, but disturbances again broke out, and a new "Buttotah" was made, which, however, was much the same as the former one. At last, in A. D. 1843, the worthless Moor Pylad died, leaving his remnant of a kingdom to his son, Murdun Singh.

16. In A. D. 1844, Scindia's portion of the Chundeyree State was ceded to the British, as part security for the payment of the Gwalior Contingent, and a Deputy Superintendent was appointed, who also had criminal jurisdiction in the Banpoor State.

17. About April 1857, Thakoor Jhoojar Sing, of Nanickpoor, died, and agreeably to the orders of Government, his tenure was resumed, and a settlement made with his heirs, instead of the third part being given to the Rajah of Banpoor, as it appears had been the custom agreeably to the "Buttotah". Upon this Rajah Murdun Sing, of Banpoor, sent for the heir, Jowahir Sing, invested him with a "pugree," and advised him to collect his relations and retainers, and to go into rebellion, as the surest way to induce our Government to restore him his tenure, on the same terms as his father held it.

17½. It also appears that the Rajah was irritated, by being refused by the Government certain honors, to which he considered himself entitled.

18. It will thus be seen, that, like the Ranee of Jhansie, the Rajah of Banpoor had, what he considered, injuries to be redressed, and no doubt he also had the hope of regaining, on the expected overthrow of our Government, the entire kingdom of Chundeyree, the ancient possession of his ancestors, of which, as stated above, his father had been dispossessed by Scindia.

19. During April, and part of May 1857, the Chundeyree district was, from unavoidable circumstances, in temporary charge of Zain-ool-abdeen Khan, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector,—a man of lazy and feeble character, and unfit for any post of responsibility.

20. Early in May 1857, Guneshjoo, son of Jowahir Sing, Thakoor of Nanikpore, presented a petition to Zain-ool-abdeen Khan, stating, that his father was about to go into rebellion, but the Deputy Magistrate, with inconceivable folly, refused to receive the petition, because it was not written on stamp paper. Guneshjoo remained for two or three days about Zain-ool-abdeen's Court, endeavoring to get a hearing, but in vain. A few days after Jowahir Sing and other Thakoors went into rebellion, and commenced plundering.

21. Lieutenant Hamilton took charge of the district from Zain-ool-abdeen Khan on the 24th May 1857, and Captain A. C. Gordon took charge from Lieutenant Hamilton on the 7th June 1857, and found the district in great disorder.

22. We must now return to Jhansie. On the 30th or 31st May, the two Mr. Andrews went to Captain F. D. Gordon, and recommended that pre-

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cautionary measures should be taken regarding the fort and magazine, as they were convinced the troops would mutiny. Captain F. Gordon told them that he had represented all this to Captain Skene, who was of opinion that any move of the kind would bring on the mutiny at once, if such was to take place.

23. On the 1st June 1857, Captain Francis Gordon, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansie, reported to Captain Skene, Superintendent, that he had obtained trustworthy information of an intended rising among some of the Puar Thakoors of the Kurrera Pergunnah, and that they intended making an attack on, and plundering the town of Kurrera,—the day fixed for which was the 2nd June, the Dussehra. In consequence of the above information, a detachment under Lieutenant Ryves, of the 12th Bengal N. I., of the strength noted in the margin,* was marched from Jhansie on the 1st June, to take possession of the abandoned fort of Kurrera, which step caused the Puar Thakoors to put off their attempt for a time.

* 4 Havildars, 6 Naiks, 60 Sepoys, } 12th Bengal Native Infantry.
2 Duffadars, 20 Sowars, } 14th Irr. Cavalry.

24. On either the 1st or 2nd June, about 4 P. M., two bungalows in the Cantonments of Jhansie were set fire to, and destroyed. No trace of the actual incendiaries could be obtained, but the occurrence tended to increase the uneasy feeling regarding the disposition of the sepoys.

25. On the 5th June, at about 3 or 4 P. M., firing suddenly took place at the Star Fort, in which were kept the magazine and treasure, and the alarm was spread that the sepoys had mutinied. Upon this, with the exception of Captain Dunlop, Lieutenants Taylor and Campbell,—of Lieutenant Turnbull, attached to the Survey,—of Quarter-master Sergeant Newton and family, and of Conductor Reilly, all the Europeans and Anglo-Indians proceeded to the fort, to place their families in safety. Captain F. Gordon ordered the Police to garrison the fort, which they did. Shortly after, 12 Sowars of the Irregular Cavalry came to the fort, with a message from Captain Dunlop, to the effect that only 35, not all of the Sepoys had mutinied, and that those in the fort might return to their houses. This however was not done. Captain Gordon then sent two orderly Jemadars to the Vakeels of the Tehree and Dutteea States, desiring them to write to their respective Governments for help. At about 8 P. M. another letter was sent by Captain Dunlop to Captain Gordon, upon receiving which, Captains Skene and Gordon, and Doctor MacEgan, upon re- to the Cantonments, where Captain Dunlop was, and found that 35 men of the 12th Bengal N. I. were in open mutiny, and held possession of the Star Fort, which contained the magazine and treasure. Upon this they returned to the fort at about 11 P. M.

26. On the morning of the 6th June, Captains Skene and F. Gordon, again visited Captain Dunlop in the lines, but what passed between them is unknown. Captain Skene then returned to the fort, as also did Captain Gordon, after breakfasting in his own house, and writing letters to the Tehree and Dutteea States, and to the Rao of Goorserai for assistance. To none of these applications was any answer sent, although the Tehree and Dutteea States being close at hand, might easily have afforded it. Captain Gordon also wrote to different Thakoors to make arrangements for holding Pichore, and to the Tehseeldar of Jhansie to raise men, which the latter did, and 24 were posted at the gates of the fort. About 2 P. M. a note was received in the fort from Captain Dunlop, stating that he required some powder and cannon balls; that the mutiny of his men was only partial; and that he could quell it with the men who remained faithful. Captain F. Gordon refused to send any cannon ammunition, and, as the result proved, he was right in doing so, for it would afterwards have been used by the mutineers against the Jhansie fort. In the meantime Mr. Robert Andrews, Deputy Collector, who had been sent to the Jail, to bring the ammunition there into the fort, returned with but a small quantity, as the Jail guard, headed by Bukshish Alee, Jail Darogah, having joined with the mutineers, refused to allow him to remove more.

27. About this time a great number of people, amongst whom were the Ranee's principal adherents, viz. Jhurroo Koour, Khooda Buksh, &c., and bearing

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two flags, proceeded from the town of Jhansie towards Cantonments, and on their arrival at the lines, a man named Ahsan Alee, called all the Mussulmans to prayers, after which the whole force mutinied. Two Havildars of the 12th Bengal N. I., names unknown, alone remained true, and stood by Captain Dunlop, and Lieutenants Taylor, Campbell and Turnbull. A body of mutineers advanced against this small party, which defended itself, but ultimately all (Havildars included) were shot down by the mutineers, excepting Lieutenant Taylor, who, although severely wounded, escaped on horseback to the Jhansie fort. On his arrival there the fort gates were shut, and the walls manned by the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, some sepoys belonging to the Thakoor of Kuttehra, and a few burkundauzes, who had not joined the mutineers. Rughonath Sing, Oobareedar of Nonere, a powerful Puar Chief, who receives a pension from Government, who was at that time present with Captain F. Gordon, although called upon by that Officer to stand by him, refused to do so, and marched away with his men, abandoning the garrison to their fate. Conductor Reilly, who was in Cantonments at the time of this first massacre, escaped to Burwa Saugor, and ultimately to the North Western Provinces. The Quarter-master Sergeant and his family were also in the lines, but it is not clear whether they were murdered at the same time as Captain Dunlop, or subsequently: however, not one escaped.

28. After this the mutineers and rebels released the prisoners from the jail, and being joined by them, and by the jail guard, headed by Bukshish Alee, jail darogah, set fire to the Kutcherry, and some of the bungalows in Cantonments. They then entered the town of Jhansie, without being opposed, and seized all Government servants they could lay hands on,—amongst the rest Ahmud Hussein, Tehseeldar of Jhansie, who had rendered the Europeans every assistance in his power. The mutineers, police, Customs burkundauzes, prisoners, and adherents of the Ranee,—then proceeded to attack the fort, taking with them one gun. Firing lasted till the night of the 6th June, when the mutineers drew off, leaving a strong party of the Ranee's followers to surround the place till morning. With them were a few mutineer sepoys.

29. During the night of the 6th June, a meeting was held between the mutineer Native officers and the kamdars of the Ranee of Jhansie, to settle to whom the Government of the country of Jhansie was to be made over, and what was to be done with the European Officers and others in the fort. Some were for letting the Europeans, &c. go, but this was overruled by Bukshish Alee, jail darogah, and their death was decided on. The question of the government of the country was not settled, as the Ranee and mutineers could not come to terms. The latter therefore invited over from Oonao,—a village about 12 miles from Jhansie,—Sadasheo Rao Narain Parolawala, a relation of the late Rajah of Jhansie, and a claimant of the Jhansie Raj, with a view to setting him up in opposition to the Ranee, or of being enabled, by his competition, to drive a better bargain with her. He reached Jhansie on the 8th June, the date of the massacre, and encamped in the mutineer lines, close to the Star Fort.

30. Between the night of the 6th and morning of the 7th June, the burkundauzes and Thakoors, who were protecting the Europeans, deserted, either through fear or disaffection. A few servants and others remained. The Garrison proposed to escape from the fort during the night, but daylight approaching, the attempt was given up.

31. On the morning of the 7th June, Mr. Scott and the two Mr. Parcells were sent by Captain Skene to the Ranee of Jhansie to request protection from her on their arrival outside the fort. They were met by the Ranee's troops, and taken to her palace, from whence they were sent, by the Ranee's orders, to the lines of the mutineers, where they were put to death. Subsequently Mr. Andrews, Principal Sudder Ameen, having left the fort, was seized, and killed by the Ranee's own servants at the palace door. In the mean time the Ressaldar of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, Faiz Alee, wrote to the garrison to say, that if they vacated the fort, they would not be injured; but no notice was taken of this communication. Various letters were also exchanged between the Ranee and Captains Skene and F. Gordon, but to what effect, cannot be ascertained.

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32. About 2 P. M. an attack was again made on the fort, which lasted till evening. None of the garrison were hurt, and some of the rebels were killed.

33. During the night the Ranee gave the mutineers and rebels some guns, and the fort was again attacked by them on the morning of the 8th June. Their escalade failed, the assailants being shot down by the garrison.

34. The mutineers, &c. still continued their attack, and, towards the afternoon, got possession of the lower works of the fort. Upon this some of the natives, who still remained inside, attempted to open one of the gates, and let in the mutineers. The men most prominent in this treachery, and who belonged to the Survey Department, were immediately shot, or cut down by Captains F. Gordon and Burgess, but not before they had mortally wounded Lieutenant Powis. Shortly after an irreparable misfortune befel the garrison, in the death of Captain Francis Gordon, who was shot through the head, while looking towards the rebels through a small window over the fort gate. This gallant gentleman and excellent Officer, more fortunate in his death than were his unhappy companions, had from the first been the "life and soul of the garrison,*" and his loss had a very injurious effect on the survivors.

* See Captain Maclean's Report.

35. Captain Skene having made a sign that the garrison wished to treat, the rebels and mutineers collected near the gate, and promised, by the most sacred oaths, through the medium of Saleh Mahomed, Native Doctor, that the Europeans and Anglo-Indians should be allowed to depart in safety, on the condition of vacating the fort, and laying down their arms. These terms were unhappily agreed to, and the gates being thrown open, the garrison left the fort, and were immediately made prisoners by the rebels, &c., who bound the men. The whole party were then taken from the fort gate through the town, towards the Star Fort, but on reaching the Jokhun Bagh, just outside the city walls, some sowars brought a message from the Ressaldar, ordering that all should be put to death. The servants, who had until then accompanied their masters, were upon this put aside, and the gentlemen being separated from the ladies and children, a general massacre took place. Bukshish Alee, jail darogah, first cut down Captain Skene with his own hand. Mrs. McEgan, attempting to save her husband, threw her arms round him, but was beaten and pushed aside, and Doctor McEgan was cut down and killed. Mrs. McEgan cast herself on his body, and was there killed also. Miss Browne fell on her knees before a sepoy, and begged for life, but was immediately cut down by him. I have no particulars regarding the deaths of the rest of our unfortunate countrymen, and their wives and children, but all* were at once put to death in the Jokun Bagh, with the exception of Mrs. Mutlow, who had concealed herself in the town, disguised in native apparel. She was subsequently rescued at the taking of Jhansie. Mr. Crawford, an Anglo-Indian clerk, escaped out of the fort during the night of the 7th June, and ultimately made his way to the Sumptur State, from whence he was forwarded to Cawnpore.

* See Appendix A.

36. The bodies of our country-people were left exposed on the high road, where they were murdered for three days, and were then thrown, the men, into one gravel pit, and the women and children into another, and covered over.

37. On the evening of the day of the massacre, proclamation was made that;—"The people are God's; the country is the King's (Padshah's); and the two religions govern."

38. In the mean time the detachment at Kurrara had also mutinied, and joined their comrades at Jhansie. Lieutenant Ryves escaped to Gwalior.

39. On the 9th June, there was a dispute as to who was to possess the Jhansie Territory, the Ranee and Sadasheo Rao bidding against each other. At last, on the Ranee paying down a large sum, and promising much more, the mutineers made it over to her, and proclamation was made that,—"The people are God's; the country is the Padshah's; and the Raj is Ranee

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Luchmee Baee's". She governed however on the part of her adopted son, a child of eight years, named Dumodhur Rao.

40. On the 11th June the mutineers left Jhansie for Dehli, accompanied by Bukshish Alee, Mahomed Buksh, police tomandar, many zillah and Customs burkundazes and others.

41. On failing to get the mutineers to espouse his cause, Sadasheo Rao, left Jhansie, and assembling some 300 men, on the 13th June, seized the fort of Kurrara, (30 miles west of Jhansie,) where he was joined by some Puar Thakoors. He turned out the British native officials, appointed his own, levied money, and issued a proclamation, to the effect that "Maharajah Sadasheo Rao Narain has seated himself on the throne of Jhansie, at Kurrara." Shortly after the Ranee sent some troops against him, and he fled to Nurwur, in Scindia's Territory, from whence he was inveigled by the Ranee into her power. He was made prisoner at the taking of Jhansie, and has been transported for life.

42. The Ranee having secured Jhansie and Kurrara, the other parts of the Jhansie district acknowledged her authority with very unimportant exceptions. Mr. Thornton, Deputy Collector, and Mr. Andrews, who were at Gurrota, however managed to escape to Sumptur, through the assistance of the Malgoozar of Ashta, who assembling some 40 men, escorted them there in safety, for which they have been rewarded.

43. The Ranee then sent agents to the Nana Sahib, levied troops, established a mint, and began strengthening the fortifications of Jhansie and Kurrara. At the same time she endeavored to keep terms with our Government, by writing to the Commissioner of Jubbulpoor, and to others, lamenting the massacre of our countrymen; stating that she was in no way concerned in it; and declaring that she only held the Jhansie district till our Government could make arrangements to re-occupy it. Her chief adherents and supporters were Moro Bulwunt (her father). Lulloo Bukshee, (pay master,) Jurroo Koour, Kashenath, tehseeldar of Punwaho, Gungadhur, Luchmun Rao Dewan, and Jowahir Singh of Kuttele, a Bondela Chief. The two first have been hanged; the third was killed at the storm of Jhansie; and others are still living and in rebellion.

44. Whilst the above events were taking place at Jhansie, affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis in the Jaloun district. On the 6th June, an express was received, by the Officer Commanding the two Companies of the 53rd Bengal Native Infantry at Oraie, stating that the Artillery, and some of the Infantry at Jhansie, had mutinied, and seized the Star Fort. At this time the above two Companies were about to be relieved by two others of the 56th Bengal Native Infantry from Cawnpore, regarding which Regiment the gravest suspicions were abroad. The Deputy Commissioner, Captain, Browne, therefore at once sent off the bulk of his treasure (4½ lacs) to Gwalior, under the guard of Lieutenant Tomkinson, and 100 men of the 53rd Bengal Native Infantry, called in two Companies of the 1st Gwalior Regiment from Etawah, which, with some Mahratta horse, reached Oraie at 1 A. M. of the 7th June, and directed the Officer Commanding the two Companies of the 56th Bengal Native Infantry to retrace his steps towards Cawnpoor forthwith, which he did, and reached Kalpee that night (6th), on which same night also the Deputy Commissioner received intelligence of the outbreak at Cawnpore. About this time also the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Browne, received a note from Sheo Pershad, Deputy Collector at Kalpee, in which he expressed a desire to desert his post. As Kalpee was a most important point of communication over the Jumna, it was of the greatest importance to hold it, and Lieutenant Lamb, Assistant Commissioner, volunteering to go there, Captain Browne sent him, and at the same time sent an express to the Brigadier at Gwalior, to send aid to Jhansie.

45. On Captain Cosseratt's detachment joining him, Captain Browne intended to proceed with it, and some Sumptur troops and guns, to the relief

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of the Europeans at Jhansie, leaving the police at Oraie; but on the 9th a letter was received from Mote, stating that all the Europeans in Jhansie had been killed; consequently Captain Browne gave up his intention of proceeding there. The same day the men of the 53rd Bengal Native Infantry, remaining at Oraie, deserted their Officers; the burkundazes of the Customs' Department mutinied; and Captain Cosseratt, who was at Koonch, received orders from his Commanding Officer to return to Etawah. On the 10th, the two sons of the Goorseraie Chief, who had offered Captain Browne aid, which he had accepted, arrived at Jaloun with a force of several hundred men, and a few guns, and on the same day Captain Browne and Lieutenant Lamb also proceeded to that place, where the former having met the sons, and assured himself of their good intentions, addressed a letter to their father, requesting him to afford every assistance in preserving order in the district.

46. Captain Browne, Lieutenant Lamb and Captain Cosseratt's party left Jaloun on the 11th or 12th June, and next day perwannahs were addressed in the name of the Goorseraie Chief, to the different Tehseeldars of the district, stating that the management of the district was entrusted to him, to whom all reports were to be sent. On the Tehseeldar referring the matter to Captain Browne, that Officer passed an order, that the Jageerdar was not to have control of the district, which was to remain under Mr. Passanah, Deputy Collector, who still remained at Oraie. A copy of this order was sent to Mr. Passanah by Lieutenant Browne, who also stated that some words had been interpolated in his Oordoo letter to the Goorseraie Chief. After this Captain Browne left the district, and proceeded with his Assistant, Lieutenant Lamb, to Etawah, having ascertained on his way that Kuchwagurh and the northern part of Jaloun, had become quite disorganized,—the Customs burkundazes having mutinied, the police loudly calling for their pay, and the petty Chiefs ready to rise.

47. As stated above, the Jhansie mutineers left that place for Dehli on the 11th June. On the 13th they reached Mote, (35 miles north east of Jhansie,) and having plundered the treasury, took away with them as a prisoner, Neaz Alee, Deputy Collector. On the 15th June, their advanced guard, consisting of 6 or 8 sowars, reached Oraie, and Messrs. Passanah and Griffiths, Deputy Collectors, who until then had remained there, left it in the night, and passed through Jaloun, where they met Sheo Ram Tantia, eldest son of Goorseraie Chief, who shortly after assumed entire authority over the Jaloun district. From Jaloun, Messrs. Passanah and Griffiths made for Gwalior; but on the 17th June they fell in with the 100 men of the 53rd Bengal Native Infantry, who had faithfully taken the Jaloun 4½ lacs of treasure to Gwalior. The men, it appears, had now mutinied, for they plundered the above two gentlemen, made them prisoners, and marched to Jaloun, where, Mr. Passanah says, they (the mutineers) were received with great cordiality by Sheo Ram Tantia, the Goorseraie Chief's eldest son, who made over to them 1,400 rupees of Government money, from the Tehseelee treasury, and bought from them Messrs. Passanah and Griffiths's horses, guns, &c. From Jaloun, the above two gentlemen were taken to Oraie, where they were released by the mutineers on the 21st June, the latter marching thence for Cawnpoor. They were however detained by a Sibundy guard of the Goorseraie Chief, and the head man made them over to the Gwalior Contingent, and 14th Cavalry mutineers from Lullutpoor, who reached Oraie the same day. These mutineers however did not molest them, and let them go.

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52. In the meantime Kooer Singh of Jugdeespoor and the 40th Bengal Native Infantry had reached Kalpee on the 19th October; they were in communication with the Gwalior mutineers at Jaloun, and on the 3rd November seized and imprisoned Sheo Ram Tatia, and on the 7th November were joined by the mutineers from Gwalior and marched to attack Cawnpoor.

53. The outbreak at Jhansie was of course soon known at Lullutpoor, and the Chundeyree district rapidly fell into greater disorder than ever. The Thakoors rose in all directions, commenced plundering, collected in large bodies, principally at Chundeyree and Talbehut and around Lullutpoor, and the Banpoor Rajah who had been invited to Lullutpoor by Captain A. C. Gordon's predecessor, Captain Hamilton, played a double game; for, while ostensibly professing loyalty to Government and blaming the rebellious Thakoors, he was in

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reality at the head of the rising, and by the 11th and 12th June had occupied the Ghâts about Malthone with strong parties of his matchlockmen. He also used his utmost endeavors to demoralize the sepoys of the wing of the 6th Gwalior Regiment, intrigued with the umlah, of whom Alee Hossein serishtadar, Sheikh Hidayet Alee a writer, and Juswunt Singh cotwal, were in the habit of going to him at night, and opened a private camel dawk to Jhansie. The Deputy Commissioner, Captain Gordon, was aware of the part the Banpoor Rajah was playing, but in the absence of reinforcements, for which he had written to Saugor, and to Scindia's Commander at Esaugurh, he, Captain A. C. Gordon, could do nothing more than desire the Rajah, if he were sincere in his professions, that he would obey orders, and at once retire to his own territory. The Rajah however still continued to hang on at Lullutpoor, intriguing, till Captain A. C. Gordon declined all further interviews with him, and peremptorily ordered him to Banpoor. Upon this the Rajah left Lullutpoor and took up his position at a fort of his own, called Mussowrah, (4 miles from the former place,) where he had collected a strong force of Boondelas and some guns, and then sent a strong force and 2 guns towards Chundeyree, although Captain A. C. Gordon had forbidden him to do so.

54. After the Rajah's departure Captain A. C. Gordon was in hopes, that as the sepoys seemed loyal, a stand might be made till succour arrived, and intended garrisoning the jail; but as the detachment had no guns, whilst the rebels had many at Mussowrah, which they could bring against the jail, the idea was given up.

55. The Deputy Commissioner considering, that with the rebels so close the Treasury was in an unsafe situation, determined to show his confidence in the sepoys, by having it removed into their lines for security, which was done on the 11th June, and the treasure lodged in the quarter guard.

56. On the morning of the 12th June, after a consultation with the Officer Commanding, Capatain Sale, it was determined that the detachment could not hold Lullutpoor, and that the best plan would be to fall back on the Gwalior Territory towards Esaugurh. The police had deserted their posts, and there was no hope save in the sepoys, some of whom however on this day, for the first time, showed a mutinous disposition, to which they are supposed to have been incited by 40 sowars of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, who this morning arrived from Nowgong, agreeably to a requisition of Captain Skene. The native officers were sent for by Captain Sale and made acquainted with the plan of falling back to Gwalior, to which they seemed to agree. As the amount of money in the Treasury was small (Rupees 25,000), as it was not desirable that it should fall into the hands of the Rajah, and as an inducement to the sepoys to abandon every thing but their ammunition, and to confirm waverers, Captain A. C. Gordon proposed to distribute it among the detachment, which was done in Captain Sale's presence, and it was explained to the sepoys that they were to consider it as a compensation for their loss of property.

57. As the Officers and the detachment were to start in the afternoon of the 12th June, leaving the station empty, and as the Rajah's men had pushed on to the Bazar, Captain A. C. Gordon considered it advisable, for the purpose of preventing plunder to make over the district to him (the Rajah,) who still professed friendship, to be held until our Government could re-establish their rule, and he gave the Rajah a perwanna to that effect.

58. Shortly after this, when all the Officers were assembled at Captain Sale's quarters, they were informed that there was great excitement in the lines, and that the men refused to march ; the Officers immediately proceeded to the lines and found two bodies of men collected, but without native Officers: these were the bad men of the regiment, the rest kept out of the way. Captain Sale and Doctor O'Brien went to one party, and Captain Irwin and A. C. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner, to the other. At first the men pretended that they could not march on account of want of carriage, upon which Captain A. C. Gordon promised them carriage, and every endeavor was made to induce them to march, but without avail, and at last they broke out into open mutiny ;

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and when reminded that the treasure had been given to them as compensation for loss of property, they replied that they considered it a gift from the King, and shouted "We are servants of the King of Dehli, not a man of us will go with you; however we won't take your lives, but you must be off." Being thus compelled to leave, Captain Sale and Doctor O'Brien went on ahead, the remainder of the Officers and ladies* proceeded by the Saugor road, but at the end of the bazar they fell in with some of the Rajah's men and were taken to Mussowrah, near which they were met by the Rajah's Kamdar, Doolaree Lall, with a paper guaranteeing them protection, which had been procured by Doctor O'Brien. The Rajah would not, however, see Captain A. C. Gordon.

59. On the 13th June the Rajah moved into Lullutpoor, with a large force and some guns, and the Officers and ladies were kept in the fort of Mussowrah as prisoners, although well treated in other respects. On the evening of the 14th June, Doolaree Lall, Kamdar, and Sheikh Hidayet Alee, (also called Mota Sheikh) came to Captain A. C. Gordon from the Rajah, and read him a paper in the vernacular, telling him he must write and sign a similar one in English. The paper was to the following effect:—"Owing to dacoities, bloodshed, &c., and the mutiny of the sepoys, I was unable to manage the district, and consequently I handed over charge to the Rajah of Banpoor. I affirm, agreeably to my religion, that I have written this of my own free will. Any British troops arriving in the district are to assist the Rajah." As Captain A. C. Gordon was completely in the Rajah's powers, and as he felt that his refusal would probably lead to the sacrifice of the whole party, he complied with the Rajah's demand; but as soon as he had an opportunity he communicated the facts of the case to Major Gaussen, who commanded the nearest Military post.

60. During all the above transactions, Captain A. C. Gordon received no assistance from either of the Deputy Collectors, Nissar Ahmed, or Zenoolahdeen Khan, nor from any other native official: they all deserted him.

61. On the 15th June the party were sent from Mussowrah to Banpoor, where they arrived on the morning of the 16th, and were visited in the course of the day by the Rajah's Mookhtar, Mohamed Alee, who, in consequence of his opposition to his master's rebellious schemes, had fallen into disgrace. At 2 A. M. of the 17th, the party were forwarded to Tehree, under a guard of Banpoor men, and accompanied by a servant of Mohamed Alee. The guard left the party at the Tehree boundary,—the Jamnee river,—notwithstanding their remonstrances, and the Europeans proceeded towards Tehree, accompanied only by Mohamed Alee's servant. They had barely gone a mile, when they were stopped by a party of Tehree troops, and peremptorily ordered to recross the river into Banpoor; these matchlockmen stated that they had been expressly ordered to prevent the Europeans entering the Tehree State, and had been waiting at another ford. After some delay, leave was obtained for the Europeans to send Mohamed Alee's servant to Tehree, to endeavor to procure permission for them to proceed there. After a delay of some hours this was granted, and shortly after the party arrived at Tehree; they were invited to take up their quarters in the house of Prem Narain, the tutor of the young Rajah, to whose good offices Captain A. C. Gordon thinks they owe their admission to Tehree, as the Ranee's minister, Nuthay Khan, and others were strongly opposed to it. The Tehree authorities stated that they had received no intimation from the Banpoor Rajah of the approach of the Europeans; but this, Captain A. C. Gordon is of opinion, is untrue, and he thinks that there was a treacherous plan, previously arranged, between the Tehree and Banpoor authorities, for the destruction of the party, which was frustrated by the good faith of Mohamed Alee and Prem Narain. Both these men have been rewarded by Government.

62. The party remained in Tehree in the house of Prem Narain, till the 2nd July; they were well treated, but never officially noticed by the Ranee,

* The Lullutpoor party consisted of Captain A. C. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner; Captain Sale, Commanding 6th Regiment Gwalior Infantry; Captain Irwin, 6th Ditto; Mrs. Irwin and 2 Children; Doctor O'Brien, 6th Regiment Gwalior Infantry; the Sergeant Major and his wife; Mr. Verrier, Customs Department; Captain Gordon's two Madras servants.

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or her chief adviser, Nuthay Khan, and all information, as to what was going on, was carefully kept from them. Captain A. C. Gordon repeatedly requested that the party might be forwarded to Saugor, but he was continually put off by one excuse or other. On the 30th June, a letter written by me* to the Ranee, reached Tehree, on which the Tehree authorities promised to send the Europeans to Saugor by the Shahgurh road, under a strong guard. At last, on the 2nd July, the party started under a Tehree guard for Shahgurh, deserted by all the amla and attendants, save Captain A. C. Gordon's Madras servants, who still kept with their master. They arrived at Shahgurh on the 5th July, and the Rajah of that place came out to meet them, received them in a most hospitable manner, and supplied all their wants. In the afternoon the Europeans returned the Rajah's visit, on which occasion he was profuse in his offers of service, and appeared to wish them to remain his guests for some days. On the 7th July, the party had made every preparation for proceeding to Saugor, but on that day the Rajah informed them of the mutiny which had taken place, and of the impossibility of their proceeding there. He made great professions of friendship to our Government, but said that he expected Government would give him the Gurrakotta district as a reward. He left Shahgurh a day or two after, to join his troops at Kutowra. On the 10th July the Europeans were informed by one of the Rajah's servants, Girdharee, that the Saugor mutineers were rapidly advancing to Shahgurh, and that their lives would be in danger if they did not immediately leave the place. Shortly after, some of the mutineer Irregular Cavalary arrived, accompanied by the Rajah, whom they had met at Kutowra, and compelled to come with them. The rest of the Saugor mutineers arrived in the course of the day. The Europeans were immediately sent to a garden house of the Rajah, and moved about from village to village till the mutineers left, when they returned to Shahgurh.

63. By this time the Rajah of Shahgurh had already invaded the British district of Saugor, and was a rebel, like the Banpoor Rajah, with whom he was in constant correspondence; but he still continued his professions of loyalty to Captain A. C. Gordon, provided our Government would give him the Gurrakotta Pergunah.

64. On the evening of the 18th July, the Rajah fired a salute for the supposed fall of Dehli, and next morning the Europeans were told they were to start at once for Saugor. Until then they had received great kindness from the Rajah, who no doubt saved them from the Saugor mutineers; but from this time they experienced nothing but ill-treatment. They were hurried off without seeing the Rajah, and made over as prisoners to a guard, under his brother, Dewan Luchmun Singh, and occasionally exposed to very insulting treatment, being threatened with hanging and flogging. Thakoor Luchmun Singh, of Narhut, however, who pretended to have joined the rebels, but who had come into their camp to communicate with Captain Gordon, on the part of Major Western, Deputy Commissioner of Saugor, prevailed on Dewan Luchmun Singh to apologize, and treat them better. Shortly after Dewan Luchmun Singh left to attack the British troops at Benaika, by whom he was defeated, with the loss of a cannon, he himself being severely wounded. Upon this, the Europeans were sent to a place called Papeete, confined in a cowshed, and insulted in every way. On the 25th July, Captain A. C. Gordon was sent for by the Shahgurh Rajah, who stated that his troops had attacked our forces contrary to his orders, and that he was still anxious to be our ally, but on the old condition, the gift of the Gurrakota Pergunah, and that his gun should be restored to him: he added that he gave our Government eight days to consider his terms, and if he received an unfavorable reply, he should join the rebels. He also promised to send the Europeans direct to Saugor, one of their party remaining with him as a hostage for the return of his gun, and he finished by apologizing for the hardships they had suffered. Upon this, Captain A. C. Gordon gave the Rajah a certificate, in which he mentioned the Rajah's kind treatment of the party at first, and that he had saved their lives from the mutineers, &c.

* I was then at Saugor on official duty.

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65. On the morning of the 27th July, the party started with a guard for Benaika, a town in the Saugor district. Their arms, of which they had been deprived, had been restored to them. After they had proceeded some distance, a Saugor hurkara, who accompanied them, told Captain A. C. Gordon that he suspected some treachery, as they were being taken off the proper road. When about a coss from Benaika, they were met by three sowars, who demanded their weapons, saying they had been sent by the Rajah to bring the party back, and had been ordered to kill them if they did not obey. The Shahgurh guard, consisting of 30 men, made no objection, indeed assisted the sowars. On their way back, they halted at Zalimpoor, where the sowars again threatened the Europeans, and one of them drove his spear into the cheek-bone of Mr. Verrier, of the Salt Department, inflicting a deep and dangerous wound. On reaching Papeete, they met a party of the Rajah's troops, and the sowars immediately made off. The Commander of these troops declared that the sowars had not been sent by the Rajah to recall them, and sent off a messenger to him to state what had occurred. The Rajah ignored the whole proceeding, stating that the sowars were inhabitants of the Saugor district.

66. I may here remark, that Captain A. C. Gordon states, that all through the Banpoor, Tehree, and Shahgurh States, the feeling against the people of the Salt Department is bitterly hostile.

67. On the 29th July, the whole party was removed to Baretta, a fort in the middle of the jungle, and they were informed that the Rajah could not send them to Saugor, owing to the disturbed state of the country. They remained at Baretta until the end of their captivity, the 12th September 1857, during which time their treatment was worse than they had before experienced. They were confined in two low, leaky rooms, sometimes anckle-deep in mud, situated in a small courtyard, one side of which was occupied by the guard. They had no change of clothes, were not permitted to go any where without a detail of the guard. Their food was of the coarsest description—atta, rice and dâl; like the usual fare of prisoners in jail, the daily sum allowed to support fifteen people, being one rupee and two pice. Captain A. C. Gordon wrote to the Rajah, representing that their health was suffering from this treatment, but no notice was taken of his letter, and no change took place until very shortly before their departure. In the meantime several of the party, particularly Doctor O'Brien, who nearly died, suffered severely in health.

68. On the 7th September 1857, Colonel Millar's Madras Column having advanced to Dumoh, the Shahgurh Rajah became alarmed, and he sent for Captain A. C. Gordon to Shahgurh and, stating that he had made up his mind to send the whole party into Saugor in safety, expressed a wish to be friendly to our Government, on the former conditions, and insisted on giving 200 rupees as compensation to those who had been deprived of their arms; which sum Captain A. C. Gordon afterwards lodged in the Saugor Treasury with some other articles, which had been forced on him by the Rajah.

69. The party left Baretta on the 12th, and reached Saugor in safety on the 14th September 1857. They had a most fortunate and narrow escape, for the Madras Column, to whose advance to Dumoh they owe their release, was obliged, in consequence of the mutiny of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry at Jubbulpoor, to fall back from Dumoh towards Jubbulpoor on the 21st September, only seven days after Captain A. C. Gordon and his party reached Saugor.

70. As stated above, the Rajah of Banpoor with a large force and some guns went from Murrowrah to Lullutpoor on the 13th June, the day after the Europeans took shelter in the former place. A quarrel arose between him and the 6th Regiment Gwalior mutineers and sowars, regarding the treasure which Captain A. C. Gordon had distributed to the latter, the Rajah demanding a share which the mutineers refused. The mutineers marched from Lullutpoor in the evening, and almost immediately after they left the place were attacked by the Rajah's followers and other Boondelas, but beat them off with little loss to themselves, the Boondelas suffering severely. These attacks were continued by

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the Boondelas until the mutineers crossed the Betwa river, north of Talbehut, into the Jhansie district, the Boondelas always getting worsted. The mutineers passed through Jhansie, where they were well received by the Ranee, feasted by her for three days in the Jokun Lâgh, and, as stated above, they reached Oraie on the 21st June, from which place they proceeded to Kalpee and joined the other mutineers already there.

71. The Rajah of Banpoor was now in full possession of the Chundeyree district, and appears to have been obeyed as well as Native Princes usually are. He plundered all who were supposed to favor our Government, extorted money from the trading classes, raised revenue, and established a cannon foundry on the European principle, with an excellent boring apparatus, at Banpoor.* The Tehseeldar of Lullutpoor, Hyat Alee the Serishtadar, Alee Hoseein, and Hidyat Alee writer, all took service under him.

72. Major Erskine, Commissioner of Jubbulpoor, having received a letter dated 7th June, from Captain F. Gordon, written from the fort at Jhansie, stating the danger he and the other Officers were in, and another letter dated 10th June from Captain A. C. Gordon from Lullutpoor, stating that it was reported that all the Europeans at Jhansie had been killed, ordered me on the 20th June to proceed on special duty from Jubbulpoor to Saugor, and, joining Major Gaussen's detachment of the Saugor force then at Malthone, to proceed to Chundeyree and take general charge of that district, and should Captain Skene be alive and at liberty, to communicate with him and place myself under his orders; but should he have been killed or made prisoner, I was to take his place as Officiating Superintendent, and make the best arrangements to restore order in the Chundeyree, Jhansie, and Jaloun districts, and release the Europeans, &c.

73. I reached Saugor on the 24th June, and there met a horse-keeper of Captain Skene's, who had seen the massacre at Jhansie; and I also received authentic intelligence of the mutiny at Lullutpoor and flight of the Europeans from that place to Tehree. On the 25th June I saw Brigadier Sage, Commanding Saugor Division, and it was settled with him that I should at once join Major Gaussen's detachment (which had been reinforced, and was about 600 strong with two guns), that it should advance straight on Banpoor, and then proceed to Lullutpoor, and afterwards be guided by circumstances. I also wrote to the Banpoor Rajah, that if he at once came in to me without committing any act of hostility, no harm should befall him, that these were the only terms that would be offered to him, that the march of the detachment would not be stayed for any further negociation, and that if he did not come in he would be considered a public enemy.

74. On the evening of the 26th June intelligence was received at Saugor, that part of Major Gaussen's detachment had mutinied and released some Boondela prisoners. I accordingly delayed my departure, and on the 29th June Brigadier Sage, considering that the Saugor force was in a mutinous state, ordered all the Europeans into the fort, and I accompanied them. On the 3rd July the Saugor troops broke out into open mutiny, and on the 12th July the part of Major Gaussen's detachment which remained faithful, reached Saugor from Malthone, having left the latter place on the 7th or 8th July.

75. On the 7th or 8th July, the Banpoor Rajah took possession of the Saugor Pergunahs of Khemlassa and Korae, and plundered the treasure in the latter place where he was joined by our Tehseeldar, who is still in rebellion. The garrison of Saugor having been severely crippled by the mutiny of the greater part of it, the Banpoor Rajah remained in possession of the northern part of the Saugor district, until the arrival of Sir H. Rose's force at Ratgurh and Saugor in January 1858.

76. Having been appointed to other duties, I left Saugor on the 13th July, and did not return till February 1858.

* On the occupation of Banpoor by Sir H. Rose's force, it was destroyed.

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77. As stated above, the Ranee of Jhansie's authority was established throughout the Jhansie district, very shortly after the massacre of the Europeans and departure of the mutineers. The Tehree or Oorcha State, however, conceiving that the British authority might possibly be overthrown, never to be re-established, thought a favorable opportunity had arrived, certainly for plunder, and probably for aggrandizing itself from the former territories of our Government. It is to be observed also, that the greater part of the Jhansie territory had, generations ago, formed part of the Tehree or Oorcha State, which was then probably the most powerful State in Bundelkund; but the Rajah of that time having been defeated by the Mahrattas, was obliged to cede to them the part of his territory now included in Jhansie, which was formed into a petty Mahratta sub-State, dependant on the Peishwa.

78. On the 10th August 1857, therefore, a Tehree force took Mhow Raneepoor, and overran the three Pergunahs of Mhow, Pundwaho and Gurrota, situated between the Betwa and Dessan rivers, plundered the mahajuns and cultivating classes to a great extent, drove off cattle, and in many instances burned down villages. The Tehree troops then moved against Burwa Saugor, which they took, and on the 3rd September 1857 sat down before and besieged Jhansie, under Nutteh Khan, the minister, in person. The siege continued till 22nd October 1857 when, having been outwitted by the Banpoor Rajah, who came to Jhansie and introduced provisions which were much needed, and having heard of the fall of Debli, and knowing that the affairs of the British Government were improving, Nuthay Khan raised the siege. His troops, however, had in the meantime inflicted great injury on the agricultural population, to the east and south of Jhansie, plundering and driving off cattle as usual. During all these proceedings, the Tehree State represented itself as our ally, and acting against the rebel Ranee of Jhansie, but at the same time its Agents collected all the Government Revenue of those parts of the Jhansie district of which it held possession, namely Mhow, Pundwaho, Gurrota, and the east and south of Jhansie, to the amount of about two lacs of rupees, which it has not yet repaid. The injury inflicted on the population by this invasion by the Tehree State was very great, and it will be long before they recover from it, particularly the loss of their cattle.

79. In January 1858 the Ranee of Jhansie's troops, under Junnoo Baea, began to gain the ascendancy about Pundwaho, and Mhow Raneepoor, and on the 1st March the Tehree troops were defeated, and expelled from all the Jhansie territory between the Betwa and Dessan rivers. The Ranee entered into close relations with the Nana, Tantia Topee, and the Banpoor Rajah.

80. Thus at the beginning of 1858, the Jhansie Superintendency was held by the undermentioned rebels:—

Jhansie district, (with few exceptions) by the Ranee of Jhansie.

Jaloun, (save Pergunahs Duboh and Kuchwagurh) by the Taee Baee for her son.

Chundeyree, by the Banpoor Rajah, who also held the north-west part of the Saugor district.

The Pergunah of Duboh was held by the friendly native State of Duttia and Kuchwagurh, by Scindia.

81. Sir H. Rose having taken Ratgurh and defeated the rebels at Banodia in Jaunary 1858, the Banpoor Rajah abandoned Korae and Khemlassa in the Saugor district, and withdrew into the districts of Chundeyree and Banpoor. Having taken Gurrakotta, Sir Hugh advanced from Saugor on the 27th February;—Captains Maclean, Ternan, and myself, having joined his force at that place on the previous day, agreeably to the order of Major Erskine, Commissioner Jubbulpoor, for the purpose of taking up our appointments in the Jhansie Superintendency.

82. The British force reached Rajwas on the 1st March, and Sir Hugh Rose having ascertained that the Rajah of Banpoor with a strong force held the Narhut pass, determined to make a feint in his direction, and to force the easier

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pass, that of Muddunpoor, which was held by the Shahgurh Rajah's troops and the 52nd Bengal mutineers. This was done on the 3rd March, the enemy being defeated with severe loss. Upon this the Rajah of Banpoor abandoned the Narhut ass and fell back towards Banpoor and Talbehut, both of which places were pabndoned on the approach of our forces, the advance of which under Major Orr reached Talbehut on the 13th March. The administration of the Chundeyree district, including Banpoor, was made over temporarily to Captain Maclean, who established thanahs of Tehree troops in different places. Meanwhile the siege of Chundeyree was being carried on by the 1st Brigade of Sir H. Rose's force, under Brigadier Stewart of the Bombay Army, which retarded the movement of the second Brigade. Chundeyree having been taken, the 2nd Brigade under Sir H. Rose in person advanced on Jhansie, which its Cavalry reached and surrounded on the night of the 20th March, the remaining part of the Brigade arriving next day.

83. Sir H. Rose having reconnoitred the enemy's defences, opened three attacks to the south and east of the town, which with the fort he completely invested with his Cavalry. The other Brigade from Chundeyree joined him before Jhansie on the 25th March. On the 29th March intelligence was received that Tantia Topee and the Banpoorand Shahgurh Rajahs were advancing from Mhow Raneepoor, at the head of upwards of 15,000 men, with the intention of relieving Jhansie. On the night of the 31st March, Tantia Topee crossed the Betwa, and on the 1st April at dawn attacked Sir H. Rose, who himself with the disposable portion of his 2nd Brigade (about 1,200) was drawn up in rear of his Camp. He had sent a portion of the 1st Brigade under Brigadier Stewart, Bombay Army, to take Tantia Topee in flank should opportunity offer. The remaining part of our force kept up the siege and investment of Jhansie. Tantia Topee was completely defeated losing upwards of 1,000 men killed, and 18 guns; his army fled in two bodies, one towards Kalpee, the other towards Mhow Raneepoor.

84. On the 3rd April the town of Jhansie was assaulted, and with the fort was completely in our possession by the night of the 5th April. At the beginning of the assault the Ranee retired into the fort, which however she evacuated on the night of the 4th, and made off by Bandhere to Koonch and Kalpee. From the beginning to the end of the siege of Jhansie, the enemy's loss could not have been less than between 3,000 and 4,000 men, exclusive of the battle of the Betwa.

85. On Jhansie falling, the fort of Kurrara, which until then had been held for the Ranee by a garrison of 2,000 men, was abandoned by them.

86. Captain Maclean was put in charge of the district, and proceeded to establish thanahs of men furnished by native States and friendly Thakoors, in that part of the district to the west of the Betwa. Shortly after Major Orr's Hydrabad Contingent was sent to the east of the Betwa to clear out the country between that river and the Dessan, which that Officer effectually accomplished, and Captain Maclean then established his thanahs in that direction also.

87. Sir H. Rose was detained at Jhansie some time, in consequence of its being supposed that the Kota rebels, who had been defeated by General Roberts, were on their way towards this part of the country; but this being found not to be the case, Sir H. Rose with the greater part of his force marched from Jhansie in the Koonch direction on the 26th April, leaving Col. Liddell with a small force to hold Jhansie.

88. It not having been possible to spare any regular troops to occupy the Chundeyree district, disturbances soon broke out there, and before our forces advanced from Jhansie, large bodies of rebels had assembled under the Rana and attacked our Tehseelee at Talbehut. They were, however, beaten off.

89. On the 7th May, the force under Sir H. Rose attacked the mutineers and rebels at Koonch, where they had taken up a strong position. By

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a flank march he succeeded in turning their defences, and took the old fort, which rendered their position untenable. They were completely defeated, and lost about 350 killed, all mutineers, and nine guns, and fell back in great disorder to Kalpee. Koonch was occupied for us by 300 of the Goorseraie Chief's troops, and Sir H. Rose again advanced towards Kalpee on the 9th May. Captain Ternan assumed charge of the Jaloun district at Koonch.

90. The Taee Baee and her followers came in and submitted to Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun, and to Sir R. Hamilton, Agent Governor General at Oraie, on the 10th May; and Jaloun was occupied for us by friendly Thakoors.

91. On the 10th May, the Humeerpoor district was added to the Jhansie Superintendentship, and the whole formed into a Commissionership.

92. On the 15th May, Sir H. Rose's advanced Brigade reached Goolowlee on the Jumna, four miles below Kalpee, where it was joined by the other Brigade three days after. On the 20th, the garrison of Kalpee made an attack on our right, but were easily driven back. On the 22nd May, however, the enemy made a very determined attack along our whole line, their Infantry attacking our right in the ravines with great pertinacity, and their Cavalry and some guns endeavoring to turn our left. By about 1 P. M., however, they were entirely driven off, and suffered a heavy loss.

93. On the 23rd May, Sir H. Rose attacked Kalpee which the enemy abandoned, and suffered a loss of about 400 killed, and all their guns. They made off in the direction of Gwalior, accompanied by the Ranee of Jhansie, Rao Sahib, and the Banda Nawab; but although a pursuing Column was sent after them, they were not overtaken.

94. As stated above, when Sir Hugh Rose advanced through Bundelkund to Kalpee, he had no troops he could spare to occupy any of the country and positions he had passed through, save Jhansie itself. This unfortunate circumstance soon produced its natural fruit. The rebels, who for a time had as it were been stunned by the heavy blow at Jhansie, seeing no troops, soon recovered confidence. The rebel Rajahs of Banpoor and Shahgurh, having shortly before the affair at Koonch on the 7th May, doubled round Sir H. Rose's right flank, reached their own territories, which by the end of May were in open rebellion, and the fort of Chundeyree was recaptured by the rebels. Burjore Singh, a rebel Thakoor of the Jaloun district, was in full activity, plundering around Koonch; Mote, 35 miles from Jhansie, on the Kalpee road, and a Tehseelee station was taken, plundered and partially burned by the rebel Thakoors, Gumbeer Singh and Debey Singh, on the 23rd May, the very day Sir H. Rose took Kalpee; and even earlier than this, the Puar Thakoors, around Kurrara, had attacked Dinars, only 16 miles from Jhansie. In Kuchwagurh plundering had never altogether ceased.

95. On the 28th April, having received intelligence of Burjore Singh's outrages, I applied to Sir H. Rose for a Military detachment to proceed against him, and he detailed Major Orr's Hydrabad force for that purpose. Major Orr surprised Burjore Singh at Belawan on the 31st May, killed about 150 of his armed followers, took all his baggage and dispersed his band, and in consequence other disaffected Thakoors of Bheyr, Ameta, and Buroda came in and submitted to me. I then accompanied Major Orr's force to Mote, with the intention of proceeding against Gumbeer Singh and Debey Singh, between the Dessan and Betwa, which part of the country was in great disorder; but on the 5th June we received news of the revolution at Gwalior, and the flight of Scindia to Agra, and on the 6th Major Orr received orders from Sir H. Rose, to proceed towards Gwalior viâ Jhansie, towards which latter place he marched on the 7th June; Sir H. Rose having in the meantime marched direct on Gwalior, leaving a garrison in Kalpee.

96. The revolution in Gwalior had a ruinous effect on our endeavors to restore peace in the Jhansie division; within a week of the fact getting gene-

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rally known, nearly the whole of the country between the Betwa and Dessan was up, and that to the south and west of Pichore and Kurrara shortly followed. As Sir H. Rose's force passed through Jaloun and Kuchwagurh on its way to Gwalior, that part of the country remained quiet a short time longer; but when the troops left, it rose like the rest.

97. At this time, the middle of June 1858, there were in the whole Jhansie division, including Chundeyree, Jhansie, Jaloun, and Humeerpoor, only two Military posts, one at Jhansie under Colonel Liddell, consisting of 557 Rank and File, 3rd Bombay European Infantry, 538, 24th Bombay Native Infantry, 34 Bhopal Native Artillery with 3 guns, 113 Hydrabad Cavalry and 83 Sappers; total 1,325 Rank and File, but amongst these were included the whole of the sick and wounded up to the taking of Jhansie of Sir H. Rose's force; and as the fort and town of Jhansie had to be guarded there only remained for duty 391 Rank and File of all arms. The other post was at Kalpee, consisting of 124 Royal Artillery, 417 Rank and File of H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers, and 353 Rank and File of the 19th Madras Native Infantry; total 894 Rank and File, but of these there only remained 644 Rank and File for duty, and as Kalpee was an important post, not much more than half of these were disposable. In the Chundeyree and Humeerpoor districts we had not a man.

98. On the 6th June Captain Maclean, who had been sent from Jhansie to take charge of the Chundeyree district, and who had with him only 150 Gond police and some Tehree troops, finding that his position at Lullutpoor was not tenable, fell back to Banpoor and from thence to Tehree. Shortly after the whole of the district of Chundeyree, save the Fort of that name which, having been re-occupied, was held for us by Scindia's troops, and Banpoor, fell into the hands of the rebels; and I placed Captain Maclean in charge of the Jhansie district, as until regular forces were disposable it was useless making any more attempts to reduce the Chundeyree district to order.

99. The country between the Betwa and Dessan in the Jhansie district was overrun by about 2,000 rebels and 500 mutineers, part of whom had come from the Humeerpoor district. The Rais of Goorseraie, Kesho Rae, alone held out for us at Goorseraie in the north, while the Tehseeldar and Thanahdar of Mhow held out in the fort of that place in the south. The rebels under Chuttur Singh, Bukht Singh of Alipoora, Kashenath, &c. besieged the Tehseeldar in the fort of Mhow on the 21st June. On the 24th June the Tehseeldar and Thanahdar having been treacherously given up by their own men were put to death by the rebels three days after in cold blood. I applied to Colonel Liddell for troops, but he stated that he could spare none from Jhansie. I then, as Gwalior had fallen, applied to Sir H. Rose, who at first stated that none were available, but shortly after he sent a reinforcement as noted in the margin* to Jhansie, which reached that place on the 10th July. On the 2nd July a Military detachment under Captain Montriou, which I accompanied, proceeded to occupy Mote, which step was rendered necessary by the rebels of Jaloun under Burjore Singh, Dowlut Singh, and others, and mutineers from beyond the Jumna having again collected in great force and taken the large town of Koonch, which until then had been held for us by the son of the Rais of Goorseraie, with 500 matchlockmen. On the arrival of Captain Montriou's detachment at Mote the Goorseraie troops again re-occupied it, (Koonch) and the rebel Burjore Singh took up a strong position at Mhow Mahoni.

* 1 Squadron 14th Dragoons.
3 Troops 3rd Bombay Cavalry.
1 Company Sappers and Miners.
1 Wing 3rd Bombay Europeans.
4 Companies 24th Bombay Native Infantry.
1 Battery Bombay Horse Artillery.

100. On the 5th July 1858 the Banpoor Rajah having previously opened negociations with Captain Maclean, gave himself up to Mr. Thornton, Assistant Superintendent at Murrowra, but was shortly after allowed to return to the Chundeyree district, where he continued intriguing and collecting revenue till early in August when he finally came in, and with the Shahgurh Rajah proceeded under an escort to Gwalior.

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101. Owing, notwithstanding frequent requisitions on the part of the Civil Authorities, to no active Military operations being undertaken from Kalpee, Kuchwagurh, and the west of the Jaloun district fell almost entirely into the hands of the rebels headed by Burjore Singh and Dowlut Singh.

102. On the 19th July Colonel Liddell sent 150 of the 24th Bombay Native Infantry, 50 of the 3rd Bombay Europeans, and one gun across the Betwa to garrison Burwa Saugor for the purpose of holding in check the rebels about Mhow Raneepoor, amounting to about 6,000 men or more, headed by Junnoo Baea, Chuttur Singh, and Bukht Singh of Alipoora. The Desput of Jeitpoor had also brought them a considerable reinforcement from the Humeerpoor district. The Goorseraie Chief however still held out for us at Goorseraie.

103. About this time although the station of Humeerpoor was held by a small detachment, yet there were no other troops in the district, and Mr Freeling the Deputy Commissioner reported that in Pergunah Mahoba most o. the Talookdars and Obareedars were in arms against us; the collection weref little or nothing, and that in Jeitpoor the case was much worse, the presence of the troops of the Rajah of Chirkaree alone enabling the Tehseeldar to remain at his post; but that his being there was useless, as even the neighbouring villages would not obey his orders. The Desput also made an irruption from Mhow Raneepoor, and placed a garrison in Kashipoora.

104. On the 26th July 1858 an express arrived from the Tehseeldar of Pichore, (34 miles south-west of Jhansie,) stating that the rebels under Munsaram, (an adherent of the late Ranee of Jhansie,) after taking the fort of Myapoor, and hanging some of our police there, were advancing on the fort of Pichore, round which their Cavalry had placed pickets, and that he (the Tehseeldar) expected to be attacked next day. I immediately applied to Colonel Liddell for Military aid, which he gave, and on the same evening a detachment, as noted in the margin,* and accompanied by Captain Maclean, Deputy Commissioner, marched against the rebels and saved Pichore. This detachment was subsequently reinforced, drove the rebels altogether out of the west of Jhansie district, and having enabled Captain Maclean to settle that part of the country, shortly after returned to Jhansie.

*50 Bombay Light Cavalry.
100 of the 24th Bombay Native Infantry.
100 Gond Police.

105. On the 25th July, I received an express from Captain Ternan, saying that the rebels were closing round Jaloun, that no troops would be sent to it from Kalpee, and asking me to apply for a force from Jhansie to save it. As Jaloun is 76 miles from Jhansie, and out of the radius of operations of the Jhansie Brigade, which had already enough on its hands, this could not be done; but I immediately reported the state of affairs to Government, with the view of getting troops ordered there from Kalpee, which was afterwards done; but in the meantime, the rebels under Burjore Singh, with some mutineers growing bold, from no Military operations being undertaken against them, again attacked Koonch, only 38 miles from Kalpee, drove out of it and defeated the 500 men who, under the son of the Goorseraie Chief, held it for us, killing upwards of 30 of them, including two Officers, and taking two guns. This had a very bad effect on the Jaloun district, and also on the northern part of the Jhansie district; its northern Thanah Pandokhur being driven in, and the Puars and other malcontents collected in small parties, preparatory to a rise.

106. On the 2nd August, Jaloun was taken by the rebels; but hearing of the approach of a party of troops, as noted in the margin,* which had at last moved from Kalpee, they again abandoned it on the 3rd August; but not before they had deliberately put to death the Thanahdar there. The above detachment, under Major Synge, remained in garrison at Jaloun.

* 180 H. M.'s 43rd Foot.
130 of the 19th Madras Native Infantry.
2 Guns.

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107. Colonel Liddell having organized a field force of 700 men of all arms, moved across the Betwa river, towards Mhow Raneepoor, on the 11th August. As Captain Maclean, the Deputy Commissioner, was still employed settling the country about Pichore and Kurrara, I accompanied Colonel Liddell. On hearing of Colonel Liddell's force having reached Burwa Saugor, the rebels (save about 200 under Bukht Singh of Alipoora,) abandoned Mhow Raneepoor, and under Kashenath, made for Gurrota. When Colonel Liddell arrived at Bijigurh fort, which he destroyed on the 14th August, the rebels having abandoned it. Kashenath's force broke up, and the greater part fled across the Dessan into the Humeerpoor district. In the meantime Kesho Rao of Goorseraie getting bold on our approach, attacked and dispersed the rebel bands of Debey Singh and Gumbeer Singh, and the Tehree troops (then acting as our allies) drove Bukht Singh's small party out of Mhow Raneepoor. Within seven days after Colonel Liddell had crossed the Betwa, there was not an armed band of rebels left between the Dessan and the Betwa.

108. When the first Amnesty proclamation was originally published, the country between the Dessan and Betwa was in the hands of the rebels, and it could not be made known so extensively as was desirable. I therefore directed the Tehseeldars to have it again published in every village, and to report to me that the order was carried out; this had a very good effect, for very shortly all the rebels of that part of the country, save proclaimed offenders, were induced to come in by Captain Maclean, (who joined Colonel Liddell's Camp a few days after,) and that Officer was enabled by great good management to settle that part of the country which, notwithstanding the neighbourhood of large bodies of rebels in the Humeerpoor district, has remained quite peaceful up to this day.

109. On the rebels breaking up, Colonel Liddell divided his force into two parties; one, under Captain Thompson, 14th Dragoons, took post at Gurrota which it reached on the 26th August, and the other under Colonel Liddell himself encamped at Mhow Raneepoor, where it arrived on the 24th August with a view to intercept the rebels whom, it was supposed, General Whitlock's expected advance from Banda would drive back on Colonel Liddell's force.

110. About the time that Colonel Liddell advanced from Burwa Saugor, (13th August) Chuttur Singh with a large party of rebels advanced against and attacked Raat in the Humeerpoor district, which he took through the treachery of those defending it, who gave up to him;—the Tehseeldar, and Thanahdar, and Canoongoe, all of whom he caused to be put to death the next day.

111. In the middle of August, a strong detachment of the three arms was sent under Captain Ashburner, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, towards Mhow Mahoni and Koonch, to act against Burjore Singh and to co-operate with the Kalpee force. He effectually cleared the Bandere and Mote Pergunahs of Jhansie of rebels. On the 4th September, Captain Ashburner attacked and drove Burjore Singh out of Mhow Mahoni, killed 40 of his men, and took his two guns and all his ammunition; and on the 5th September, Brigadier McDuff, who had moved out of Kalpee, attacked and defeated a large body of rebels and mutineers at Surawun, 10 miles north of Jaloun, killing about 150 and taking one gun. Captain Ashburner subsequently entered Kuchwagurh, and his and Brigadier McDuff's force effectually broke up for a time the bands of rebels in the Jaloun district, and Captain Ternan was enabled to get the eastern part into something like order; he had already most satisfactorily settled the eastern part.

112. General Whitlock having advanced from Banda, was at Mahoba on the 4th September, from which place he advanced to and destroyed the abandoned fort of Sreenuggur. In the meantime, the rebels in the Humeerpoor district, being unopposed in the central Pergunahs, plundered and committed outrages unchecked, and extended themselves along the east bank of the Dessan, from its junction with the Betwa to about Kashipoora. On the 22nd September, Captain Thompson, 14th Dragoons, having agreeably to order

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moved nearer to Colonel Liddell, was encamped at Simerda, when Chuttur Singh with about 1,200 matchlockmen, some sowars and 2 guns suddenly forded the Dessan, which was very deep, and marching rapidly round Captain Thompson's left flank, took possession of the town and fort of Gurrota, seven miles from Simerda. On the 23rd September, Captain Thompson finding the roads so flooded and muddy that he could not move his guns, left them in Camp with a guard, and taking with him 50 of the 3rd Bombay Europeans, 50 of the 24th Bombay N. I. and 50 of the 14th Dragoons, forded the Lackara river, and attacked and drove Chuttur Singh, out of Gurrota, killing about 60 men, and taking his two guns, all his ammunition and much baggage. Chuttur Singh immediately fled over the Dessan into the Humeerpoor district, towards Jignee; but as Brigadier Munsey was at Raat on the 21st, his band totally dispersed, and he himself went into concealment, it is not known where. General Whitlock had in the meantime advanced in the direction of Punwaree, and all the rebels of the Humeerpoor district made towards Jeitpoor in the south.

113. At the end of August, Lieutenant Fenton, Deputy Commissioner of Chundeyree, left Jhansie to take charge of his District. He had with him only a few police, under Captain Sneyd, but was to meet some 100 Bhopal sowars and 130 Bhopal Infantry, near Banpoor, at which place I left it to his discretion to remain, until he had further reinforcements, which I shortly expected, or to proceed to Lullutpoor. On reaching Banpoor, Lieutenant Fenton procured from the Tehree State 700 matchlockmen and 2 guns, and feeling himself strong enough, pushed on with his united force to Lullutpoor, which he reached on the 28th August 1858, without opposition, although the rebels under the rebel Thakoors of Jacklone, Palee, and Nanickpoor, were assembled in considerable numbers some miles to the south of Lullutpoor. He made known to them the terms of the first Amnesty, but no one took advantage of it. However he succeeded in re-establishing his Thanahs in all parts of his District, save in the country around Jacklone, where the above Thakoors and their adherents still held out, and he was not strong enough to attack them.

114. About the 22nd September, being probably incited by the emissaries of Tantia Topee, who was approaching Chundeyree, the rebels, in the north of Chundeyree attacked, drove out and cut up several of the police in the Thanahs of Talbehut and Bansee, making prisoner the Thanahdar of the former place, whom they afterwards put to death. On the 25th September Captain Fenton received intelligence that they intended moving on Banpoor viâ Baâr, and, knowing that in case the rebels got possession of Banpoor his retreat would be completely cut off should Tantia Topee enter the District, he determined to leave the Bhopal Infantry, 140 men, to hold Lullutpoor and march with the rest of his force, taking with him all the Office records, on Banpoor, against the rebels. The Bhopal Infantry, however, who were new levies, refused to remain behind at Lullutpoor which, under the circumstances, was in truth a very dangerous position, and ultimately Captain Fenton entirely evacuated Lullutpoor and marched on Banpoor with his whole force. It was the monsoon, and towards evening heavy rain fell. On arriving at Kullianpoor at 8 P. M., the whole country was a sheet of water and all the rivers between Kullianpoor and Banpoor became impassable. Under these circumstances Lieutenant Fenton determined to march back to Lullutpoor, but a fresh difficutly occurred; the Tehree force refused to do so, and Captain Fenton was obliged to return to his original intention of going to Banpoor. Next day the rear guard arrived and reported that the rebels had occupied Lullutpoor. The Bhopal Infantry also became disorderly, and a Jemadar and twenty men deserted. Captain Fenton was detained at Kullianpoor by the river three days; it became fordable on the morning of the 29th September, and he and his party under Captain Sneyd crossed it, but shortly after they had reached the other side they were attacked by the rebels who, however, were beaten off with a loss on their (the rebels') side of 20 or 25 men killed, who were cut up by the Bhopal sowars under Captain Fenton. The same day Captain Fenton with his party reached Banpoor, and was there joined by Lieutenant

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Turner with 100 sowars and 150 foot of the Military police, whom I had sent to his assistance.

115. After taking Esaugurh in Scindia's Territory, Tantia Topee divided his force into two nearly equal parts, of which one under the Nana's nephew, the Rao Sahib, amounting exclusive of followers to 2,000 mutineers and 8 or 9,000 armed rebels, a great proportion of whom were mounted, entered the south-west of the Jhansie district near Myapoor, and took Pichore on the 6th October, from which place all the Government establishments escaped, save some eight Military police who fell into the hands of the rebels. From Pichore the rebels pushed on a party half way to Kurrara, from which our Thanah and Tehseeldar were withdrawn, but getting some intelligence supposed to have been regarding the approach of Colonel Scudamore's detachment from Gwalior, the rebel Rao suddenly marched his whole force to Sirrus Ghât on the Betwa, 30 miles south-west of Jhansie, and crossing the river there, a difficult operation, which took him four days, occupied Talbehut, where he was joined by all the Boondelas of the northern part of the Chundeyree district. Although a favorable opportunity for attacking the rebels presented itself while they were engaged in the passage of the river, yet Captain Ashburner's detachment being far north in Kuchwagurh, the garrison of Jhansie was not strong enough to take advantage of it.

116. On the entry of the rebels into the Jhansie district, as it was supposed they might try and pass through it or threaten Jhansie, the Brigadier directed Colonel Liddell to concentrate his and Captain Thompson's detachments at Mhow Raneepoor and to move with them towards Burwa Saugor, leaving 100 of the 24th Bombay Native Infantry, in the fort at Mhow. On the withdrawal of the Military detachment from Gurrota, I directed Captain Maclean to concentrate the 150 Military police, which were divided between Gurrota and Punwaho, at Goorseraie, and sending Lieutenant Turner, Police Adjutant, to take command of them. I ordered him to keep his detachment moving about the two Tuhseelees of Gurrota and Punwaho in one body, to give confidence to the well-affected, and to at once attack and disperse any armed rebel body that should dare to assemble. This plan was very well carried out by Lieutenant Turner, and perfectly succeeded, for although there are many disaffected Thakoors in those parts, not a man ventured to rise, and on the occasion of Bukht Singh's band venturing to cross the Dessan from the Humeerpoor district, from which all General Whitlock's force had moved southwards, towards Shahgurh; Lieutenant Turner attacked and defeated him on the 18th October, killing thirty-three of his men.

117. On the 7th, 8th and 9th October, Tantia Topee, at the head of his division of the rebels, attacked Chundeyree, which was garrisoned by Scindia's troops, but was beaten off with some loss, and retreated to Serae, 10 miles south of Chundeyree, with the intention of crossing the Betwa to Lullutpoor, for the purpose of attacking Tehree.

118. On the 7th October, when the rebels under Rao Sahib were crossing the Betwa at Sirus Ghât, I received intelligence that it was the intention of Tantia and the Rao to unite their forces and fall on Tehree. I therefore sent an express to Lieutenant Fenton, who it will be remembered was at Banpoor, desiring him to march with all his police and Civil establishments towards Burwa Saugor, where it was probable he would meet Colonel Liddell's detachment. The latter Officer however was delayed, and Lieutenant Fenton reached Burwa Saugor on the 10th October. On the 11th October, agreeably to an arrangement with Brigadier Ainslie, I accompanied by Major Davis and some horse and foot Military police, joined Captain Fenton at Burwa Saugor, with the intention of proceeding to Moggurpoor to unite with Colonel Liddell. On 12th October a detachment, under Captain Blyth, also joined us. Our total strength at Burwa Saugor was then as per margin.*

| | |
|---|---|
| * 14th Dragoons, | 45 |
| 3rd Bombay Europeans, | 65 |
| 24th Bombay Native Infantry, | 50 |
| Police Sowars, | 111 |
| Police Infantry, | 267 |
| Bhopal Sowars, | 100 |

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119. On reaching Burwa Saugor, I procured intelligence, that both the Rao Sahib and Tantia were still some distance from Tehree, and proposed to Brigadier Ainslie that Colonel Liddell's force* should march direct on Pirteepoor, and there join the Military police under Major Davis, and both united under the command of Colonel Liddell, advance and protect Tehree. Brigadier Ainslie approved of my proposition, and directed Colonel Liddell to move on Pirteepoor where he arrived on the 14th October. Captain Blyth's detach ment, the Military police, under Major Davis, and myself, having arrived there the previous day, the 13th October. On the 16th October Colonel Liddell reached Dogoro, 18 miles from Tehree, having headed the Rao Sahib and Tantia Topee, and rendered any attempt of theirs against Tehree hopeless, and on the 17th I rode in and visited the Rajah, who with his minister was in great alarm, to reassure them. I also prevailed on them to send out their forces and close the fords over the Jamnee river, along the southern part of its course, which indeed they had already partially done. Colonel Liddell had already made his arrangements most effectually for watching the northern course of the Jamnee from Tehree to the Betwa. Tantia Topee's escape eastward was therefore cut off.

* 14th Dragons, ... 75
3rd Bombay Europeans, ... 150
24th Bombay Native Infantry, .. 100
3rd Bombay Cavalry, ... 50
Horse Artillery Battery of 4 guns (Bombay).

120. In the meantime, 136 Military police and 110 Seikh police sowars, and 7 camel guns, under Captain Owen, Military police, accompanied by Captain Maclean Deputy Commissioner, occupied Sirus and Jirrar Ghâts over the Betwa, north of Talbehut, and were supported by Colonel Scudamore's detachment at Duckrai, 15 miles in their rear, which detachment, however, afterwards marched to Sirus Ghât, and thus rendered the escape of the rebels northward impossible. Brigadier Smith watched the left bank of the Betwa towards Chundeyree to the west.

121. Tantia Topee with his division, after having failed against Chundeyree, and been beaten by part of General Michel's force near Mugrowlee, crossed to the east of the Betwa and joined the Rao Sahib at Lullutpoor, about the 14th October, having been joined by all the Thakoors and Boondelas of the Chundeyree district. Tantia and the Rao having halted there two or three days, then marched with their united forces and a large following of Boondelas, in a south easterly direction towards Shahgurh; but on the 18th October were met by General Michel and defeated at Kujooria, near Sindwaho, with heavy loss in men and of all their guns. The rebel army then fled north to Talbehut where part arrived on the 20th October, but finding their escape both east, north, and west cut off, again doubled back to the south through the difficult and jungly country along the east bank of the Betwa, and escaped into the Saugor district between that river, and General Michel, who had in the mean time, advanced to the neighbourhood of Lullutpoor. General Michel marched in pursuit, and on the 7th November Colonel Liddell, accompanied by Lieutenant Fenton, entered the Chundeyree district, which he is now engaged in reducing to order. Some of the insurgents have submitted; but the Jacklone, Palee and Nanickpoor Thakoors still hold out in the difficult country towards Jacklone and Palee.

122. General Whitlock, after Tantia's defeat by General Michel, again marched into the Humeerpoor district, where he is now operating aganist the rebels about Jeitpoor, but the south of the District is still in great disorder. The northern part, however, is well in hand.

123. In the western part of the Jaloun district, in consequence of the Kalpee force undertaking no active Military operations, the rebel leaders, Burjore Singh and Dowlut Singh, are still in full activity, and occasionally threaten the northern part of the Pergunah of Bandere, belonging to the Jhansie district.* The eastern part is completely reduced to order.

124. The Jhansie dsitrict is perfectly quiet, all orders are obeyed, and travellers can go any where unmolested.

* The Kalpee force has since taken the field.

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125 Her Majesty's Proclamation and Amnesty has been extensively circulated throughout the Jhansie division, and every effort is being made to induce those concerned to take advantage of it. As yet, however, sufficient time has not elapsed for it to have had any marked effect.

126. From the foregoing narrative it will be seen that the conduct of the natives of the country in the three Districts of Chundeyree, Jhansie and Jaloun, was very different. In Chundeyree the Thakoors and their followers broke out into rebellion before the troops at Lullutpoor showed any sign of disaffection. In Jhansie the adherents of the Ranee and some of the Thakoors rose simultaneously with the sepoys. In Jaloun, on the contrary, the inhabitants of the country remained generally peaceful, even after the troops had mutinied, and the Deputy Commissioner had left the District, and for a time submitted quietly to the Rais of Goorseraie, Kesho Rao, to whom that Officer had made over the charge of keeping the District in order.

127. The conduct of the amla and subordinate native officials was generally either bad or neutral. In Chundeyree, the Serishtadar and Tehseeldar joined the Banpoor Rajah, and became his chief Officers for the administration of the District,—and the Police with their Officers, Customs peons, the orderly chuprassees, and many others joined the insurgents. The two native Deputy Collectors, Zeinoolabdin Khan, and Nissarahmed, through fear rendered Captain A. C. Gordon no assistance, and finally abandoned him. In Jhansie the Tehseeldar, Ahmed Hossein, exerted himself greatly, and rendered every assistance in his power to our Officers: unfortunately he was for a time suspected and imprisoned, but his conduct has now been cleared, and he has been restored to his appointment. The criminal Serishtadar, Gopal Rao, also did good service, and has been rewarded. All the amla, both in the Superintendent's and Deputy Commissioner's Offices quietly looked on, and took part neither one way or other, while Kasheenath, Tehseeldar of Punwaho, was, and is one of the leaders of the rebels. The police generally with their Officers, and Bukshish Alee, Jail Darogah at their head, the Customs peons, and most of the chuprassees all joined the mutineers. In Jaloun, the amla with few exceptions, do not appear to have behaved disloyally to the Government, but no opportunity of taking an active part presented itself to them, as the country was as it were made over to Kesho Rao of Goorseraie. Mahomed Hossein, Tehseeldar of Oraee, and Chiragh Alee, Tehseeldar of Duboh, appear to have behaved well; the latter assisted Mr. and Mrs. Martin to get away from Duboh. Narain Rao Kishnoo, Tehseeldar of Lahar, ultimately joined the rebels. Sheopershad, Deputy Collector at Kalpee, although well affected to our Government, behaved with great cowardice.

128. I beg to bring to the notice of Government, the Rampoora Rajah and the Ranee of Lahar in Kuchwagurh, and Rao Sinaput of Kuttera in Jhansie; the last gave both Captain Maclean and myself invaluable assistance, in inducing the rebels to accept the first Amnesty, and in settling the country between the Dessan and Betwa. The loyal conduct of all three will form the subject of a separate report.

129. I would also direct the favorable consideration of Government to the good services of the following Officers :—

Of Captain Ternan who, with the assistance of the Military, has reduced the greater part of his District to order; of Captain Maclean, through whose exertions the Jhansie district is now, and has been, for some time, perfectly peaceful; this result could not of course have been obtained without the zealous and hearty co-operation of the Jhansie force; of Mr. G. H. Freeling who, though from want of troops and police he has not been able to reduce his whole District to order, has been untiring in his exertions; and of Lieutenant Fenton who, although obliged to abandon his District for a time, made every effort with but very inadequate means to maintain his hold on it.

JHANSIE,
*The 20th November* 1858.

J. W. PINKNEY, *Captain*,
*Commissioner.*

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# APPENDIX A.

*List of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians Murdered at Jhansie.*

Captain Alexander Skene, Superintendent; Mrs. Skene, and 2 female children.
Mrs. Browne, wife of Captain Browne, Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun; and Miss Browne, his sister.
Captain F. D. Gordon, 10th Madras N. I., Deputy Commissioner of Jhansie.
Lieutenant Burgess, Revenue Surveyor, Bundelkund.
Lieutenant Turnbull, Assistant ditto, ditto.
Lieutenant Powis, Asst. Surveyor, Irrigation; Mrs. Powis, and 1 female child.
Dr. McEgan, and Mrs. McEgan.
Mr. T. Andrews, Principal Sudder Ameen, Jhansie.
Mr. Robert Andrews, Deputy Collector and Magistrate; Mrs. Andrews, 2 female and 2 male children.
Mr. W. S. Carshore, Collector of Customs; Mrs. Carshore, and 4 children.
Mr. D. C. Wilton, Patrol; Mrs. Wilton, 1 child, and 2 sisters of Mrs. Wilton.
Mr. D. D. Blyth, Asst. Revenue Surveyor; Mrs. Blyth, and her mother; 3 male children and 1 female child.
Sergeant Millard, Sub-Asst. Revenue Surveyor; Mrs. Millard, and 3 children.
Mr. Bennett, Sub-Asst. Revenue Surveyor.
Mr. J. Young, ditto; and Mrs. Young.
Mr. G. Young, (apprentice.)
Mr. Palfreyman, (ditto.)
Mr. Munrow, Sub-Asst. Revenue Surveyor.
Mr. A. Scott, Head Clerk, Deputy Commissioner's Office.
Mr. C. Purcell, ditto, Superintendent's Office.
Mr. J. Purcell, Clerk, Deputy Commissioner's Office.
Mr. Mutlow, ditto, Superintendent's Office.
Mr. Mutlow, (2nd). Unemployed.
Mr. D. G. Elliot, Clerk, Deputy Commissioner's Office.
Mr. Elliot, } Parents of the above.
Mrs. Elliot, }
Mr. Flemming. Unemployed.
Mr. Crawfurd.
Captain Dunlop, 12th Bengal N. I., Commanding at Jhansie.
Lieutenant Taylor, 12th Bengal N. I.
Lieutenant Campbell, Commanding Detachment of the 14th Irregular Cavalry.
Quarter Master Sergeant Newton; Mrs. Newton, and 2 children.

Total murdered, ... ... ... ... 66

JHANSIE,
20*th November* 1858.

J. W. PINKNEY, CAPTAIN,
*Commissioner of Jhansie.*

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES,

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY IN THE DISTRICT

OF

# JALOUN,

IN 1857-58.

No. 18 OF 1858.

FROM

CAPTAIN A. H. TERNAN,
*Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun,*

To

CAPTAIN F. W. PINKNEY,
*Commissioner of the Jhansi Division.*

DATED CALPEE, THE 12TH JUNE 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Circular No. 153 of 1858, and beg to forward now, as annexed, a full and detailed account of events in this district, from the 11th of June, the date on which disturbances first broke up.

Letter from Mr. Passanah, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of Jaloun, to Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun, No. 12, dated 9th June 1858.
Letter from the Deputy Magistrate of Jaloun, to Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun, No. 41, dated 29th May 1858.
Letter from the Deputy Magistrate of Jaloun, to Major R. R. W. Ellis, Political Agent for Bundelkund, dated 27th March 1858.
Letter from Oomur Duraz Alee, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of Luhur, in the Jaloun district.

2. The account is furnished by Mr. Passanah, Deputy Collector, who himself underwent many hardships, his life being also often threatened.

3. You will remark that the conduct of Amlah, Police, Customs peons, has also been touched upon, thus including I believe every subject of importance.

4. The principal local actors in the disturbances of this district were the Goorsurai Chief, and the Tace Baee of Jaloun, Mahrattas of great influence.

5. At first the villagers appear to have taken little interest in the rebel movements, but gradually several leaders sprung up from among the Kuchwahagar and other Thakoors of the district, (the most notorious being Dowlut Singh of Indoorkee,) and at length general anarchy prevailed. Among other rebel Chiefs were the Rajah of Bhudeck, and the Thakoor of Bellawan.

6. After noticing such rebels, I am glad to be able to bring to your notice the loyalty of the Rampoora Rajah, and of the Ranee of Luhur; their conduct will furnish subject for a separate report.

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7. The Amlah, with few exceptions, appear to have been passive spectators of the rebellion,—some few again openly joining the rebels. The police behaved shamefully, and from the commencement took an active part against the Government they served.

8. The principal agent in these parts, or Nazim of the Nana of Bithoor, Mohumud Ishack, was stationed at Calpee. He appears to have had jurisdiction also over this place, and of many villages round Cawnpore. He was formerly, I am told, a Thannahdar under our Government at Bithoor.

9. Upon the rebels being driven out of Calpee, many papers were found, shewing that our own forms were observed in Civil department, as they were also kept up in appearance in the Military. Many of the papers thus taken relate to villages of Bhognee, Akburpore, Sheikhpoora, all villages in the Cawnpore district.

10. All these documents are being sorted, and will be sent to the Magistrates of the districts to which they refer: they contain information of purely local importance.

11. In conclusion, I enclose a translation of Lieutenant Browne's letter to the Goorsurai Chief, making over the district to him.

12. The words in brackets "in all departments" are said to have been interpolated, and are written above the line.

13. It was upon the strength of this document that the Goorsurai Chief made himself for a time master of nearly the whole district, governing this through his own people, though retaining the district establishments till 14th October 1857.

14. The district was later invaded by Tanteeah Topee, who supported the claims of Tace Baee of Jaloun, and her agent Biswas Rao, to the detriment of the Goorsurai Chief. Tanteeah Topee proclaimed the Peshwa as Chief Ruler of this part of India.

I have, &c.,

A. H. TERNAN,

*Deputy Commissioner.*

---

No. 41 OF 1858.

FROM

G. PASSANAH, ESQUIRE,

*Deputy Collector of Jaloun,*

To

CAPTAIN A. H. TERNAN,

*Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun.*

DATED CALPEE, THE 29TH MAY 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 38, dated 28th instant, calling for a report on the conduct of the Amlah and Police of the Jaloun district at the time of the outbreak.

2. There is a peculiarity in the case of the Jaloun district that no local insurrection took place. The Jageerdar of Goorsurai was requested to afford aid in maintaining order, and his sons arrived after the mutiny at Jhansi with an

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armed force at Jaloun, and took advantage of a letter addressed to him by Lieutenant Browne, the Deputy Commissioner, to give out that the entire management of the district was made over to the Jageerdar. Lieutenants Browne and Lamb left Orai on the 11th June last, and on the approach of the Jhansi mutineers, whose advance guard had arrived during the day, I and Mr. Griffiths, the Settlement Deputy Collector, left on the night of the 15th; but we unfortunately fell into the hands of a company of the 53rd Native Infantry, which mutinied after escorting treasure from Orai to Jaloun.

3. We were brought prisoners to Orai on the 19th June, but released on the 21st. Previous to my arrival the mutineers from Jhansi and Nowgong had passed through Orai, plundering, burning, and destroying all Government treasure, public buildings, and the houses and property of the European and Christian inhabitants.

4. On being released by the mutineers of the 53rd Native Infantry, my party was seized by the servants of the Goorsurai Chief, and made over to the mutineers from Lullutpore, who arrived the next morning. These also released us, and we went into a house in the town, entirely destitute. Many of the Sudder Amlah then came to me, and proffered assistance in clothes and small sums of money, which we were fain to accept, to relieve our present wants. Those foremost in thus assisting my party were Reotee Ram, Naeb Serishtadar of the Revenue Court; Kalka Pershaud, Serishtadar; Reeaz-ood-deen, Naeb Serishtadar of the Foujdaree, and Fyez-ood-deen, Nazir.

5. A few days after my return to Orai, several of the Amlah came and told me that the Chief had sent for them all, and as they were afraid of incurring his displeasure by a refusal, and the roads all round were infested by robbers, they were preparing to go to Jaloun, as British authority was entirely subverted, and Kesho Rao had established himself, and enlisted some thousands of armed men. I did not attempt to dissuade the Amlah. All the Sudder Amlah went over, with the exception of Oomed Alee, Roznamcha Nawees, and Ronnuck Alee, Nukul Nawees, who started for their houses in Oudh;—the former was murdered, and the latter robbed. Ramnaraen, Izhar Nawees, who had obtained leave previous to the disturbance, also went away.

6. In October last, I heard from Lieutenant Browne that Kesho Rao would be treated as a rebel. I then warned the Amlah from Cawnpore that their remaining in Kesho Rao's service would render them liable to punishment. They then left Jaloun; some went to Rampore, some to the villages near about Jaloun, and Reeaz-ood-deen went to me at Cawnpore. Others, as they found opportunity, followed; and Hurbelas Rae, Revenue Serishtadar, went to his home at Mynpoory, accompanied by his son Pearee Lall, Mohurrir.

7. Under the above circumstances I do not consider that the Amlah generally were guilty of disloyalty to the British Government; the opportunity of taking an active part on the side of Government did not offer. The exception, as far as I am aware, are Fuzul Ahmed, Foujdaree Mohafiz Duftur, who, I frequently heard, expressed satisfaction at the subversion of British rule; and Moolchund, Mohurrir, who took service under Tace Baee; also Naraen Rao, Roznamcha Nawees, who was made Naeb Tehseeldar of Orai by Tace Baee.

8. Vilayut Alee, a Mohurrir of the Calpee Deputy Collectorship, was, I heard, known to speak against Government. He never came to me, though he had several opportunities when I came to Calpee.

9. I now proceed to state what I know regarding the Tehseeldar of the district.

10. Mohumud Hossein, Tehseeldar of Orai, was very active before the outbreak at Orai, and was much trusted by Lieutenant Browne, who made over some valuable property to his keeping; and after leaving Orai, addressed him a perwanah, if I recollect right, to try his utmost to save the Cutcherry and records. Mohumud Hossein told me that he would supply russud, meet the

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mutineers, and with the view of saving the records, represent to them that they would be of great service in the reign of the King of Dehli. He met the mutineers, but was plundered by them, and had to hide himself. He started next day for Koodaree, but was stopped by the Zemindars of Etowrah, who plundered a great part of his property. He however managed to save the property entrusted to him by Lieutenant Browne. He received an advance of, I believe, Rs. 2,000, for pay of the Seebundees enlisted by him. He is employed as Tehseeldar in the Futtehpore district. Lieutenant Browne, from Agra, expressed his great satisfaction at Mohumud Hossein's conduct.

11. Enayet Hossein, Tehseeldar of Jaloun, behaved in a very spirited manner in opposing the occupation of the Fort of Jaloun by the sons of the Chief, and when I passed through Jaloun on the night of the 15th June, he followed next morning, and met me at Surawan. He went back, promising to join me again with as many chuprasees and burkundazes as would come with him, and I have no doubt would have done so, but he was made prisoner by the Chief's eldest son Tanteeah, and made over by him to the mutineers of the 53rd N. I., who took him to Cawnpore. He then went and joined his father Surdar Khan, who was Deputy Collector at Banda, and remained with him till the arrival of British troops at Banda. Surdar Khan's conduct was considered disloyal.

12. Humeed-ood-Zuman, Tehseeldar of Attah, on the approach of the mutineers, went and hid himself at Orai, and soon after went off to Hameerpore, to join his father Waheed-ood-Zuman, Deputy Collector. The latter was proclaimed a rebel, and both found their way to Rampore, in Rohilkund, from which place the Tehseeldar sent me several urzees, and himself came over a few days before my leaving Cawnpore, but was apprehended under orders of Mr. Sherer. I am not aware of the charge against him.

13. Gholam Hossein Khan, Tehseeldar of Madhogurh, behaved, to the best of my opinion in a loyal manner, and exerted himself to prevent the people from rising in insurrection. He opened a correspondence with me when I was in the district, and shortly after my arrival at Cawnpore he arrived there. He has been appointed a Tehseeldar in the Cawnpore district.

14. Mohumud Hossein, Tehseeldar of Madareepore, behaved loyally, and left the district shortly after the insurrection, calling on me at Orai. He is at Benares, from which place I received several urzees from him at Cawnpore.

15. Cheragh Alee, Tehseeldar of Duboh, behaved well, and assisted Mr. Martin in getting away with Mrs. Martin from Duboh. When the Ranee of Jhansi established her authority in the pergunnah, he went away to a village named Chakee, then to Bhundere, after which he joined his brother Nasir Ahmed, Duputy Collector of Chundeyree, and resided for some months at Kudowra. On reaching his home in the Futtehpore district he wrote to me, and also came to Cawnpore. He is now here.

16. Sheo Pershaud was acting Tehseeldar of Koonch. Since the insurrection he never communicated with me, and I have not heard of his whereabouts. He was called to account by Kesho Rao for Rs. 8,900, embezzled from the tuhveel previous to the insurrection. Sheo Pershaud must have been guilty of gross neglect on the matter, if not worse.

17. Narain Rao Vishnoo, who was Tehseeldar of Luhur, is a Mahratta Pundit; he took service both under Kesho Rao and Taee Baee, and from all accounts was no well-wisher of Government. I hear he has now absconded.

18. Of the Thannahdars I know personally only about a few, but I have ascertained from enquiry how the rest behaved. They generally showed no hostility towards our Government, but, like the Sudder Amlah, the greater number remained under the Goorsurai Chief, and those in Kuchwahagar under the Gwalior government.

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19. Torab Alee, Thannahdar of Jaloun, was in disfavor with Kesho Rao, from the opposition he offered. Kunhye Lall, Thannahdar of Surawan, sent his resignation to Kesho Rao, and remained at Surawan; he frequently came to me during my stay in the district, with proffers of service on the part of the Jageerdar. In August 1857, when I crossed the Jumna at Sarainee ghât, he was with me, but I was obliged to return; he however soon followed me to Cawnpore, and has been with me since. Bussunth Rao, Thannahdar of Calpee, is said to have shewn a disposition to disloyalty before the arrival of the mutineers at Calpee; but he was seized by the mutineers, and severely punished, and had a very narrow escape for his life; he went to Moradabad, and the Magistrate of Cawnpore has, on the information of Mr. Griffiths, applied for his apprehension. Kurrum Ahmed, Thannahdar of Orai, was plundered by the Jhansi mutineers, and went off with Mohumud Hossein, Tehseeldar, to Kudowra, and thence to his home to Oudh.

20. Mohumud Adil, Thannahdar of Bungra, turned a rebel, having, as stated in my letter of the 26th instant, seized my nephew, and made him over to the mutineers, who had captured me and my family. Application has been made by you for his apprehension at Gwalior, where he was last seen.

21. The remarks contained in the 18th paragraph of this letter apply generally to the subordinate Tehseel Amlah and Thannah Mohurrirs and Jemadars.

22. Of the burkundazes and chuprasees, some of those at Orai joined the mutineers in plundering the town;—a few gave me all the assistance in their power, and the generality entered the service of Kesho Rao. The burkundazes of Thannahs Attah and Bungra behaved violently in demanding their pay from the Tehseeldar.

23. There were some 70 or 80 burkundazes of the Bagree tribe, formerly dacoits by profession, employed in the district; these, after the outbreak, went off in a body to follow their old occupation.

24. The chuprasees of the Customs line, which ran from Luhur to Jhansi, turned rebels, and many of them joined the mutineers; some took service under Kesho Rao, and his son Tanteea, who was at Calpee.

I have, &c.,

G. PASSANAH,

*Deputy Collector and Magistrate.*

*Calpee, the 31st May* 1858.

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No. 12 OF 1858.

FROM

G. PASSANAH, ESQUIRE,

*Deputy Magistrate of Jaloun,*

To

CAPTAIN A. H. TERNAN,

*Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun.*

DATED CALPEE, THE 9TH JUNE 1858.

SIR,

Having been desired by you to furnish a Narrative of Events attending the outbreak and disturbances in this district, with reference to Mr. Secretary Muir's Circular letter No. 212, dated 30th April 1858, I have the honor to state, that an account of the outbreak, with my personal adventures,

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and the conduct of Kesho Rao, Jageerdar of Goorsurai, and his son Sheo Ram Tanteea, who assumed possession of the district, will be found in the accompanying copy of my letter dated* 27th March last, to the address of Major Ellis, Political Assistant for Bundelkund.

2. I also had the honor of reporting to you, in my letter dated 29th ultimo, the conduct of the Sudder and Mofussil Officers of the district.

3. To complete the Narrative up to the time of expulsion of the rebels and mutineers from the district, I shall state what occurred after my leaving it for Cawnpore, with some other particulars.

4. Kesho Rao, and his fourth son Seetaram Nana, continued to manage the greater portion of the district comprising the pergunnahs of Jaloun, Kunnar, Orai and Koonch, from their station at Jaloun, while his eldest son Sheo Ram Tanteea remained at Calpee, in occupation of that portion which comprised the former pergunnahs of Calpee and Atta.

5. The pergunnah of Duboh was first taken possession of by the rebel Ranee of Jhansi, immediately after the insurrection at Jhansi in the month of June 1857; but after the lapse of nearly two months, the Rajah of Dutteea expelled her servants, and took possession of it, appointing his own Amil, and occupying it with his own troops, until the fall of Jhansi. Your presence with the army at Jhansi will have made you acquainted with the particulars of the evacuation of Duboh by the delegates of the Dutteea Rajah.

6. The pergunnahs of Indoorkee and Madhogurh, called Kuchwahagar, having formerly belonged to the Gwalior State, were, on the breaking out of the insurrection, taken possession of by the Maharajah Scindhia. I am not well acquainted with the occurrences in that part of the district, but the statement of Oomur Duraz Alee, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of Luhur, forwarded to you with Captain Pinkney's letter No. 50, of the 23rd March last, gives some information.

7. The mutineers of the Gwalior Contingent, accompanied by Tanteea Topee, the active emissary of the Bithoor Nana, arrived at Jaloun on or about the 29th October last. Both Kesho Rao, and Taee Baee, grand-daughter of a former Chief of Jaloun, were prepared to treat with them. Tanteea Topee, it appears, had taken offence with the Goorsurai family, and favored the cause of the Baee. The mutineers, at his instigation, displaced Kesho Rao, and seizing him and his sons, put them in confinement, and treated them with great indignity, subjecting them to severe bodily chastisement. They placed the infant son of the Baee on the guddee, and proclaimed her authority throughout the district. I hear she had promised the Nana three lakhs of Rupees, of which she made up one lakh in cash and jewels, and promised to liquidate the remainder from the collections of the estate. Bhaoo Biswas Rao was appointed Kamdar or Minister, and assumed the functions of that office.

8. Previous to the arrival of the Gwalior mutineers at Jaloun, Kooer Singh of Jugdeespore, and the 40th Native Infantry, came to Calpee viâ Banda on the 19th October. They had communication with the Gwalior mutineers, and on the 3rd November seized and imprisoned Sheo Ram Tanteea at Calpee. On the 7th November the Gwalior mutineers came in and coalesced with Kooer Singh and the 40th Native Infantry, and marched to attack Cawnpore a short time after.

9. Biswas Rao also came to Calpee with the mutineers, and remained here till the rebels returned after their defeat at Cawnpore on the 6th December last, since which a Pundit, named Tanteea Gungoley, and one Mohumud Ishaq, exercised joint authority on the part of the Nana, but the Tehseeldar Narain Rao, appointed by Biswas Rao, remained in office.

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* Copy accompanying.

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10. The rebels were joined by the Ranee of Jhansi and Nawab of Banda, and the united forces are said to have amounted to about 10,000 men, horse and foot, when Sir Hugh Rose defeated them, and put them to flight, occupying Calpee on the 23rd ultimo.

11. I left Cawnpore on the 17th, and joined the British camp near Calpee on the 22nd ultimo.

12. I have only to add that when Lieutenant Browne, Deputy Commissioner, and Lieutenant Lamb, Assistant, left Orai on the 10th June 1857, a sense of duty prevented me from doing the same. I anticipated, that after the Gwalior mutineers had passed through, I should be able, with the aid of the newly-raised Levies, and of the Goorsurai Chief, to restore order in the district, and hoped to escape the mutineers by moving towards the Gwalior frontier, as we had every assurance that the Gwalior Contingent would not join in the mutiny; but unfortunately my designs were frustrated, and myself and family, with Mr. Griffiths, the Settlement Deputy Collector, had on several occasions the narrowest escape imaginable for our lives.

13. I lament to state that my poor mother, whom, from her inability to bear fatigue, I left concealed at Orai, was, by the pusillanimity of some of my servants, brought back to my house, where she was discovered, and cruelly murdered by the Jhansi mutineers on the 17th June 1857.

14. Mr. Heming, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon, who had come to Calpee in the hope of being concealed by some native of his acquaintance, was so hard-pressed by some budmashes of the town, that he wandered back to Orai in a state of distraction, was discovered by the mutineers, and put to death at the same time with my unfortunate mother.

15. Mr. Double, the Head Clerk of the Jaloun Office, also fell a victim, with his wife and one female child, and his mother-in-law Mrs. Pilkington. They disguised themselves as natives, and were concealed in the village of Kooeeah, and sought shelter in the ravines of the village Khurka, close to the Betwa. He was however discovered by some Mahomedans residing at Khurka, and betrayed by them. On the requisition of the mutineers a party was sent out by the Goorsurai Chief's son, and the whole family being captured, were made over to them. From all accounts it appears that the mutineers, after bringing them to within three miles of Calpee, released them; they went a short distance off the road, and perished from heat and thirst.

16. Mr. Double's son, about 5 years of age, was found alive by a villager, who brought him within a short distance of Calpee, and there left him; he was picked up in the town by a woman servant, and taken by her to Jhansi, where, after the capture of the city, the boy was found with Mrs. Mutlow, and sent to Agra. I am trying to trace out the villains who betrayed and seized this unfortunate family, and hope to succeed.

I have, &c.,

G. PASSANAH,
*Deputy Magistrate.*

JALOUN DEPUTY COMMR.'S OFFICE:
*Calpee, the 9th June* 1858.

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FROM

SYUD OOMUR DURAZ ALEE,

*Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of the district of Jaloun.*

States he was a Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of Luhur, in Jaloun. He remained there in durance during the insurrection, and owing to the general revolt of the country, he could not secure a trustworthy man to convey the account of that place to the British authority. He did send one Khoda Buksh burkundaz, belonging to the Court of Saugor and Jaloun, with some letters, but the man was made a prisoner by the Shagurh Rajah's people, and was deprived of the papers he had in his possession, and none of his messengers have returned. He also sent representations to Cawnpore, but received no reply. Lastly, he forwarded several petitions to the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, and received an answer, the copy of which is herewith enclosed for your inspection. States his ability to furnish all the facts respecting the revolt and insurrection in Jaloun, as soon as his Honor the Lieutenant Governor shall call on him for a report, thinking that Government has little occasion at present to require it. He avoids from entering into a detailed account, and contents himself with a concise narrative as follows:—"Subsequent to the insurrection at "Jhansi, the men attached to the Customs Department assaulted the Patrols, "demanding their pay. On my interfering to prevent them, they prepared "for resistance, and threatened to revenge themselves on me as well as "the Patrols, and to raise the Mahomedan flag. The servants attached to "the Criminal Court and to the Tehseel Office had also fallen from their "allegiance to the British Government, which induced me not to take any "forcible measure against them. They collected together, and were about to set "fire to my bungalow in open daylight, but I was prepared to oppose them "with armed burkundazes, which put a stop to their proceeding. The Patrol "Officers of my district narrowly escaped to Agra. On the 14th and 15th of "June (last) Lieutenant Browne, the Deputy Commissioner, and his Covenanted "Assistant, accompanied by a company of sepoys of the Gwalior Contingent, pass-"ed through my district on their way to Gwalior. I waited on them during the "day, and found the sepoys who were with them in a mutinous state, and much "annoyed at the recent occurrence at Jhansi (as having been unable to join with "the mutineers at Jhansi). I could not give a whole account of the insurrection "to the aforesaid Officers, as they were surrounded by the sepoys, in whose "presence I did not think it advisable to reveal the whole matter. The aforesaid "Officers sent a roobkaree and two letters to the Kamdars of Gwalior, directing "them to afford me every assistance, and ordered me not to leave the place. "They proceeded to Agra viâ Etawah. Subsequent to this the rebels of Jhansi "visited Jaloun, committed depredations on Orai, seized Mr. G. Passanah, set fire "to the records and bungalow, and killed one or two gentlemen. The Kuch-"naha, a tribe, had given it out that the men belonging to various regiments had "informed them of the existence of the British Courts, Records, Bungalows, "Thannahs, and Tehseelee Offices at Lea (?), and expressed their intention of pro-"ceeding to plunder them. In the night time they set fire to the Magistrate's "Office, plundered the Tehseel Office, and pulled down the bungalows. On the "23rd of June, one Rao Luchmun Rao Rajah Ram came out as Soubadar from "Gwalior, but without any troops, and entertained the Kuchnahas, and ordered "me to hold the Criminal Court, but made no promise of any remuneration. "The people of the place were in the habit of coming about me, with the evil "intention of attacking me. This Soubah's coming out to Jaloun proved to be "beneficial for me, so that I was able to remain at my post at Luhur up to "the 3rd of June; but neither I nor the Soubah could take any proper measure "to restore the country to order, owing to general insurrection, as I had "insisted in upholding the British supremacy, and always told the people "that the rebels would be punished on the arrival of the British troops in a "short time. I was considered by them in the light of an enemy. In the month "of October, when the mutineers set out for Cawnpore, they determined to lay "hold of me, consequently I was obliged to fly towards Gwalior with my family.

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"The Soubah was also obliged to abscond. The mutineers and Kuchnahas issued "a notification, promising a reward for my apprehension; but I had the good "luck to escape in safety. Now I am at Gwalior. If Government be pleased to "send me any order, it will safely reach me through the Cotwal of Old Gwalior. "The petitioner further expresses his readiness to go to any place to which "Government may think fit to send him. Further states his willingness to furnish "Government with different accounts of the acts of the insurgents in pillaging "the villages, and plundering on the roads, at various times assaulting him, "and in hoisting the Mahomedan flag, whenever they may call on him for a "report. Hoping for a reply."

(True Copy.)

A. H. TERNAN,
*Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun.*

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FROM

G. PASSANAH, ESQUIRE,
*Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate, Jaloun,*

To

MAJOR R. R. W. ELLIS,
*Political Agent for Bundelkund.*

DATED CAWNPORE, THE 27TH MARCH 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 93, dated 16th instant, forwarding copy of a vernacular roobkaree from the Agent to the Governor General for Central India, and of a petition from the Mookhtar of Kesho Rao, Jageerdar of Goorsurai, and requesting information regarding the conduct of the Jageerdar during the insurrection.

2. To enable the Governor General to judge of the conduct of Kesho Rao, I shall narrate the circumstances under which he took possession of the Jaloun district, and his subsequent proceedings.

3. When the troops at Jhansi mutinied at the commencement of the month of June last, Mr. S. Thornton, Deputy Magistrate of Mow Raneepore, took refuge in the fort at Goorsurai, whence he wrote me a letter, saying that the Chief of Goorsurai was willing to afford assistance in preserving order in the Jaloun district, if his aid would be acceptable. This letter I shewed to Lieutenant Browne, Deputy Commissioner of Jaloun, who immediately addressed a letter to the Jageerdar, requesting his aid.

4. On the 10th of June, two sons of the Jageerdar arrived at Jaloun, with a force of several hundred men and a few guns. Their passing within a few miles of Orai, without communicating with the District Authorities, looked suspicious, but Lieutenant Browne marched the same day to Jaloun, and the Jageerdar's sons having assured him of their good intentions, Lieutenant Browne addressed a letter, requesting the Jageerdar to afford every assistance in preserving order in the district.

5. The next day perwannahs were addressed in the name of the Jageerdar, or one of his sons, to the different Tehseeldars, stating that the management of the district was entrusted to him, and that in future they should send their reports to him. Lieutenant Browne having marched from Jaloun, the Tehseeldar of that Pergunnah referred to him for orders. The order passed on the Tehseeldar's urzee was to the effect that the Jageerdar was not authorized to assume control of the district, and that in his (Lieutenant Browne's) absence, all the Officers of the district should act under my orders, and that a letter to that effect be addressed to the Jageerdar. The Tehseeldar's urzee was sent for my information by Lieutenant Browne, who also stated that some words had been interpolated in his Oordoo letter to the Jageerdar.

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6. As I remained at Orai, the Jageerdar's younger son, Seetaram Nunha, came to me on the 13th June. The mutineers were advancing from Jhansi, and he said he would endeavour to come to some terms with them, to induce them to spare the records and buildings.

7. When the advance guard of the mutineers, consisting of six or eight sowars, arrived at Orai, I and Mr. Griffiths, Deputy Collector, left that station on the night of the 15th, and passed through Jaloun, where Sheo Ram Tanteea, the Rao's eldest son, met me, and spoke very fair; but the next day I heard that he expelled the Tehseeldaree establishment, and took possession of the Jaloun fort, and assumed entire authority in the district.

8. Having escaped the Jhansi mutineers, I was on the road to Gwalior, but on the 17th June unfortunately fell in with a company of the 53rd Regiment Native Infantry coming from that side, who plundered our property and made us prisoners. The next day the mutineers marched with us to Jaloun, where they were received with great cordiality by Sheo Ram Tanteea, the Jageerdar's eldest son.

9. As the mutineers declared that, with the exception of cash, they would return the rest of our property on payment of Rs. 2,000, I entreated Sheo Ram Tanteea to advance the money, and make arrangements with the mutineers for our release, as they consisted of only one company, and he had a large force under his command; but he refused to do so, though he made over about Rs. 1,400 of Government money, which was in the Tehseeldaree Treasury, to them, and bought our horses, guns, &c. for Rs. 1,200 from them.

10. From Jaloun the mutineers brought us on to Orai; luckily for us the blood-thirsty party from Jhansi had passed through, and we were released on the 21st June, when our captors started for Cawnpore. It was then about 2 A. M., and we intended to proceed southward; but having to pass by a guard of Seebundees in the service of the Goorsurai Jageerdar, we were intercepted by them, and by order of the head men, detained in the Serai under a guard of about 50 men. The same day another party of mutineers, consisting of four companies of the Gwalior Contingent, and some sowars of the 14th Irregular Cavalry, arrived at Orai, and we were made over to them by the Jageerdar's people. Some of the sowars who first came into the Serai levelled their carbines at me and Mr. Griffiths, but were restrained by others, who proposed taking us to their Jemadar. This man happened to be of a mild disposition; he spoke to us kindly, and persuaded the rest, that having spared their own Officers, they should not take their lives after we had been released by another party.

11. After we had been again set free we remained at Orai, not knowing where to go, and having no means of travelling. Some days after Kesho Rao, who had arrived at Jaloun, sent me a kind letter and some money; but though he appointed a Mookhtar to see me daily, he would not give a guard for our protection.

12. It was generally known that the Jageerdar intended placing one of his sons on the *guddee* as Rajah of Jaloun, but was afraid of the opposition of Taee Baee, whose pretensions were favored by a strong party of the Jaloun Pundits. He however commenced collecting the Revenue, and levying contributions from all monied men by means of duress and intimidation. He established a mint at Jaloun, employed his own officers, and gave villages in Jageer to a number of his supporters, chiefly Pundits, who enjoyed pension from Government.

13. We were left unmolested for above three weeks, but on the 14th July heard from several persons that a few mutineers had put up at the Serai, who, having heard of our living at Orai, talked of attacking and murdering us. Next morning these men, who appeared to be Golundazes, six in number, accompanied by two men in the Jageerdar's service, named Shaadut Khan and Meea Khan, came to the door of the house we were living in, and threatened to kill us. The

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doors however were secured, and we were well armed. The two men above named and a few others were exciting the mutineers to force the door, or set fire to the house; but a number of people gathered round, who were well disposed towards us. We had sent to the Thannahdar a Pundit appointed by the Jageerdar for assistance, but received none from him, or any other of the Jageerdar's men, though some two or three hundred were present in the town. The mutineers kept threatening us for four hours, till our friends, seeing they could not be persuaded by entreaties, made a rush at them, brandishing their lattees and pelting them stones, and so drove them away.

14. On the 17th July I received a letter from Kesho Rao, saying that a force of the Wauhas was about to proceed from Cawnpore to Jhansi, and advising me to go to some village off the high road; but on the same day a party of about 300 men, in the employ of his son Sheo Ram Tanteea, who was at Calpee, came and seized me, Mr. Griffiths and my family, saying that they were servants of the Peshwa, and had been sent by him to take us to Cawnpore. Our whole party, including my wife, sister, five children, and two nephews, was placed upon two common carts, and marched off in the night towards Calpee, to be sent on to the miscreant Nana, at whose hands we expected no mercy.

15. At Attah, half way to Calpee, which we reached in the morning, we met Sheo Ram Tanteea, who was going to Orai. We begged hard not to be sent to the Nana, but he said he must obey the Nana's orders; so we were sent on in the afternoon, and reached Calpee in the evening.

16. Sheo Ram went on to Orai; the Thannahdar there had got the names of seven of the men, who were foremost in beating off the mutineers who came to murder us. Sheo Ram ordered them to be apprehended, but only one, a cloth-merchant, named Gunesh, was found, the rest having hid themselves on being threatened by the Thannahdar that they would be sent to Jaloun for having taken our part and assaulted the mutineers. Gunesh was fined Rs. 60 for the imputed offence.

17. At Calpee we were confined in the Serai, and numerous guards placed over us, and at the gate, to prevent any one communicating with us. Sheo Ram returned from Orai in the night, and sent orders to the Soubadar, commanding the escort, to take us on next morning to Cawnpore. This man, who appeared well disposed towards us, told us that he would not proceed until he got a tent and more suitable conveyance for us; he even said that if he could possibly do so, he would take us to a place of safety.

18. Our march from Calpee being thus put off, on the 19th July intelligence was received during the day of the Nana's defeat and flight from Cawnpore. This brought about a total alteration in the conduct of Sheo Ram Tanteea, who called upon us, professing great friendship, but still acting with duplicity, concealed the defeat of the Nana, but said that he had persuaded the Nana's emissary to leave us for the present under his charge. Kesho Rao also came over from Jaloun, and spoke very kindly to us. We were thus, by an unexpected turn of destiny, saved from a frightful doom.

19. While we remained prisoners in custody of Sheo Ram, the mutineers of the 42nd Native Infantry arrived from Saugor on the 22nd July. They made enquiries about us, and we had great fear of falling into their hands, but Sheo Ram got us into the fort and protected us. The mutineers having remained at Calpee, Sheo Ram provided us with suitable conveyance, and sent us off to a village 15 miles from Calpee.

20. While in the Calpee fort, though strictly guarded, and prevented from writing, we managed to send off a man to give intelligence regarding us to General Neill at Cawnpore. The General, on hearing of our circumstances, very kindly sent a letter to Sheo Ram, desiring him to send us with a suitable escort to Cawnpore, and also sent a letter to us, after which I kept up a correspondence with him.

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21. For a long time the Jageerdar objected to send us off, alleging the dangers of the road; but on receiving several peremptory letters from General Neill, he agreed to let us go, and, on the 11th August, we left the village of Choorkee, and arrived at Calpee. Sheo Ram detained us, saying there were parties of mutineers at Bara and Chuchendee on the road side; but three of our emissaries having returned from Cawnpore on the 11th, 13th, and 14th, and informed us to the contrary, we resolved on starting on the 16th. Sheo Ram appeared to assent, but on the evening of the 15th sent word to us that the British forces at Cawnpore and Allahabad were annihilated, and the Nana's rule again established; that he could not attend to the General's requisitions, and acknowledged no other authority but that of the Nana, and that, instead of going to Cawnpore, we must go back to Choorkee.

22. Some emissary of the Nana had arrived, and magnified the strength of that miscreant's adherents, and Sheo Ram gave too willing a ear to his representations.

23. Soon after our return to Choorkee we heard that the mutineers and rebels, who had assembled at Bithoor, were beaten and dispersed. General Neill again wrote peremptorily to Kesho Rao not to delay sending us over, and he also received your letter regarding us. Kesho Rao then made up his mind to let us go, furnished us with money and conveyances, and restored two horses belonging to myself and Mr. Griffiths, which he had purchased from the mutineers, and without further hinderance, we started from Choorkee on the 31st August last, and, after halting two days at Calpee, came on to Cawnpore.

24. Kesho Rao was evidently playing a double game; his object was to secure the Raj of Jaloun, by adhering to the interest of the diabolical Nana, but at the same time not to compromise himself with our Government, having a latent fear that British rule might again be paramount, in which case the assistance he rendered my party would tell in his favour. The conduct however of his eldest son, Sheo Ram Tanteea, to whom Calpee has been assigned, was most flagrant.

25. While pretending that the guards, who had us in custody, were servants of the Nana, Sheo Ram had the impudence to present for mine and Mr. Griffith's signature a document, purporting that he had rescued us from the Nana's hands, and also from the mutineers. Being completely in his power, we were constrained to sign the paper, as it would have been impolitic at the time to let him see that his villainy was detected.

I have, &c.,

G. PASSANAH,
*Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate.*

*Cawnpore, 27th March* 1858.

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# Narrative of Events

ATTENDING THE OUTBREAK OF DISTURBANCES

AND THE

## RESTORATION OF AUTHORITY

IN THE

# SAUGOR AND NERBUDDA TERRITORIES,

IN 1857-58.

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No. 368 A. of 1858.

From

Major W. C. ERSKINE,

*Commissioner of the*

*Jubbulpore Division,*

To

WILLIAM MUIR, Esquire,

*Secretary to Government,*

*North Western Provinces.*

DATED JUBBULPORE, THE 10th AUGUST 1858.

Sir,

With reference to your Circular Order No. 212, dated 30th April 1858, requiring an historical Narrative of the events attending the Mutinies and Rebellion in 1857-58 in my Division, I have the honor to report as follows :

2. Previous however to entering on the particulars, it will be proper for me to state that, when the mutinies broke out, I was Commissioner and Agent to the Lieutenant Governor in the Division, then known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, consisting of twelve Districts as per margin,* with an area of 42,600 square miles, and yielding a land Revenue of upwards of 46,00,000 Company's Rupees ; but, as the whole of these Districts were under survey and settlement, the work was too much for one Commissioner, and at my own request, just before the Jhansie mutiny broke out, the three first named Districts, though not actually separated from my Division, (as they have since been by Government Orders No. 493 of the 10th May 1858) were placed under the supervision of Captain Skene, then Superintendent of Jhansie, to whom nearly the full powers of a Commissioner were given ; and as the 4th District was, by General Order Governor General, No. 37, dated 15th February 1858, transferred to the Political Department, I shall confine myself as much as possible to events which occurred in my *present Division*, consisting of eight Districts, with an area of about 33,000 square miles, leaving the Commissioner of the new, or Jhansie Division, to report on the Districts transferred to him.

* Jaloun. Jhansie. Chundeyree. Nagode. Saugor. Dumoh. Jubbulpore. Mundlah. Seonee. Nursingpore. Hoshungabad. Baitool.

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3. It will be proper here to state what Troops garrisoned the Head Quarter Stations of my Districts when the mutinies broke out at Meerut, and I therefore give them for easy reference in the margin.*

* Saugor, 1 Co. of Eur. Bl. Artillery.
" 3rd Irregular Cavalry.
" 31st Regiment Bl. Nat. Infy.
" 42nd do. do. do.
Dumoh, 2 Cos. 31st do. do.
Jubbulpore, 52nd do. do.
Mundlah; no Troops, except a Havildar's Guard of 52nd Native Infantry.
Seonee, 1 Co. of Madras Nat. Infy.
Nursingpore, 4 Cos. of 28th M. N. I.
Hoshungabad, 4 Cos. of do. do.
Baitool, 2 Cos. of do. do.

4. Till the mutinies at Delhi and Meerut occurred in May 1857, no country could have been in more profound peace than my Division (now officially styled the *Jubbulpore Division*) was. The whole was under survey, and every thing was progressing for a new and *light* settlement of the land Revenue, which was promised to the people.

5. It is true that, so far back as January 1857, small wheaten cakes (Chupattees) were passed in a most mysterious manner from village to village in most of the Districts, and although all took it as a signal that something was coming, nobody in the Division, I believe, knew what it portended, or whence it came, and it appeared to have been little thought about, except that in the money market of Saugor it is said to have had some slight effect in bill transactions. I reported the matter to Government at the time, but even now it is a matter of doubt if the signal was understood by *any one*, or if it referred to the coming rebellion, though such is now the general opinion.

Chupattee signal passes through the Division in January 1857.

## APRIL 1857.

6. In April there was some excitement amongst the Bengal Troops regarding the introduction of the new cartridges at certain Stations in the Presidency ; but none of these cartridges reached my Division, and the agitation was confined to the soldiers, to whom many false reports came by dâk, that the Government had a design on their religion, &c., and there can be no doubt emissaries were going about and letters passing between Regiments, boding no good.

## MAY 1857.

7. Target practice went on at Jubbulpore as usual, even to the end of May, long after the Delhi mutiny ; and though some fancied they saw a change in the manner of the Natives, so far back as the middle of May, I cannot say I did, nor do I believe such existed.

8. Every care was taken by the Military Authorities to disabuse the soldiers of the stories they heard, and it was early in May that stories were spread in Saugor, Dumoh and Jubbulpore, to the effect that the ghee, atta and sugar had been adulterated by order of Government with pig's and cow's blood and bone-dust, in order that all Hindoos and Mohametans partaking of them might lose their caste or religion.

9. I issued a proclamation explaining that all reports of the kind were false, and I recommended Commanding Officers to have their men's provisions purchased and examined by Committees of Native Officers, and the atta to be ground in their presence. This had a good effect, and two or three persons having been caught spreading false reports were well flogged.

10. On the 17th of May news reached Saugor and Jubbulpore, and the next day Dumoh, of the distressing mutinies, &c. at Meerut and Delhi. It did not appear to create any great excitement amongst the Natives, but a good deal of horror at the cruelties was expressed by the sepoys and town's people, and much alarm was felt by many of the Europeans at all the Stations. Nothing however occurred, and the Target practice of the 52nd went on as usual.

News of the Meerut and Delhi Massacres arrive.

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11. At 2 in the morning of the 19th I was awoke by Mr. Sleeman, Superintendent of the Thuggee Department, who informed me that the 52nd would rise at daybreak and murder every European. He had heard this from Captain Vanrenen, Revenue Surveyor, to whom it had been told by a Mr. Campbell, one of his Uncovenanted Assistants. I hastily dressed and went over to Major Sleeman's, where I was told all the European residents of the Station of Jubbulpore were assembling ready for flight; but disbelieving the story, I counselled delay till some sign, at any rate, should be shown by the sepoys, who were perfectly quiet in their Lines. The Officers of the Regiment brought their wives and children to Mr. Sleeman's, and then went to their Lines. Target practice took place as usual, and by sunrise most of us were back in our houses.

First Panic at Jubbulpore.

12. As the sepoys expressed extreme annoyance at the report, the Native Officers begged an enquiry might be made, and it was agreed that it should be conducted at my house. It was so on the 20th, and it was proved that there was not the slightest foundation for the report.

13. On the 22nd May, there was a good deal of excitement at Jubbulpore, and it was considered advisable that some place of rendezvous should be appointed, and a public building be selected as shelter in case of danger, and the Thug's Jail was talked of, and some arrangements for loopholing it and provisioning were made; but it was found too hot and too confined, and the idea was abandoned.

## JUNE 1857.

14. At all the Stations every thing was pretty quiet till the 5th of June, when there was another panic at Jubbulpore amongst some of the Europeans in consequence of Mr. Campbell again spreading a false alarm. I ordered this person out of the Station, and recommended more caution to others.

15. Captain Pinkney, the Deputy Commissioner, and I resolved, that whatever occurred we would not leave our posts, but all ladies and children were recommended to leave the Station and go to Calcutta or Nagpore.

16. I reported every thing to Government North Western Provinces, and in reply received a note from Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor, dated the 30th May 1857, of which the Appendix marked A. is an extract.

17. On the 8th of June news of the mutiny at Jhansie reached Saugor, and the next day I received a note by express from Captain F. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansie, dated the 7th, written from the Fort, but cheerfully, and hoping soon to be released! Poor fellow, he fought bravely, but was shot dead by a sepoy, and the next day the whole of the Europeans and Eurasians (in all 76, see Appendix marked B.) were most foully and treacherously murdered by the order of the Ranee.

News of Jhansie Mutiny arrives.

18. This sad news, coupled with the intelligence that the Rajah of Banpore had assembled men at Lullutpore, caused much excitement amongst the sepoys and Thakoors near Saugor, and at Jubbulpore the sepoys were very uneasy, not apparently inclined to mutiny, but expressing a fear of being disarmed; and I therefore applied to Nagpore for Troops to come towards this as far as Seonee, but not to advance on Jubbulpore without my order.

19. After some delay a Force was ordered up, but in consequence of the discovery of a plot at Nagpore, the Troops were recalled from the first march, (13th June).

Nagpore Plot discovered.

20. The 2 Companies of the 31st Native Infantry on command at Dumoh were relieved about this time by 2 of the 42nd, and the latter were said to be disaffected. Both the sepoys at Jubbulpore and Dumoh expressed great

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fears of being disarmed, and stated they were sure Europeans were marching up for the purpose. They were told to send out men and see if such was the case, which they did, and after a time the 52nd men begged that Europeans might be sent to aid them in quelling any disturbances that might occur!

Conduct of Rajah of Banpore at Lullutpore.

21. The Deputy Commissioner of Chundeyree had reported that the Wing of the Gwalior Contingent stationed at Lullutpore, (the Head Quarter Station of Chundeyree) were not to be depended on, and that he doubted the loyalty of the Rajah of Banpore, who had been called there to assist the Deputy Commissioner, but had surrounded the Station with his followers; consequently he requested the Brigadier Commanding at Saugor to send him Troops, and I also urged this on Brigadier Sage.

Troops march towards Lullutpore.

22. On the 13th June, 1 Company of the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, 1 Company of the 42nd Bengal Native Infantry, 1 Troop of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry and 2 guns (with 2 European Artillerymen to point them) left Saugor for Lullutpore under command of Major Gaussen of the 42nd. About this time it was reported to me by the Deputy Commissioners of Dumoh and Saugor, that the Rajah of Shahgurh, whose principality borders on the north and west of these two Districts, was raising soldiers and evidently making preparations for war.

First sign of Mutiny in the 42nd Regiment.

23. On the 14th some of the men of the 42nd Regiment reported that four of their sepoys had endeavoured to prevent the Detachment proceeding on its march. They were seized, tried by a Native Court Martial and found guilty, but were only sentenced to six months' imprisonment with labor.

24. The excitement was so great amongst the men of the Regiments that the Deputy Commissioner, very wisely, quietly sent the prisoners off to Hoshungabad under a Police guard, and they were safely lodged in Jail there.

25. Brigadier Sage posted mounted Troopers of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry round the Cantonment of Saugor, and made them patrol night and day to prevent the sepoys attempting a rescue.

26. The Detachment intended for Lullutpore reached Malthone, and more than once, the European Officers who accompanied it were informed that the sepoys were counselling their murder.

Attempt on the life of the Adjutant of 52nd Native Infantry.

27. On or about the 15th, whilst Lieutenant Miller, Adjutant of the 52nd Regiment, was inspecting the Guards of his Regiment at Jubbulpore, a sepoy in the ranks brought his musket down to the charge and made a thrust at the Adjutant, who fortunately escaped with a slight scratch. The Subadar Major, who was standing in the rear, threw his arms round the man, and after a severe struggle, in which the Subadar Major was wounded and risked his own life, the rascal was secured and confined in the guard-room. There was some show of assistance towards the Adjutant, but more of sympathy with the prisoner. The Subadar Major was rewarded by Government.

28. The sepoy was said to be mad, and, being pronounced so by the Medical Officer of the Regiment, he was sent, under a guard of his own Corps, to the Lunatic Asylum at Benares, which he safely reached, and where, I believe, he was pronounced *not mad*, for he was hanged at Benares!

29. There can be no doubt that, had this wretch succeeded in his object of killing the Adjutant, the greater part of the Regiment, if not all, would have joined in a massacre of the Europeans. It was one of those many extraordinary escapes that have occurred in this mutiny.

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30. No attempt was made to release the prisoner, and the Regiment remained quiet.

31. About the middle of this month plundering commenced in the Saugor district.

32. The Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah, Captain Waddington, who had for several years been Adjutant of the 52nd Regiment, was said to have great influence with the Regiment, and as the Lieutenant Governor had permitted Captain Waddington to reside at Jubbulpore, during the hot weather and rains, there being no house in Mundlah, I called him in.

33. On the 16th the sad intelligence of the massacre at Jhansie, and on the 18th of the mutiny at Lullutpore, reached Saugor and Jubbulpore, and news of the mutiny at Banda came at the same time. The Banpore Rajah too had seized the District of Chundeyree, and confined the European Officers.

News of the Massacre at Jhansie and Mutiny at Lullutpore received.

34. Captain F. Pinkney, my Deputy Commissioner at Jubbulpore, at once volunteered to go to Saugor and overtake Major Gaussen's Detachment, proceed with it, and endeavour to restore order in Chundeyree and Jhansie. To this I consented, the country between Jubbulpore and Saugor being then quiet.

35. Rumours of disaffection amongst the Native Chiefs in and around my Division became rife, and I therefore lost no time in issuing orders to all my District Officers to raise extra Police, to watch all the Ghâts on the Nerbudda, and to withdraw the Ferry boats to the south bank, except at Mundlah and Jubbulpore, where they were to be kept on the north bank guarded.

Disaffection of the Native Chiefs.

36. I called on all the Native Chiefs and Jageerdars within my Division to be loyal, and to raise small Contingents, and one of them near Jubbulpore, Rao Unrood Singh of Kymoree, offered to furnish, and gave men to escort Captain Pinkney.

Preventive measures.

37. This was done at once, and many Mahajuns and Malgoozars were called on to be faithful, and, if need be, to assist the Government with their Yeomanry and Contingents.

38. The measure proved of much advantage, for though the temporary extra Police and Contingents were not much to be depended on, and some even joining the rebels, hundreds of armed men were thus taken into Government pay, who otherwise would have swelled the ranks of the enemy.

39. I increased the pay of the sowars, and ordered others to be raised. This also proved a very successful measure. Many of these men have since done excellent service, and all have now been transferred to the Military Police Corps.

40. Major Gaussen's Detachment arrived at Malthone on the 18th, and finding the Passes to the north of it were held by large bodies of the Rajah of Banpore's rebel Troops, it was therefore halted to protect the northern Frontier of the Saugor district, and keep the Banpore Rajah in check.

41. For this he did not consider his Force strong enough; consequently Brigadier Sage ordered it to be strengthened by 250 men of the 31st Native Infantry, 100 of the 42nd, and 50 more sowars of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry from Saugor.

42. On this party joining Major Gaussen on the 23rd June, he proceeded to attack an old and small, but strong Fort, called Bala Behut, on the south border of the Chundeyree district, which had been one of our Police Stations, but had now

Major Gaussen attacks and takes Bala Behut.

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been taken possession of by the insurgents. There were but 16 men in it, the bulk having gone out to plunder; it was therefore at once taken by our Troops, and the Garrison made prisoners.

Rajah of Banpore tampers with the Sepoys.

43. Major Gaussen apprehended a messenger of the Banpore Rajah's with a letter addressed to the Detachment, telling them that the Boondelahs (of which tribe of Rajpoots the Rajah is the head) were their friends, that the sepoys had acted well in resisting our interference with their religion, and that as Government had treated the Thakoors very badly, they would assist the sepoys.

44. Major Gaussen assembled the Native Officers, and consulted them as to what answer should be sent. They at once wrote that they were faithful to their salt, and if the Rajah sent any more messengers they would be hanged.

Captain Pinkney deputed to Jhansie.

45. On the 20th Captain Clerk, Deputy Commissioner of Seonee, whom I had summoned to relieve Captain Pinkney, and had relieved by sending Lieut. Thomson, Assistant Commissioner, arrived and took charge of the District of Jubbulpore, and the next day Captain Pinkney started with his little Guard of Aheer Thakoors for Saugor, and speedily reached it in safety; but on the 25th Major Gaussen reported that some of the men of the 31st and 42nd Native Infantry at Malthone had broken into open mutiny, insisting that the Boondelah prisoners should be brought into their Camp from the custody of the Police, and the conduct of the Detachment was so bad, he felt himself obliged to comply.

Mutiny at Malthone.

Malthone Detachment release the Bala Behut prisoners.

46. On the arrival of the prisoners in Camp, the mutineers had surrounded Major Gaussen, and with much gesticulation and vociferation demanded their release from restraint, as they had promised them their lives when they took them prisoners. Major Gaussen consulted the other Officers, and let the prisoners go.

Imprisonment of the Lullutpore Ladies and Officers.

47. The good news now reached us of the Lullutpore Officers and Ladies* being alive, but they were at first confined by the Banpore Rajah, who shortly after sent them to Tehree, which place they reached after many trials and narrow escapes, through the excellent conduct of Mohumed Allee Khan, Mookhtar of the Rajah of Banpore. At Tehree they were kindly treated through the influence of the young Rajah of Oorcha's tutor, and again befriended by Mohumed Allee Khan and his servant, both of whom have since been most handsomely rewarded by the Government. I may here mention, that the Tehree Authorities, at the request of the Officers, sent them towards Saugor, and on the way they were seized and imprisoned by the Rebel Rajah of Shahgurh, who, after keeping them in a most wretched condition for three months, allowing them merely one anna a day each for food, sent them in to Saugor, when I threatened to attack him with the Kamptee Movable Column in September 1857.

Plundering in Saugor by Boondelahs.

48. Dacoitees now were of daily occurrence in the northern part of the Saugor district, owing to the incursions of the dreaded Boondelahs, who came from Chundeyree and Shahgurh, and who were soon joined by the Narhut and other Thakoors in the Saugor district. The first took place on the 16th June.

Saugor Residents take protection in the Fort.

49. On the 27th of June, Brigadier Sage, considering the conduct of the sepoys at Malthone highly mutinous, and suspecting the Troops in the Saugor Cantonment, consulted with the senior Officers and

* For names, see Appendix J.

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heads of departments, as to what should be done. It was resolved to take possession of the old Fort in the town of Saugor, which was used as an Arsenal and Magazine, and garrisoned by sepoys from the Cantonment.

50. It was of great consequence that this Fort should not fall into the hands of the Native soldiery or the rebels, for independent of its large stores, it was the only safe place for the European and Christian residents, in the event of the mutiny or the rebellion spreading.

51. Immediate steps were therefore taken to lay in supplies and prepare accommodation for the European families. The bulk of the Treasure was taken from the Deputy Commissioner's Kucherry, and the whole of the powder from the expense Magazine, and lodged in the Fort. The same afternoon the Sepoy Guard in the Fort was, without previous notice, relieved by twenty European Artillerymen. Notice was also given at once to the European families, that preparation had been made in the Fort for their reception, and nearly all took advantage of it that night.

52. Orders were then issued for the whole of the Troops at Saugor to be held in readiness to march to Malthone. This was a ruse.

53. On the 29th June, while the weekly Guards were being relieved at Saugor, the whole of the rest of the European Artillerymen with their guns were quietly marched into the Fort, where they were at once joined by all the European Officers and Christian residents, who had been previously warned to proceed there with a portion of their property.

54. This being done, the Brigadier directed the Native Officers of the 31st and 42nd Native Infantry, and of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, to attend on him in the Fort; and on their doing so, he informed them that, notwithstanding their promises of fidelity, there had been a mutiny of a portion of each Corps, that if they wished to prove themselves true they must at once give up the bad men, and if they did not do so he would not trust the European Officers to remain longer with traitors.

Bad characters in the 31st and 42nd to be given up, and measures taken to bring them in.

55. They expressed great regret for what had happened, and they all volunteered to send good men to Malthone to bring in the bad characters.

56. This was agreed to, and the men selected by their Native Officers marched that evening.

Excitement at Jubbulpore.

57. These proceedings soon became known at Dumoh and Jubbulpore, the only two other stations in my Division where there were Bengal Troops, amongst whom, as well as amongst the majority of the Christian residents, there was much excitement; but the sepoys remained quiet, doing their duty as usual.

## JULY 1857.

42nd Native Infantry and 3rd Irregular Cavalry Mutiny at Saugor.

58. On the morning of the 1st July the portion of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry remaining at Saugor, with the exception of some of the Native Officers, and about fifty sowars, broke out into open mutiny in the Cantonments, went to the Musjid, and sharpened their swords.

59. At the same time Sheikh Ramzan, the senior Subadar present with the 42nd Native Infantry, raised the Mohametan flag, and called for followers by beat of drum. He was joined by the whole of the 42nd, who remained in the station, by a few of the 31st, and by all the mutineers of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, and the same day these mutinous Troops and the bad characters

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of the Sudder Bazar and Camp followers, plundered and injured the property of most of the Officers' houses in Cantonments, but did not set fire to them.

60. They also took away about 9,500 Rupees worth of copper and small silver coin, which could not be removed from the Treasury for want of time and carriage.

Mutineers go towards Dumoh.

61. On the 2nd July a portion of the mutineers went towards Dumoh, with a view of inciting the 2 Companies of the 42nd there to join them and carry off the Dumoh treasure, amounting to about 1,50,000 Rupees.

Plot discovered in Hoshungabad to rob the Treasure at Hurda.

62. In Hoshungabad, which is my most westerly District, a plot was discovered to rob the Tuhseelee Treasury of Hurda, and the Nujeebs in charge of it were most mutinous; but owing to the excellent, judicous, and brave conduct of the Deputy Magistrate (Muzheer Jumeel) there, it was saved and (about 30,000 Rs.) sent into the Sudder Treasury, under a strong Guard of Police, who remained faithful.

Alarm in Dumoh.

63. The Saugor mutiny created great alarm at Dumoh. The bankers hid their wealth on hearing of it, on the 2nd of July, and the Deputy Commissioner resolved to lodge the Treasure in the Jail Fort.

Further particulars of the Mutiny of Saugor Troops.

64. But to proceed with the Saugor mutiny. The men sent out by the 31st to Malthone relieved the Light Company of that Regiment, which had been the most mutinous, and it returned to Saugor. Some of the men of this Company expressed extreme contrition for their conduct, but about 45 at once joined the mutineers of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry and 42nd Native Infantry.

65. The men sent out by the 42nd Native Infantry on the same errand, (viz. to bring in the bad men) were overtaken by some of the mutineers of that Regiment and 3rd Irregulars and joined them, except six, who were at once put to death by the mutineers.

66. From the 1st of July Sheikh Ramzan, Subadar 42nd Native Infantry, assumed the command in Cantonments, and the title of "General."

67. The mutineers seized the large saluting gun on the Artillery hill, which had been left there when the rest of the guns were taken into the Fort, and brought it down to the Quarter Guard of the 42nd, which the mutineers made their Head Quarters.

Good conduct of the 31st Native Infantry.

68. The 31st Native Infantry (except the 45 men alluded to in paragraph 64) kept aloof from the mutineers. The Native Officers of this Corps daily went to the Fort, and the men protected and conveyed much of their Officers' property to them.

69. The 31st Native Infantry now requested permission to attack the mutineers. This the Brigadier sanctioned, but would not allow their European Officers to accompany them: however, a strong party of the Customs Chuprassees, who had just been armed with muskets, were sent out by the Deputy Commissioner, Major Western, to make a demonstration in favor of the 31st, and were accompanied by the Officers of the Customs Department, and by Captain Pinkney, who had not been able to proceed beyond Saugor in consequence of the mutiny at Malthone, and by Lieutenant Hamilton, the Assistant Commissioner.

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70. The mutineers seeing they were about to be attacked, fired a round shot into the 31st from the saluting gun, and both Regiments now kept up a desultory fire with their muskets nearly the whole day, but little damage was done on either side.

Fight between the 31st and Mutineers.

71. The next morning the mutineers, thinking the 31st would be aided by the Artillery of the Fort, left the station for the North in great haste, taking with them some conveyances belonging to the Officers, but soon abandoned them on the road.

Mutineers leave the Station.

72. The Deputy Commissioner of Dumoh, as I stated in paragraph 63, resolved on placing his Treasure in the Jail Fort when he heard of the mutiny of the 42nd. The Detachment of that Corps at Dumoh were greatly excited, and plundering by the Boondelahs from Shahgurh had just commenced. The Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant Nembhard, on the 3rd of July, on receiving an express from Saugor of the Detachment of mutineers being sent to Dumoh for his Treasure, assembled the European Officers (a Lieutenant and Ensign of the 42nd) and Native Officers, and after consulting them, it was resolved that they and the Detachment should all enter the Jail Fort and defend it against the mutineers.

Conduct of Officers and Men at Dumoh.

73. In the afternoon a Havildar of the Detachment, who was taking some money into Saugor, returned and stated that he had come on the mutineers, and that they would be at Dumoh early the next morning. The Treasure was at once sent into the Jail; the Detachment are described to have been in a very excited and mutinous state, and once, during the evening, rushed to their arms; but, some time after, were quieted by Lieutenant Holt.

74. The Jemadar of the Detachment, and one or two loyal Non-commissioned Officers, the same evening warned the European Officers that their men were not to be depended on, and that certain danger to the European Officers would follow, should they enter the Jail; indeed, the Officers had each and all convincing proofs, that if they entered the Jail that night, they would not leave it alive: such was their impression at any rate. And seeing what had occurred at Saugor in this Regiment, and elsewhere in so many Corps, it is not surprising that, after consulting together, they should have left the station that night, with nothing but the clothes on their backs, and at the time most people thought that they were right, and they must not be judged by after events.

75. The Officers and Mrs. Holt rode direct to Nursingpore, (about 70 miles) where, after much suffering from wet and hunger on the road, they safely arrived.

76. On the morning of the 4th the mutineers arrived at Dumoh from Saugor. The Infantry portion went to the Jail and demanded the Treasure, which was refused by the Subadar Major and Runjeet Singh Havildar. The Cavalry portion are said to have searched for the Officers, with the intention of murdering them; but being unsuccessful, and finding the Subadar Major and Runjeet Singh resolute in not joining them, and in not giving up the Treasure, the whole left the station and plundered some villages, but did no harm in Dumoh.

77. It is impossible for me to say what the real intention of the Dumoh Detachment was. Some think that they wished to keep the Treasure for themselves, and not to share it with their brethren. The Subadar Major was a Mohametan, and his family were at Saugor in the hands of the Brigadier, who arrested them; but he was old, and is said not to have had much influence with his men. But Runjeet Singh was not only a fine gallant soldier, but had

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great influence, and to his excellent management, pluck in every way, and loyalty, I ascribe the safety of the Treasure, which was eventually made over to Captain Pinkney, as will be seen hereafter.

78. Looking back at the whole matter a year after its occurrence, it is my impression that though many of the men in this Detachment were probably bad, yet the body were not. The whole have remained faithful to the State up to this time, and I am happy to say that the old Subadar Major and the gallant Runjeet Singh have been promoted by the Government for their good conduct.

Conduct of the 52nd at Jubbulpore on hearing of the Saugor Mutiny, and preliminary arrangements for the safety of the European Residents.

79. It was the impression of every one at Jubbulpore that the 52nd would be greatly guided by what their brethren at Saugor and Nagode did, and on their hearing of the mutiny at Saugor, there was an unmistakable change for the worse in the conduct of some of the men: indeed, about the 3rd of July, I think it was, three Companies took their muskets out of the Bells of Arms, with no good intentions, but they were pacified. Some of the neighbouring Thakoors or petty Chiefs too were said to be about to rise and join the sepoys against us, and reports came from Saugor that the mutineers were going to take Jubbulpore, after Dumoh. All this being possible, and there being many ladies and Christian women and children at Jubbulpore, it was proposed, on the morning of the 4th July, that all females and children should at once leave the station for Nursingpore, and preparations were made accordingly; but seeing there was every chance of heavy rain shortly falling, and that the ladies and children would have much trouble on the road, which was heavy, and the Nerbudda to cross, and even if they safely reached Nursingpore they would have but poor accommodation, and, perhaps, not adequate protection if the Madras Troops there had to take the field, I settled with Colonel Jamieson, Commanding the 52nd and Station, that it would be much better, in every way, and cause less alarm to the Natives of the town, who were loyal, if all the Christians assembled in the Agency House, which I occupied, and which could be blockaded and be made defensible in a short time against musketry, if all worked with a will.

Policy to put apparent trust in the Sepoys at first.

80. It was necessary policy also to *appear* to place confidence in the sepoys, for had they seen we distrusted them, they assuredly would not have allowed us to congregate, if they meant mischief. We therefore told the Native Officers that we were afraid of an attack from the Boondelahs and Saugor mutineers, and must barricade ourselves and *have a Guard from the Regiment!* They apparently approved of this, and seemed pleased.

Christians assembled in the Jubbulpore Agency House and barricaded the same.

81. At 2 P. M. that day notice was sent round, and before 7 P. M. all the ladies, gentlemen, and children were assembled in my house. We sat down to dinner 45 adults, of whom 10 were ladies, and there were also 15 children. In the house there was no accommodation for the Sergeants and Uncovenanted Members of the Service, but temporary arrangements were made for them in the verandahs, and, eventually, in tents and out-houses, conveniently near and within the intrenchments.

82. Pickets of sepoys were posted in the large compound, and the Officers, Sergeants and Uncovenanted took it by turns to stand sentry at night all round the House.

83. Doubtless, that night (which was a rainy one, and would have prevented the ladies travelling over the bad roads had the plan not been changed) was one of no small danger to the Europeans of Jubbulpore, for a section of determined men might have shot us all from the large hall door as we sat at dinner: but, thanks be to God, all passed off quietly, and, as the day dawned, the next morning we had some thousands of workmen busily engaged in

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barricading doors, filling bags and boxes with sand, and piling them up in the open verandahs and on the top of the house, (a large pukka flat-roofed one); others were bringing in supplies and stores of all kinds. Every Officer was told off to some particular work; some worked hard with their own hands, others in superintending the fortifications, or stowing away, &c. supplies.

84. Two small old guns (dangerous to the gunners if fired!) were dug up and placed in position, and the ladies employed themselves in making powder bags.

85. In fact it was the most busy scene imaginable; but that night all sat down to dinner with some feeling of security: most of us with good appetites, and stout and thankful hearts.

86. For many days every one was busily engaged; the fortifications made rapid progress in strength and size. The Sepoy Guards were gradually reduced, and at last were dispensed with, and with a large stock of ammunition, muskets, and our fowling-pieces we felt secure from any attack, unless the enemy had guns. I enclose a Photograph, marked C.*

Civil duties carried on as usual at Jubbulpore.

87. The Civil Officers, Covenanted and Uncovenanted, generally spent the day in their Offices as usual, and the Civil Administration never flagged for a day; every thing in that respect was carried on as usual. Some of the Officers and Ladies spent a few hours of the day in their own houses, and a portion of our Garrison were allowed daily to take their rides or drives as usual; some gentlemen generally accompanying the ladies however with loaded revolvers. I append a list of the Europeans, marked D.

Commissioner received and exercised powers of a Chief Commissioner.

88. I had in the end of June been invested, by the Governor General, with the powers of a Chief Commissioner; all communication having ceased with the North West, and I therefore took measures on myself without reference to any other Authority, and all my wishes were most cheerfully attended to by Colonel Jamieson.

All quiet in Nursingpore.

89. In Nursingpore all was quiet; but rebels were gradually closing in, and from the day the Deputy Commissioner of Dumoh left his District, all was anarchy there.

Troubles in Hoshungabad and false reports from Indore.

90. In Hoshungabad the Nemaour pergunnah, which is on the right bank of the Nerbudda, and had been ceded by Scindia in 1844, was disturbed, and on the 3rd of July much alarm was created by sowars from Indore, bringing exaggerated accounts of the rising at Indore, to the effect that Holkar had rebelled and blown away the Resident and all the British Officers from guns.

Certain persons propose that the Districts south of Dumoh be abandoned.

91. This news was sent to me by express by the Deputy Commissioner and Commanding Officer at Hoshungabad, and the latter informed me that, as the rebels from Indore were fast advancing on Hoshungabad, he could not, with a weak Wing of Madras Native Infantry and two guns, resist the enemy, who had numerous guns; and therefore proposed that the other Wing of his Regiment (the 28th M. N. I.) should join him from Nursingpore; that the latter Station and District should be abandoned, and that the whole of the Troops in Hoshungabad, Nursingpore, Baitool, Seonee and Jubbulpore should retire to Kamptee.

Commissioner's orders for Troops, &c. to stand fast.

92. Seeing however that the intelligence was somewhat improbable, and at any rate required confirmation, and that such a retreat on our part would be disgraceful, and would not only deliver up the fine

* Omitted from the Appendices.

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Valley of the Nerbudda to anarchy, but probably endanger the whole of Southern-Central India, and at any rate lose us all my Districts and the Northern part of Nagpore, I took advantage of my new powers and ordered the Troops at Nursingpore, Baitool, Seonee, and Hoshungabad to stand fast, unless actually driven in; but to enable them to move against an enemy at a moment's notice, I put all on full batta.

Interference of the Commissioner of Nagpore.

93. My order was attended to, and I need not say the news from Indore was false, though some of Holkar's Troops had murdered some of the Europeans; but on the false reports reaching Nagpore, the Commissioner and the Brigadier at Kamptee took it on themselves to order all the Madras Troops at Nursingpore, Hoshungabad, Baitool, and Seonee to fall back on Kamptee, in the event of Holkar's Troops advancing against them.

Government approved of Jubbulpore Commissioner's orders.

94. I resisted such interference, and reported the same to Government; but at first, when all the circumstances were not known to the Governor General, the Nagpore order, which fortunately was never carried out, was approved. However, on further explanation, my orders were supported, as will be seen by the Appendix marked E.

Result of Commissioner of Jubbulpore's order.

95. The result of my orders was, that we have never lost any of the five Districts alluded to.

Orders for intrenchments at each Station and extra Batta to be given to faithful Troops.

96. I recommended that both at Hoshungabad and Nursingpore some building should be fortified and intrenchments be made, and this was done; and I ordered extra batta to be given to all Bengal Troops in the Division, who might remain loyal.

Plundering in Jubbulpore. Detachments sent out.

97. Some few villages about this time were plundered in the Jubbulpore Division, and with a view of stopping this, and also to weaken the Corps at Jubbulpore, I requested Colonel Jamieson to send Detachments of the 52nd to the different Tuhseelees, and to Kuttungee on the Herun river towards Dumoh, and he complied with my request.

Signs of Rebellion in Mundlah.

98. Early in the month signs of rebellion in Mundlah were visible, by two Malgoozars refusing to pay revenue, and others saying that our Government must go, and later in the month four of the chief landholders talked treason. Two I summoned to Jubbulpore, but they made pretences for not coming.

Rajahs of Banpore and Shahgurh send Emissaries to petty Chiefs and the results.

99. The Rajahs of Banpore and Shahgurh sent emissaries to nearly all the petty Chiefs in these Territories, telling them to join in the general rebellion; but in Hoshungabad none joined. In Nursingpore only two or three, in Jubbulpore a few, in Mundlah many, in Saugor several, in Dumoh nearly all, in Seonee none, and in Baitool the Chief Malgoozars, Sheodeen and Ramdeen, were discovered intriguing and making arrangements to raise the Gonds, but being detected in time, they were tried and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. Every possible precaution was taken by all the District Officers and myself in offering advice, and in raising extra Police, &c.

Loss of 2 Tuhseelees in Saugor.

100. On or about the 9th of July the Tuhseeldarees and Thannahs of Korai and Benaika in Saugor were attacked, and taken possession of; the former, by the Rajah of Banpore's troops, and the latter by those of the Shahgurh Rajah.

101. The Tuhseeldar of Korai, Ahmud Buksh, and Peer Allee a Tomundar of Police, and most of the Police, joined the rebels, and some of those at Benaika did the same.

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Reinforcements sent from Saugor to Major Gaussen and the results.

102. On the 9th a portion of the 31st Regiment Native Infantry, and some of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, were sent from Saugor to assist Major Gaussen on his return from Malthone. He arrived at Saugor on the 12th: the greater portion of the Native Officers and men of the 42nd and 3rd Irregular Cavalry, with Major Gaussen, had deserted; and as this Officer retired, the Rajah of Banpore took possession of the northern portion of the District, and of course plundering became general.

Mutiny of some Police in Hoshungabad and alarm in consequence.

103. The Police at Hurda in Hoshungabad broke out into open mutiny, but the Deputy Magistrate, Muzheer Jumeel, kept a bold front, and they were unable to do much harm there, although they attempted to raise the Mohametan standard; and seeing that they could not succeed, nine of them deserted, leaving their muskets. Six men were afterwards captured, and the rest have since been brought to trial. Some hanged, and others imprisoned for life.

104. In Seonee, a large commercial town in the Hoshungabad district, there was considerable alarm, when the false news of Holkar's rebellion arrived; but the Moonsiff, Ully Hussun, who is an Assistant Magistrate, behaved admirably, and not only allayed the fears of the people, but kept the Police to their allegiance.

105. The Deputy Commissioner of Hoshungabad, Lieutenant J. C. Wood, sent out Mr. J. L. Thornton, one of his Deputy Magistrates, to Sohagpore, a large town with a fort in the heart of that portion of his District, where the Oobareedars or petty Rajahs hold their Jageers. This Officer had great influence with them and with the Police, and soon put down dacoitees, which had commenced.

Arrival of Fugitives in Hoshungabad.

106. On the 8th of July, Colonel Durand and his party arrived safely at Hoshungabad from Indore, and as Major Ludlow, the Chief Engineer of this Division, was one of the party, he laid out the necessary intrenchments at the Kucherry for the protection of the residents, in case of attack from Bhopal, Indore or elsewhere.

107. On the 13th, 14th and 15th, other fugitives from Sehore, Augur and Seepree, arrived at Hoshungabad.

Dacoitees in Hoshungabad.

108. From the 21st of July no dacoitees took place in the southern portion of the Hoshungabad district, but Namaour, on the north bank, was more disturbed, as will be seen hereafter.

Boondelahs enter Jubbulpore District and take possession of Fort Bilheree.

109. In the middle of this month 200 armed Boondelahs took possession of the old Fort at Bilheree, between Rewah and Saleemabad, in Jubbulpore, on the Great Deccan Road.

110. I called on the Officer Commanding at Jubbulpore to send out Troops to attack them, and on the 16th a party of the 52nd marched under an Officer; and the Boondelahs hearing of it decamped, but only to return reinforced and to come on to the road at Moorwara, where they stole the post horses and stopped the up-Country and Calcutta dâks. They then again took possession of the Fort.

Bilheree retaken by us and destroyed.

111. On receipt of this intelligence I sent orders to Lieutenant Bailey, Commanding a Company of the 50th Bengal Native Infantry, (which I had previously brought from Nagode to Myhere on the Great Deccan Road to keep open the communication) to move down and attack the rebels, and at the same time I ordered a Company of the 52nd, under Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn at

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Saleemabad, also to move against the rebels: and I sent Lieutenant Baldwins Assistant Commissioner of Jubbulpore, as Civil Officer. Both Detachment, moved with the greatest alacrity, but Lieutenant Bailey arriving first, the rebels again fled, and I had the Fort completely destroyed.

Plundering put down in Jubbulpore and 52nd Regiment kept quiet.

112. On the 25th more post horses were stolen by the rebels, who hid themselves in the jungle; but from this date plundering ceased, and the District was kept in perfect peace by a Regiment, which afterwards mutinied and joined the rebels.

113. By this measure, viz. sending out parties of the 52nd, the chances against the Europeans, in case of a mutiny, were greatly decreased, and the District was restored to order, till the mutiny occurred, when, as will be seen hereafter, the 52nd stole out of the station in a dark night.

Nagpore Movable Column ordered to Jubbulpore, &c.

114. I must here mention that the disturbances at Nagpore having been quelled, and the sepoys of the 52nd seeing themselves trusted, got over their fears of being disarmed; and the Europeans having been placed in a place of comparative safety in case of mutiny, I requested the Commissioner and Brigadier of Nagpore, if possible, to send us some reliable Troops, and on the 17th of July a small body of Troops, of the strength as per margin,* and known hereafter as the Nagpore Movable Column, marched for Jubbulpore under the command of Colonel J. Millar of the 33rd Madras Native Infantry.

* D. Co. 3rd Bn. Madras Artillery and 65 Rank and File, (Europeans, with 6 guns.)
1 Squadron 4th Madras Cavalry, 92 Sabres, 425 Rank and File of 33rd M. N. I.
91 Ditto ditto of Rifle Company, 1st Nagpore Irregular Infantry.

Troops sent from Saugor to Benaika with Officers, and the result.

115. On the 18th of July a Company of the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, with two European Officers, was sent from Saugor to the Benaika Tuhseelee, and Lieutenant Hamilton, Assistant Commissioner, accompanied the Detachment. From this it will be seen that Brigadier Sage's confidence in the 31st was so far restored, that he allowed Officers to accompany men on detached duty, but would not trust the men inside the Fort, or allow the Officers to sleep in their houses in Cantonments.

116. On the 21st the rebels near Benaika, having been reinforced from Shahgurh, advanced with one gun to attack our Detachment, but they were repulsed, and their gun (a large brass one, belonging to the Shahgurh Rajah) captured. The Rajah sent a messenger to say that he would give up the Lady and Officers in his power, (those from Lullutpore,) and the Detachment moved out to receive them, but were treacherously fired on. He then sent word that he would exchange them for the gun, but this was evidently false; and as the Officer Commanding the Detachment, Major Legard of the 31st, did not think his Detachment strong enough to attack the rebels, who, he heard, had been reinforced by some 1,000 men, he withdrew to Saugor, bringing in the captured gun.

Anarchy in Saugor and our loss of Forts Rautgurh and Gurrakota.

117. About this time (20th), the Saugor district was nearly all in the hands of the enemy. The Fort of Rautgurh, in the west border, was taken possession of (and our Police partly driven out, and partly induced to join the rebels) by the Nawab of Amapanee in Bhopal, and the Fort at Gurrakota in the south was taken and occupied by the Shahgurh Troops.

Advance of Banpore Troops on Saugor.

118. At the same time the Rajah of Banpore, with from 12 to 1,400 men, moved down from the North towards Saugor, and took up a very strong position at Nurraulee, about 12 miles from Saugor Fort, and on the 25th a portion of his Troops actually advanced to the Cantonments and fired on an out-house of

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the Artillery Barracks; but on the Troops in the station being sent against them, they decamped.

Safety and recovery of Dumoh Fort and Treasure.

119. As Captain Pinkney could not get beyond Saugor, and was of no use in his official capacity there, and was, like the rest, in the Fort, I requested him to try and recover Dumoh and its Treasure, as the two weak Companies of the 42nd there were not only holding the place, but had attacked and driven the rebels out of the Town. I requested Brigadier Sage to give him some Troops for this purpose, but Captain Pinkney anticipated my wishes; he obtained 2 Companies of the 31st, under Captain Finch, and 2 guns, and on arriving at Dumoh, (45 miles from Saugor) the Detachment there at once made over the Fort and Treasure to him. The Subadar Major of the 42nd, aided by the Moonsiff, whom Runjeet Singh Havildar took good care to keep in the Fort with him, had managed to carry on duty in the Town of Dumoh and a few miles around it, so far as to keep the prisoners in Jail, the Police at their posts, and to correspond with me.

Dumoh Troops attack Rebels at Hindoreeah.

120. A portion of the party, with Captain Pinkney and Captain Finch, aided by the 42nd Detachment, then attacked Hindoreeah, about 12 miles from Dumoh, the seat of the rebel Kishore Singh, who had been instigated by the Shahgurh Rajah to attack Dumoh some time before, and our little Force at Hindoreeah beat a large body behind stone walls, and killed many of them.

Lieut. Nembhard, Deputy Commissioner, again ordered to Dumoh.

121. On hearing that Lieutenant Nembhard, the Deputy Commissioner of Dumoh, and his party had safely reached Nursingpore, I ordered him up to Jubbulpore, and after making such enquiries as I thought proper regarding his leaving his Station, I ordered him at once to proceed and relieve Captain Pinkney at Dumoh.

122. Lieutenant Nembhard arrived at Jubbulpore on the 19th July, and started, together with the two Officers of the 42nd, on the 21st, escorted by a party of the 52nd.

Captain Pinkney returns and takes charge of Judge's Office at Jubbulpore.

123. Lieutenant Nembhard and his party reached Dumoh (65 miles) on the 25th, and Captain Pinkney returned to Jubbulpore to take charge of the Judge's Office.

Troops engage Enemy at Dumoh and state of that District.

124. The 2 Companies of the 31st, and 2 guns manned by the 31st, and some 80 of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, as well as the 2 Companies of the 42nd, remained at Dumoh, and had several engagements with the rebels, in one fight killing some 50 men.

125. On the 28th Dumoh was attacked, but the rebels were driven off with loss. The whole of the Dumoh district was now swarming with rebels, who plundered in every direction, and the Shahgurh insurgents were joined by nearly every man in Dumoh of the Lody caste, with the exception of the petty Rajah of Hutree, who remained faithful throughout.

Chirkaree Rebels at Dumoh.

126. Some of the rebels came from the Chirkaree village Deokoh, and wore the Rajah's uniform and worked two guns, but whether with the knowledge of the Rajah or not I cannot say. But it is worthy of note, that when I was passing through the Dumoh district, about five months before the outbreak, I heard of guns being at Deokoh, and that large quantities of powder and ammunition were being manufactured there, and I duly reported it to Major Ellis, the Assistant Political Agent.

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127. I was anxious to have some Cavalry at Jubbulpore to send after the rebels on the Deccan Road, and therefore wrote to Colonel Millar to hurry on the Squadron of the 4th Madras Cavalry attached to his Column. This he did, and the Squadron arrived on the 30th of July, but the rebels had fled.

Squadron of 4th Madras Cavalry arrive at Jubbulpore.

128. On the same day the rebels in Charwah and Namaour, in the Trans-Nerbudda Pergunnah of Hoshungabad, were committing great depredations. Our and Holkar's villages being so intermixed that it is difficult to define boundaries and jurisdiction, as will be seen by the accompanying sketch Map, marked F. in the Appendix.

Disturbances in Hoshungabad.

## AUGUST 1857.

129. On the 1st of August the remainder of the Nagpore Movable Column arrived at and crossed the Nerbudda, and marched into Jubbulpore, the 52nd going out to see and welcome them in; but had they come much sooner, the 52nd would have mutinied.

Nagpore Movable Column arrive at Jubbulpore.

130. For some time we had had no Mirzapore dâks, but as the Detachments of the 50th and 52nd on the Deccan Road now kept it open, and horses were again supplied, on the 3rd of August we received a mumber of missing dâks.

Missing Daks arrive.

131. Colonel Millar informed me that his Column was not to garrison Jubbulpore, but was placed *bodily* at my disposal to march on any place in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, and that it was on no account to be divided. I asked him to take 2 Companies of the 52nd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry with him, as it would give confidence to the Corps, be a kind of guarantee for the good conduct of those of the Regiment left at Jubbulpore, and still further weaken the latter party. At first he refused, but afterwards consented.

Duty of the Movable Column and how composed.

132. I urged on the Colonel that if a portion of the Column, which I had increased by 2 Companies of the 28th Madras Native Infantry from Nursingpore, was left at Jubbulpore, it would make the place safe; but he positively refused, saying it was the orders of Brigadier Prior that the Column was not to be divided.

133. I had, as will have been seen, weakened the 52nd greatly; 300 men were on leave, and some 450 detached, so that not above 250 remained at Jubbulpore. The Corps was behaving well, the 2 Companies apparently eagerly joined the Column; the Police had been greatly strengthened. Major Sleeman, General Superintendent for the Suppression of Thuggee, had a large body of Nujeebs at the Station, in whom he stated he had confidence, and the European residents, numbering in all some 60 or 70 men, had a safe place in my house. Moreover, Dumoh was being constantly attacked by large bodies of rebels with guns, and the Officers there reported that the Bengal sepoys were losing heart from constant fighting and no relief, and as Saugor was surrounded with rebels, who would not believe we had reliable Troops in India, I resolved on requesting Colonel Millar to march towards Dumoh.

No Madras Troops to garrison Jubbulpore.

134. On hearing this, Major Sleeman, Major Gordon, Executive Engineer, and Captain Vanrenen, vehemently protested against the move, declaring that every European left in Jubbulpore would be murdered on the Column marching. I attach his demi-official letter, marked G. in the Appendix.

Some Officers protest against no Troops being left at Jubbulpore.

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135. My own mind was made up, but I thought it better to call a meeting of the senior Officers on the subject, and the result was that the only actual dissenting voice to the march was Major Sleeman.

136. I attach in the Appendix marked H. the opinions of the Officers, as the question of the propriety of the Column advancing has since been much talked of, and may not have been understood by all.

137. I reported this and every thing else to Government, and Major Sleeman also wrote. He requested me to halt the Column till an answer could be received, but of course I declined, and I never heard that he got an answer from Government. I received no reply, nor did I expect one.

Delay of the Column at Jubbulpore, owing to rain.

Fort of Rehlee in Saugor taken by Rebels.

138. The rain now began to be very heavy, and the guns and carts with the Column could not move; most urgent calls for aid came from Dumoh, and on the 7th August the Tuhseeldaree and Fort of Rehlee, to the South of Saugor and West of Dumoh, was taken by the rebels.

Two Companies of the 52nd ordered off in advance of the Movable Column to Dumoh.

139. The 2 Companies of the 52nd, who were to accompany the Column, being lightly equipped, were ordered off on the 6th, with their 4 European Officers to Kuttungee, 20 miles on the Dumoh Road, to keep the boats safe at the Herun River, and were accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Clerk. They marched the next day (7th) with every appearance of joy, and though the rain was very heavy for many days, they never complained, and did their duty well.

140. Shortly after these 2 Companies reached Kuttungee, the senior Officer in Command, Lieutenant Oakes, received a most urgent call from Dumoh, and in consequence (in spite of rain, bad roads, and swollen rivers,) he marched in two days with his Detachment to Dumoh, and once or twice was engaged with the rebels near that place.

Saugor Troops advance against Rebels at Rutona.

141. On the 13th of August it having been reported by the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor, that the Banpore rebels had advanced from Nurreeaolee to Rutona, Brigadier Sage ordered all the Troops off duty to proceed against them, and the Deputy Commissioner sent with the Troops a large body of armed Customs Chuprassees, but the rebels fled on the approach of the Troops.

State of Saugor and Dumoh Districts.

142. The Districts of Saugor and Dumoh were, with the exception of the Sudder Stations, now entirely in the hands of the rebels; all our Police had deserted or been driven in, and hundreds of Malgoozars, though well inclined, were forced to either join the rebels, or assist them with men or food, or were plundered and often tortured. No dâks were received in Saugor or Dumoh for many weeks; for some time the communication was entirely closed between us, but now and then a tiny note of a few lines was received by the hands of a highly-paid Hurkara, and of those poor creatures several were mutilated or killed.

Disturbances in Nursingpore and state of the Division.

143. About this time too inroads by Boondelahs and Bhopal rebels were made into Chowerpatta Pergunnah in Nursingpore, (North of the Nerbudda) and the Town and Thannah of Tendookhera was plundered; in fact, all to the North of the Nerbudda, except the Districts of Jubbulpore and Mundlah, (in the latter a few dacoitees occurred, but were soon put down) were in a state of anarchy, and all our Forts were held by the rebels, while all to the South of the Nerbudda was in perfect peace.

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144. On the 17th a Detachment of Troops was sent from Saugor to attack the rebels at Kunera Gound, about 8 miles off, and on the 19th another was sent, but on both occasions the rebels fled.

Saugor Troops attack Rebels at Kunera Gound.

145. The rain at Jubbulpore continued day and night until the 18th, on which day our advanced tents were sent off the first march, 9 miles, and were followed the next morning by the Column. I accompanied it, and by evening all were in Camp.

Movable Column leaves Jubbulpore, and arrangements made for the comfort of the Soldiers.

146. The delay at Jubbulpore was taken advantage of by me to have extra doolies and cots made up for the European Artillerymen, extra tents for pickets, &c. were supplied, ropes and large basket-boats were made up for crossing rivers and nullahs. I procured several elephants from the petty Chiefs, without which the guns could never have moved, and I gave two yards of good wax-cloth to every native soldier to put under and roll his bedding in.

147. On the 20th the Column again marched at daybreak, but had hardly broken ground when the rain began to fall heavily, and never ceased for several days. The Cavalry and I reached the Herun River, which runs just below Kuttungee, about noon, and immediately commenced crossing the rapid and swollen stream, which was effected without any loss of life, and of but little baggage. Some of the Madras Infantry crawled into Camp during the day, and a few of the Officers came up; but the guns and remainder of the Infantry and park did not reach us for some three days, during the whole of which time it rained.

Progress and operations of the Movable Column.

148. I must here mention that, as the Madras sepoys' tents could not be quickly enough crossed, the sepoys of the 52nd detached at Kuttungee, who were housed in a comfortable Serai, brought out their tents and pitched them with their own hands for the Madras sepoys!

149. Before crossing this river, I heard that some of the rebels intended to come down from the Dumoh district, and make inroads into Jubbulpore, and I again requested Colonel Millar to leave two guns and some Infantry on the Jubbulpore side of the river, or send them into Jubbulpore itself, but he did not think himself authorized to do so.

150. On the 25th the Rifle Company was sent off over the hills towards Tejgurh and Dumoh, on the left flank of the Column, but were ordered to rejoin us at Notah, on the Bearmee River.

151. On the 26th the Column marched as far as Jubera during the day, 17 miles, the guns being dragged through the mud by elephants, and the same night a Detachment was sent on to the Bearmee at Notah to secure the boats, which the rebels had been endeavouring to destroy.

152. Again urgent calls came from Dumoh. The Bengal sepoys were doubtful in their loyalty, and complained that no proper assistance was given to them. In this complaint, I believe, the 31st and 3rd Irregular Cavalry Detachment did not join, and they appeared to doubt the 42nd and 52nd.

153. On the 28th the Column marched 11 miles to Notah, and before morning 3 guns, some Infantry, and all the Cavalry, were crossed over the Bearmee. At daybreak I and some other Officers overtook the Company, and galloped ahead into Dumoh, 16 miles, the Detachment quickly following, whilst the remaining portion of the Troops and park crossed the river and marched a few miles, and the next day reached Dumoh; the rebels all moving off to a distance.

Column relieves Dumoh.

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154. The Punnah Rajah had frequently written to me offering aid, and as the Semmeria Pergunnah of Dumoh had been taken by the rebel Ranee of Jaitpore's Troops, I told him to attack them and turn them out; which he did, his Troops with 2 small guns being under the command of his brother-in-law, Koour Shamleyjoo.

Aid from Punnah Troops.

155. Meanwhile all appeared to be quiet in Jubbulpore, and dâks began to come in. My other Districts, except Saugor, remained in peace; and as the Governor General had ordered that the Column should be entirely at my disposal, I consulted with Colonel Millar regarding our plan of operations. These were to clear the country of rebels in the Dumoh district, and then advance to Saugor for the same purpose.

Plan of operations for Movable Column.

156. The Staff and the Families of the Officers and the Artillery at Saugor continued to occupy the Fort at night, but many during the day went to their houses in Cantonments, and it will have been seen that many Officers were out on detached duty with their men.

Fort of Saugor how occupied.

157. I omitted to state that before arriving at Dumoh, Captain Finch, Commanding there, had written to me stating that he had been ordered by Brigadier Sage to disarm the 2 Companies of the 42nd, but could not venture to do so with only his small Detachment of 3 Companies of the 31st and 80 Troopers, and also that on the Movable Column arriving at Dumoh he was at once to march into Saugor with all the Saugor Troops, and take in the Treasure. I informed him that the Column was for service, and not for Garrison duty, and that he must not leave his post at Dumoh, as Colonel Millar would not give a man for any Station.

Brigadier Sage orders Detachment of 31st to disarm 42nd and evacuate Dumoh.

158. On the arrival of Colonel Millar at Dumoh, Captain Finch told him of his orders, and asked Colonel Millar to disarm the 2 Companies of the 42nd; but this he declined, as he saw no reason for disarming them, and did not wish, without good cause, to bring the Bengal and Madras sepoys into collision, especially as he had got 2 Companies of Bengal sepoys in his Column; and he at the same time informed Captain Finch that he could leave no Troops at Dumoh, but must proceed against the rebels.

Colonel Millar refuses aid to disarm the 42nd or to garrison Dumoh.

## SEPTEMBER 1857.

159. On the 1st of September a Detachment from the Nagpore Movable Column was sent out to attack the rebels at Balakote. The village was taken, and a small Fort destroyed.

Balakote attacked by the Column.

160. The Detachment returned the next day (2nd), and that evening there were rumours that there was again alarm at Jubbulpore, but the particulars were not known to me then, and the information was said to be false.

161. On the 4th a Detachment of the Movable Column was sent to attack Hindoreeah, 12 miles off from Dumoh, and did so, destroying the strong loopholed house of the rebel Chief, and returned next day.

Hindoreeah attacked by Column.

162. I have stated that the Jubbulpore district was quiet, but it was reported that some of the Thakoors and Malgoozars were ready to rebel if the sepoys mutinied; but so long as the sepoys remained true to their salt, they dared do nothing. Early in the month of September, Captain Moxon of the 52nd

Plot discovered in Jubbulpore to murder the Europeans, &c.

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received information from the Pundit and sepoys of his own Regiment, in whom he placed great confidence, that mischief was brewing, that some of the sepoys were conspiring with a pensioned Rajah named Shunker Shah, (a Gond) residing close to Jubbulpore, to attack and murder the Europeans, and though the measures were not all completed, they might be ere long. He informed Lieutenant Baldwin, the Assistant Commissioner of this, and the latter made enquiry, but at first thought the information false; however Captain Clerk, who had been out in the District, returned, and further enquiries were made, which convinced him that a plot had existed between the Rajah, some sepoys, and Zemindars, to attack the Cantonments, kill the Europeans, and plunder the Treasury and Town, &c. on the last day of the Mohurrum, and that the reasons for this not having been carried out were, 1stly, that the plotters were doubtful how many of the 52nd would join them; and, 2ndly, that two Zemindars of the rebel party had refused to act. But the enquiry proved that at least eight or ten of the sepoys of the 52nd, two of whom were known to be very bad characters, and who shortly after deserted with their arms, (and who are even now believed to be amongst the rebels in Mundlah) were in the habit of visiting Rajah Shunker Shah, and his son Rugonauth Shah, where they met some badly-disposed Malgoozars.

Chief Conspirators at Jubbulpore apprehended.

163. Captain Clerk, acting on the information he had obtained (Seth Kooshal Chund being one of the informants, and a most loyal, though exacting, stingy Banker) on the 14th of September, accompanied by his Assistant, Captain Baldwin, and some 20 sowars and 40 policemen, went to the Rajah's house and apprehended him and his son, and lodged them safely in Jail. Others were also arrested, but some rebels escaped.

Prayer of the Rebels for the destruction of the Europeans.

164. On searching the Rajah's house, several documents of a treasonable nature were found, particularly one paper, (written on the back of a proclamation by me, calling on the Chiefs to be loyal) on which the Rajah had written a prayer, invoking his deity to aid him in the destruction of the Europeans, to upset the British Government and establish his own. I annex a translation, marked I. in the Appendix. A second prayer, of much the same purport, in the handwriting of the Rajah's son, Rugonauth Shah, was also found.

165. This family were the descendants of the Gond Rajahs of his part of the country, and not only held Jageers in Jubbulpore, but in Dumoh, and were kindly treated by the European Officers.

Portion of the Movable Column sent back to Jubbulpore.

166. But I have been anticipating, for on receiving news of Captain Moxon's, of the 52nd, suspicions on the 7th September, I called on Colonel Millar to send a Detachment to Jubbulpore, and that day he sent a party consisting of 2 guns with 20 European Gunners, an Artillery Officer, 200 of the 33rd Madras Native Infantry, and a Troop of the 4th Madras Cavalry, the whole commanded by Captain Tottenham of the 4th Madras Cavalry, towards Jubbulpore, which place they reached about the 12th or 13th, and encamped in my compound close to my house, where all the Christians of Jubbulpore were assembled.

Rebellion in Namaour Pergunnah of Hoshungabad.

167. In the Namaour Pergunnah of Hoshungabad, the Mehwatees of Sutwas had risen in rebellion, and a Mahratta Pundit of Scindia's Territories had appeared with other rebels, calling himself the Agent of Scindia, and hoisting the rebel Mahratta flag, taking possession of Namaour and commenced collecting Revenue, being at the same time joined by the mutinous Police.

Loss of Thannahs in Mundlah.

168. On the 2nd of this month, the Sohagpore Thannah of Mundlah was driven in, and though the Police had been strengthened, the attack on the Thannah of Shaipoora followed on the 25th, and of the Ramgurh Thannah on the 26th. The

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Police were driven in, and the Government building burned. Thus two-thirds of that District were lost, and the rebels threatened Mundlah itself.

March of Movable Column to protect Treasure escort towards Saugor, and Detachment left at Dumoh.

169. At Dumoh Captain Finch had received peremptory orders from Brigadier Sage to march for Saugor with part of his Detachment, including the 42nd Companies; and on my asking him if he could take in 70,000 Rupees of the Treasure, he replied that he could not undertake it unless the Movable Column accompanied him through the most jungly portion of the road. I therefore requested Colonel Millar, with his Column to see him through this part of the road, and on the 8th we marched with him, taking 70,000 Rupees with us.

170. Lieutenant Dickens of the 31st was left with a portion of the 31st Bengal Native Infantry at Dumoh.

171. We crossed the Copra River, and duly reached Birkheree, 14 miles towards Saugor; but before our tents could be pitched the rain came down in torrents, and we could not move.

News of Mutineers from Bengal, ascending Ghâts.

172. On the 10th we heard of the Ramgurh mutineers having ascended the Ghâts, and that they were likely to march on Nagode, Rewah and Jubbulpore, and that the Rewah Rajah could not oppose them, and had advised the Political Agent, Lieutenant Osborne, to leave his Territory.

Plans altered by the above news.

173. I then asked Captain Finch if he would take on the Treasure to Saugor, as we could not accompany him, but must return towards Dumoh. He declined, and we kept the Treasure; but he crossed the river, and marched alone towards Saugor with his Detachment of the 31st, 42nd, and 3rd Irregular Cavalry, and duly arrived there.

Column returns to Dumoh.

174. The rain continued to pour in torrents, and our guns could not be moved; but on the 12th, at 12 P. M., we commenced our retrograde movement, and with great difficulty made 8 miles, and reached our ground at 7 P. M., though the guns did not come up till much later.

175. On the 13th we marched at 5 A. M., hearing that Dumoh was again threatened, and reached that Station about 5, just in time to save it, for Lieutenant Dickens' pickets had exchanged shots with the pickets of the enemy. The rear portion of the Column did not arrive till 4 P. M.

Huttah, in Dumoh, recovered from the Rebels by the Punnah Troops.

176. On the 15th the Town and Tuhseelee of Huttah in Dumoh was taken by the Punnah Troops from the Shahgurh rebels for us.

Column recovers Fort, &c. of Nursingurh in Dumoh, and Dinapore Mutineers march on Nagode.

177. The Fort, Town and Thannah of Nursingurh in the District of Dumoh were in possession of the Shahgurh rebels, and on the 16th I determined to send a Force against them, and the next day a Detachment, under Major Jenkins, marched for Nursingurh. That night I heard of the Dinapore and Banda mutineers marching on Nagode, where the 50th Bengal Native Infantry were.

178. The Detachment took Nursingurh, and killed about 50 rebels on the 17th, and returned the next day.

Lullutpore European prisoners reach Saugor.

179. The Rajah of Shahgurh was by this time greatly alarmed at our movements; and, thinking to make terms, he sent in the whole of our fellow-countrymen

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from Lullutpore, whom he had so long had in captivity in a miserable plight in an old Fort in the jungles, and they all safely reached Saugor on the 15th. I append a list marked J.

Scheme of the 52nd to release the Rebel prisoners at Jubbulpore frustrated.

180. The accounts from Jubbulpore were now alarming. On the second night after Rajah Shunker Shah had been imprisoned, the Deputy Commissioner heard of a plan on the part of the 52nd to rescue the prisoners. The Madras Detachment was turned out and remained under arms all night, and the Rajah and his son were removed to my house. During that night a few shots were fired in the 52nd Lines, and a Bungalow close to the Lines was fired and burned down, and some eight of the 52nd deserted with their arms; but no further disturbance occurred in the City or Cantonments of Jubbulpore.

The Rajah and his son are blown away from guns.

181. Rajah Shunker Shah and his son Rugonauth Shah were tried by a Commission, composed of the Deputy Commissioner and two Officers, and the evidence against them being conclusive, they were on the morning of the 18th lashed to two guns and blown away.

Mutiny of the 52nd Regiment at Jubbulpore.

182. At 6 P. M. that evening, there was reason to believe that the men of the 52nd intended to make some move that night.

183. It was however not considered advisable to take any offensive measures against them, as it might have caused the murder of the 2 Officers on detached Command at Saleemabad, and 1 (Lieutenant Macgregor) at Patun.

184. About 10 P. M. that night the whole of the 52nd, left at Jubbulpore, with the exception of 1 Native Officer and 15 Rank and File, rose quietly in a body and left the Station, taking with them their arms and the ammunition in pouch, and marching by a circuitous route outside the City, went towards Patun, one of our Tuhseelees on the Herun River, where there was a Detachment of the Corps under Lieutenant Macgregor, and where they expected some Thakoors with their followers to join them.

185. Directly this became known, the lines, magazine and property of the 52nd, which they had evidently in a panic left behind them, were secured by the Madras Troops.

186. Expresses were at once sent off to the Officers at Saleemabad and Patun, warning them of what had occurred and ordering them in to Jubbulpore at once.

Escape of two Officers of the 52nd on Detached Command.

187. Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn at Saleemabad told their Native Officers of what had occurred, and at once mounted their horses. Their men expressed their regret at parting with these Officers and did not molest them, but said they must make the best of their way towards Delhi. Some of them shook their Officers by the hand, robbed the Tuhseelee of the little money there was there, the Pay Havildar handing one of the Officers the balance of his pay, and marched off quietly towards Nagode. The two Officers safely reaching Jubbulpore, and the men procuring carriage sent in the Officers' baggage to Jubbulpore.

Lieut. Macgregor of the 52nd taken prisoner by the Mutineers of his Regt., who advance to Kuttungee.

188. Much less fortunate was Lieutenant Macgregor. On the men, who had deserted in this strange way from Jubbulpore, reaching Patun, they confined him, took his horse from him, and would hardly give him enough food to eat. They were joined by the men of the Patun Detachment, who had a considerable quantity of ammunition. They did their utmost to get the Thakoors on the left bank of the Herun to join them, but finding that the

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chief ones would not do so, they plundered Patun and crossed the river, and having succeeded in getting a rebel Thakoor of Nursingpore, named Mirbhan Singh, and his followers to join them, they after some delay marched towards Kuttungee, and were joined by the Detachment of the Corps there, (who also had a quantity of ammunition) except by the Mohametan Jemadar in Command, who, though a drunken character, was a loyal and good soldier, and who went in to Jubbulpore.

Plans of the 52nd Mutineers.

189. It was believed in Jubbulpore, and the sepoys said to themselves, that, on being joined by the Thakoors, they would return to Jubbulpore, plunder the Treasury and City, burn the Cantonments, and murder the Europeans; but their hopes were disappointed, and they evidently feared the two guns at Jubbulpore.

Mutiny of the 50th.

190. On the 18th I heard of the mutiny of the 50th at Nagode, and immediately called in the Detachment from Nursingurh, believing that the 52nd would soon also mutiny.

Two Companies of the 52nd, with the Movable Column, are disarmed.

191. On the evening of the 19th the Nursingurh party, which included the 2 Companies of the 52nd, returned to Dumoh, and at 12 that night I received an express from Captain Clerk, telling me of the mutiny at Jubbulpore, and stating that the Nagpore Rifles with us were not to be trusted. I at once went to Colonel Millar and requested him to disarm the 2 Companies of the 52nd with us, the first thing in the morning; and a consultation of some of the senior Officers was held as to how this was to be done.

192. At daybreak on the 20th orders were suddenly issued for the whole Column to march out on the Saugor Road, on the pretence of attacking some rebels. The 52nd Companies were ordered to form the Advance Guard, and the Rifles the Rear Guard.

193. The 52nd men's muskets were loaded, having only returned from service at Nursingurh the evening before, and the Madras sepoys were ordered to load.

194. The Column marched at once, the 52nd Companies leading by some 200 paces, the 2 Companies of the 28th Madras Native Infantry heading the Column, then the 4 guns, &c.

195. On arriving at an open plain about 3 miles from Dumon, the Column was halted. The guns deployed to the left, and being hid by the 28th Companies, who also deployed, they were unlimbered and double shotted with canister.

196. I then told the European gunners of the ruse: the 28th moved to the right, and the Colonel riding up to the 52nd for the first time told the Officers what was to be done. The men were ordered to pile arms; their Officers then told them of what had occurred at Jubbulpore, and that they must quietly give up their arms.

197. They were taken by surprise and hesitated, but seeing the guns pointed at them with port-fires lighted, they with vehement expressions of loyalty and with much lamentation, piled arms, took off their pouches, and moved to the right.

198. Elephants were at once moved to the front, and on these the arms and accoutrements were packed, and the Column marched back to its old ground, where the baggage of the 52nd Companies was searched, and all arms found were taken possession of. The Rifle Company (of the 1st Nagpore Infantry) being the Rear Guard, had never left the ground.

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Plans in consequence of the state of affairs in Jubbulpore, &c.

199. Information had now been received by me of the mutiny of the 50th and 52nd, and it was believed that the Thakoors near Jubbulpore would return and attack the City, &c., and it was by no means improbable that the 50th and Dinapore mutineers, who had possessed themselves of the Nagode post guns, might all move either on Jubbulpore or Rewah.

200. I therefore held a Council of War on the 20th, and the Column being much too small to hold both Jubbulpore and Dumoh against a large body of mutineers and rebels, it was unanimously resolved to give up Dumoh and return to Jubbulpore. The resolution is appended and marked K.

Dumoh given in charge to the Punnah Authorities, and Column marches with Treasure for Jubbulpore.

201. I at once wrote to Koour Shamleyjoo, the Punnah General, then at Hutta, to come and take charge of the District for the British Government, and as no carriage of any description could be procured except for the Treasure and a few records, I had the stamp paper burned; and the next morning, in spite of heavy rain, we marched to Ubhana, 11 miles towards Jubbulpore, taking with us the Treasure (about 1,30,000 Rupees) and the Treasury Accounts. Koour Shamleyjoo attended to my call, and entered Dumoh the same day with 2 guns and a considerable Force. The day was very wet and the roads heavy, but by evening we all got into Camp. Lieutenant Dickens with his party marched the same day for Saugor and reached it in due time, and the Dumoh Civil Officers accompanied us.

202. The next day (the 22nd) we marched with much difficulty to the Bearmee River, only 3 miles, and commenced crossing the rapid and swollen stream, but did not all get over till the afternoon of the 24th.

203. On the 25th at noon we again marched 11 miles, but the guns, treasure, and park did not arrive till very late at night.

204. Colonel Millar wished to halt on the 26th, but I urged him to march, and he did so in the day time.

205. The next morning, (the 27th) Colonel Millar sent on the Grenadier Company of the 33rd Madras Native Infantry and a few Cavalry, as an Advance Guard under Lieutenant Watson, and Major Jenkins, the Assistant Quarter Master General, accompanied it, to secure the boats at Kuttungee on the Herun River.

Mutineers and Rebels advance against the Movable Column and the action.

206. Just before day dawned when we were dressing, 2 Troopers of the Advanced Guard galloped back into Camp, stating that the Advance had been attacked on the road by the 52nd, and that both the Officers had been shot dead. No time was lost; we advanced (with the 2 disarmed Companies of the 52nd well in the rear, and the Rifle Company of the 1st Nagpore Irregulars forming the Rear Guard) and had hardly gone 3 miles when we met our Advanced Guard retreating, and they confirmed the news brought by the Troopers. The road was a Hill pass, for some 8 miles through dense jungle; and when we had got to a small village named Gobra, we met the body of the 52nd marching on us in column of sections with colours flying. The halt was sounded, the guns unlimbered, and a round shot from one of our 9-pounders went right through the enemy's Column, and being quickly followed by several rounds of grape, the mutineers broke to the right and left into the jungle, which was so thick we could hardly see them. They however opened a heavy fire on us with musketry and matchlocks, the balls falling thick amongst us. Our Column returned the fire with grape and musketry, but I refer you to Colonel Millar's despatch, which I append, marked L. Suffice it to say that we gradually advanced, fighting from 6 A. M. till 2 P. M., when we reached the open, the 52nd and about 1,000 rebels scattering to the right and left.

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207. The line of baggage was a very long one, but it was closed well up, and our casualties were but few (5 in number), whilst that on the side of the enemy was about 100. The Rifles whom we had doubted came well to the front, and on our reaching the open about 2 miles from Kuttungee they skirmished, killing several of the 52nd sepoys, chasing others up the steep hills and bringing in three prisoners, a Pay Havildar and a sepoy of the 52nd, and a Boondelah. The Troop of the 4th Madras Cavalry behaved admirably, following the sepoys of the 52nd far up the hills, and killing several with their carbines.

208. A Havildar and 6 sepoys of the Rifles who seized the prisoners brought them to me; the latter were immediately hung, and I promoted the Havildar to the rank of Jemadar on the spot. Thus the Rifles, though nearly all Oude men, or the descendants of Oude men, proved their loyalty, and up to this moment have, under their gallant Officer, Lieutenant Pereira, done excellent and constant good service.

Major Jenkins's and Lieutenant Watson's wonderful escape, and murder of Lieutenant Macgregor.

209. It was 3 P. M. when we reached the river Herun (9 miles) from our last Camp. We had, however, not only beaten off a formidable enemy, but just before we reached the open, Major Jenkins and Lieutenant Watson galloped in amongst us! Both had had the most wonderful escape, having been fired on by whole sections at a time; the former's horse had received three balls in his body, and the latter was wounded under the left eye, but not seriously.

Lieutenant Macgregor killed by the Mutineers of the 52nd.

210. Just before we reached the river, however, I deeply regret to say we found on the side of the road the body of poor Lieutenant Macgregor, who had been brought a close prisoner from Patun by the 52nd, and had been shot by his own men early that morning. His body was sent in and buried at Jubbulpore.

211. It was nearly sunset before all were in Camp, and all were hot and fatigued, the sun having shone brightly the whole day.

Disarmed Companies of the 52nd during the action.

212. The 2 disarmed Companies of the 52nd came up shortly afterwards, and were kept in the Serai, about a mile from our Camp, that night, during which about 10 deserted; but the rest remained without arms, and have since been sent to Saugor, and I am told some of the worst men of the Corps are amongst them.

Rebels followed up.

213. The next day, whilst the bulk of the Column was being crossed over the river in boats and rafts, a small light Column went out in search of the enemy of the preceding day, but only came on a few stragglers, who were cut up or dispersed.

Advance of Column and return to Jubbulpore.

214. All our Camp was not over the river before the night of the 29th September.

215. The next morning we marched 11 miles, and the next day relieved Jubbulpore.

Banpore Rebels attack Saugor.

216. On the 17th of September the Banpore rebels from Nurreaolee (12 miles to the West of Saugor) advanced to the Rautgurh Gate of the City of Saugor and fired a few shots at the sentries; but finding the Guards on the alert, they retired.

Saugor Troops attack Banpore Rebels and fail.

217. On the 18th Brigadier Sage, Commanding at Saugor, sent out a Detachment, under Colonel Dalzell of the 42nd, to attack the Nurreaolee rebels, and the

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Deputy Commissioner also sent 200 of the Customs Chuprassees under their European Officers, but I regret to say they found the place too strong and the attacked failed. Colonel Dalzell was killed, and Lieutenant Prior, the Executive Engineer, badly wounded. The party returned next day to Saugor.

Colonel Dalzell killed and Lieutenant Prior wounded.

218. About the end of the month the Thannahs of Koondum and Burgee were attacked and driven in; both are in the Jubbulpore district, the latter on the South side of the Nerbudda; and this caused considerable alarm in Seonee, as it was the first appearance of the rebellion near that District, and there was reason to fear the rebellion would spread South.

Loss of 2 Thannahs in Jubbulpore and fears of Rebels going South.

219. The Deputy Commissioner of Seonee again addressed the Thakoors and sent a messenger to them, advising them to be firm to the Government; and I ordered a Company of Madras Native Infantry from Seonee to Doomah near Burgee.

Precaution taken.

## OCTOBER 1857.

220. The Movable Column arrived at Jubbulpore on the 1st October; and as the Thannah of Tindookhera in Nursingpore (on the north bank of the Nerbudda) had been just driven in by the rebels, I ordered the 2 Companies of the 28th Madras Native Infantry (which had accompanied the Column) back to Nursingpore.

Movable Column relieves Jubbulpore, and 2 Cos. of the 28th are sent to Nursingpore.

221. The rebels in the Namaour (North of the Nerbudda) Pergunnah of Hoshungabad were now very numerous under Thakoor Doulut Singh and the pretended Agent of Scindia, and were too strong for the Police, who were obliged on the 3rd October to retire to Hurda, on the North of the river. The rebels plundered the Town of Namaour, and confined and tortured several of the most respectable inhabitants who refused to rebel.

Proceedings of the Rebels in Namaour in Hoshungabad.

222. The Mewatees even violated many of the Deswalee women. This enraged the people, and they rose against the Mewatees and did good service, but they could not muster enough armed men to dislodge the rebels from Sutwas.

223. On the 8th of October the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshungabad, Lieutenant Wood, with a small Detachment of the 28th Madras Native Infantry, and two guns under Lieutenant Lemarchand of the Gwalior Contingent, (who volunteered) marched from Hoshungabad towards Namaour, viâ Hurda Hindia, and in spite of very heavy and bad roads, made 23 miles.

Deputy Commissioner of Hoshungabad moves out and attacks the Rebels in Namaour.

224. The second march they made was 21 miles, and it took them 19 hours.

225. On arriving at the old City of Hindia, on the left or south bank of the Nerbudda, on the 12th, they found the rebels in great force on the opposite bank. The rebels at once commenced firing on our Troops with their matchlocks from behind walls and temples, which come down to the water's edge, but on our guns opening on them they soon dispersed. But as night was approaching, nothing more could be done that day.

226. On the 12th the Hurda and Hoshungabad Police volunteered to cross the river and attack the rebels if covered by the fire of our guns, and they did so. The rebels and Police were engaged for some time, the latter behaving very well, and succeeded in capturing the Pretender, who was tried and hanged the next day, when Lieutenant Wood, his guns and Infantry had crossed over.

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227. The dâk takes a long time from Hurda to Jubbulpore, particularly when the roads are heavy; but on hearing that Lieutenant Wood intended attacking the strong body of rebels with such a small party, I ordered him on no account to cross the river till reinforced, but my order did not reach him in time. However, all went well.

Detachment sent into the Jubbulpore District.

228. On the 6th and 7th I requested the Officer Commanding at Jubbulpore to send a Detachment to the Sehora Tuhseelee on the Mirzapore Road, as a large village near it had been plundered, and a 2nd Detachment to Burgee, South of the Nerbudda, as the rebels near had plundered a number of Government tents on their way to Bombay, and stopped the Bombay dâk. Both Detachments marched, and the rebels fell back into the jungle.

Much plundering.

229. Plundering was now becoming very common in the Jubbulpore district in every direction, and we had but very few Troops to send out.

Troops sent from Saugor on the Nursingpore Road.

230. On the 2nd October the rebels assembled at Mynepanee on the road from Saugor to Nursingpore, and Brigadier Sage consequently sent a Detachment against them, when they fled; and the Detachment was then ordered to patrol the road. This had a very good effect, and the dâk was re-established to Nursingpore and Jubbulpore.

Rehlee, in Saugor, recovered.

231. The Deputy Commissioner of Saugor now resolved on sending a body of Police to secure Rehlee, and requested Brigadier Sage to aid him with Troops. This he did; and Lieutenant Dickens of the 31st, Ensign Grant of the 42nd, and 100 sepoys of the 31st were sent, but before they arrived, the Fort had been recovered by a gallant fellow of the place, named Girdaree Naick, and his brethren, and he was at once made Killadar till relieved by Lieutenant Dickens.

52nd and Rebels attack and plunder Dumoh.

232. After the 52nd were beaten off by the Nagpore Movable Column, they, accompanied by their rebel friends and joined by many more, marched to Dumoh, where they attacked the Punnah Troops, whom they soon beat. They then went to the Jail, which was most gallantly defended by the Jail Guard; but the latter falling short of ammunition and food, were obliged to give in, being attacked by the prisoners at the same time; and on the 52nd getting into the Jail, the Guard were nearly to a man murdered.

233. The mutineers and rebels then plundered the Town of Dumoh, burned the records and public buildings, blew up the Kucherry and gutted the Deputy Commissioner's house, but did not burn it down, owing probably to its belonging to a native.

52nd Mutineers go to Gurrakotah.

234. After staying some days at Dumoh, they joined the Shahgurh rebels at Gurrakotah, and daily plundered all around.

Punnah Troops re-occupy Dumoh.

235. After a few days the Punnah Troops having been reinforced, returned to Dumoh and held it unopposed till Koour Shamleyjoo made over charge of the District to me on my arrival there in February 1858.

Troops at Jubbulpore reinforced.

236. On the 10th of October the Troops at Jubbulpore were reinforced by the arrival of the rest of the 4th Madras Cavalry and 2 Companies of the 33rd Madras Native Infantry; and Captain Clerk having been directed to join his Regiment, the 4th Madras Light Cavalry, he did so, making over charge of the Jubbulpore District to his Assistant, Lieutenant Baldwin.

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Proceedings in Hoshungabad, continued.

237. But to return to the proceedings in Namaour, (from para. 226).

238. On the 15th Lieutenant Wood and his Troops marched towards Sutwas, the Head Quarters of the rebels.

Capture of Sutwas and Rebel-leaders by the Police.

239. On the 16th the Hurda Police volunteered to go to Sutwas and prevent any egress of the rebels from the Fort. They were permitted to do so, and on the morning of the 16th they arrived, captured their own traitor Jemadar, and a Mewatee leader named Lalkhan, with a few other rebels; but Thakoor Doulut Singh and his band had fled on hearing of the approach of the guns. The Police Jemadar and Lalkhan were hanged.

Troops return to Hoshungabad.

240. The Detachment arrived at Sutwas on the 17th, and during a halt of three days nearly destroyed the Fort. The Troops then marched back to Hoshungabad.

Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah wishes to go out into his District.

241. On the 12th the Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah begged to be allowed to proceed into his District; but as I had no Troops to send with him, and he could not succeed in raising extra Police, I refused.

Shahgurh Rebels and 52nd Mutineers attack Rehlee and are beaten off.

242. On the 13th the Shahgurh rebels from Gurrakotah, joined by the mutineers of the 52nd, attacked Rehlee, but were speedily repulsed with loss by Lieutenant Dickens and his gallant sepoys of the 31st, and Police under Girdaree Naick.

243. The 52nd men did their utmost to get the 31st to join them, but without effect.

Nurreaolee Rebels plunder close to Saugor.

244. The Nurreaolee rebels seeing all the Troops had left Saugor came close to it, and plundered all the villages near.

Much plundering in Jubbulpore.

245. The rebels in the Jubbulpore district were now committing great depredations and cruelties. The Police were constantly kept on the *qui vive*, a few mutineers having joined and always leading the rebels.

246. On the 20th the Jubbulpore Thannah of Mujholee, which had been driven in, was re-established.

Nursingpore in danger and precautions taken.

247. About this time the Nursingpore district was in great danger. The Pergunnah north of the Nerbudda had again been invaded by Nawab Ally Khan of Bhopal, with about 150 Pathans from Rautgurh, accompanied by some local rebel-leaders and 500 matchlock men, and some Customs Chuprassees, who had joined the rebels some time before. They again plundered and burned Tendookhera and Bilkaree, and committed other depredations, and at the same time Mirbhan Singh, a noted local rebel-leader, who has given much trouble, moved down to Heerapore on the right bank of the river, about 15 miles from Nursingpore, and threatened the Station; consequently the intrenchments which had been commenced were rapidly finished by Lieutenant Walton of the 28th Madras Native Infantry.

248. The rebels of the Burgee Pergunnah of Jubbulpore too threatened the South East of Nursingpore, so that the District was threatened from three directions at the same time.

249. Captain Ternan, the Deputy Commissioner, and some Police accompanied by 2 weak Companies of the 28th, two 6-pounders (worked by the 28th) under the Command of Captain Woolley of the 28th Madras Native

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Infantry marched to Saukul, opposite Heerapore, to oppose Mirbhan Singh, who occupied a small Fort commanding the village.

250. The guns were with great difficulty brought up through the ravines, and opening fire on Mirbhan Singh, he and his host quickly fled, but not without loss. This had an excellent effect, and the rebels at Tendookhera retired.

Commissioner of Nagpore sends 4 Companies of his Irregular Infantry into the Jubbulpore Division.

251. Mr. Plowden, Commissioner of Nagpore, had most kindly placed 4 more Companies of his Irregular Infantry at my disposal, 2 of which were sent to Baitool, and 2 to Seonee, and this enabled us to get in 3 more Companies of the line to Jubbulpore after a while.

252. To command these Companies I obtained the services of Lieutenants Manning, Barton and Cockburn of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry.

Rebels attack Patun in Jubbulpore.

253. On the 21st a very large body of rebels crossed the Herun River to attack the Town and Tuhseelee of Patun in Jubbulpore. The Deputy Collector and Tuhseeldar and Police went out to meet them, but after exchanging a few shots, by which the Tuhseeldar and one of the Police were wounded, the Police gave way to superior numbers and fled. The rebels then entered Patun, destroyed the Government buildings, and burned and plundered many houses in the Town.

Troops sent to Patun.

254. On receipt of this information I applied to the Officer Commanding at Jubbulpore to send out Troops, and in consequence he sent a party of Infantry, Cavalry and 2 guns, but they were too late; the mischief was done, and the rebels and a few mutineers of the 52nd had recrossed the river and fled into the heavy jungle on the hills. But to protect this rich part of the country around Ratun, 100 Infantry under an Officer and a Troop of Cavalry were left at the place.

Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah returns to his District.

255. The Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah having at last collected a few Police and 10 men of the 52nd Native Infantry, who had remained loyal, was allowed to proceed to Mundlah, and he marched on the 22nd and reached Mundlah on the 25th.

Rebels at Ramnugger, in Mundlah, attacked.

256. On reaching Mundlah the Deputy Commissioner sent a party of Police to attack a small body of rebels at Ramnugger, and they succeeded in killing a few; but hearing that a large body was coming down on them, they retired to Mundlah.

Communication cut off between Mundlah and Jubbulpore.

257. Other parties were sent out with success, but the rebels took the Thannah of Naraingunge on the road from Mundlah to Jubbulpore, and thus cut off the communication.

Thannahs of Burttullah, &c. in Jubbulpore taken by Rebels.

258. On the 25th of October the Thannah of Burttulla in Jubbulpore, on the road leading from Dumoh to Mirzapore, was attacked by rebels and mutineers, (for many of the 52nd had left the main body and in small parties joined different rebel-leaders,) who plundered the Town and burned the Dâk Bungalow and Thannah.

259. On the 27th and 29th, other posts in Jubbulpore were driven in, and the rebels were very formidable in the villages near the Mirzapore Road.

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260. These rebels plundered and took away many dâk horses, and news arrived of the Bijiragogurh Thakoor, Surjoo Pershaud, having gone into open rebellion.

Thakoor of Bijiragogurh rebels, and closes the Mirzapore Road.

261. This man's estate was under the management of the Superintendent of Nagode, and he had no cause for discontent. He murdered the Tuhseeldar, stole the dâk horses, placed large bodies of men on the Mirzapore Road, and completely closed it to all travellers, dâk, &c. for a long time, (see para. 348); and as he was rich and had some 20 or 30 good guns and some 200 or 300 stand of arms, he was looked on as our most formidable enemy.

262. On the 30th the Detachment under Captain Woolley in Nursingpore crossed the Sonar River, and taking the enemy by surprise, routed him and cut up a great many.

Detachment under Captain Woolley, in Nursingpore, does good service.

## NOVEMBER 1857.

263. On the 1st of November Brigadier Sage sent out all the Troops at Saugor to attack the rebels from Nurreaolee, who had been plundering close to Saugor; but they, as usual, made off into the hills, and the Troops were too few to follow them up.

Troops sent out from Saugor to attack Rebels.

264. On the 4th, a Wing of the 4th Cavalry marched from Jubbulpore, under Major Sullivan, to support the Infantry and Artillery Detachment on the Mirzapore Road, which had moved up towards Cháka to check the Bijiragogurh rebels, who threatened to come down and plunder Jubbulpore.

Troops on the Mirzapore Road, in Jubbulpore, reinforced.

265. On the 5th a party of the 4th Cavalry at the Herun River were plundered of their property by the daring rebels, and were in consequence ordered into Jubbulpore by Colonel Millar.

Party of the 4th Cavalry are surprised by Rebels and robbed.

266. On the morning of the 6th, when the Detachment on the Mirzapore Road under Major Sullivan was breaking ground before the day had quite dawned, it was taken by surprise by some of the Bijiragogurh rebels at Moorwara, who opened a heavy fire on our Troops from two large guns and some thousand matchlocks. However Lieutenant (now Captain) Clerk of the 4th Cavalry lost no time in halting and preparing for action, the two guns (9-pounders) under Lieutenant Lane, Madras Artillery, unlimbered at once and gave the enemy a round or two of well directed grape; but after the first or second round, the axletree of one of our guns broke. However whilst the axle was being replaced the other gun kept up as quick a fire as possible; but the enemy were encouraged by this accident, and Captain Clerk therefore took them in flank, riding through a steep ravine, and with some of his men made a dash at the rebels, cutting up several, routing the rest, killing three men with his own sword and taking the enemy's guns. The coolness displayed by Lieutenant Lane and his men in refitting a new axle to their disabled gun, under a very heavy fire, is described as admirable.

Bijiragogurh Rebels surprise and attack our Troops on the Mirzapore Road in Jubbulpore, but are repulsed and their guns taken by Captain Clerk.

267. This Detachment now turned their heads towards Jubbulpore, as it was considered much too small to resist the large body of rebels said to be advancing on them.

268. On the 7th the Town of Ghosulpore and the Dâk, 18 miles from Jubbulpore on the Mirzapore Road, were plundered by the rebels from Neemkhera, and a Troop of the 4th Cavalry was sent out. They caught up the rebels, killed several, and took 17 prisoners.

Ghosulpore on the Mirzapore Road plundered and burned by Rebels, but are attacked in return by Captain Tottenham.

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269. Captain Tottenham continued the pursuit to the village of Ramkheria, where the rebels were hiding in houses, and Captain Tottenham (who had unfortunately dismounted) whilst attempting to get into a house, was mortally wounded by a gun-shot.

Captain Tottenham killed.

270. He was taken to Ghosulpore and died the next day. The body was interred at Jubbulpore.

271. On the evening of the 7th, Captain Tottenham's party was reinforced by Captain Clerk's Detachment and also by more of the 4th Cavalry sent out from Jubbulpore under Colonel Cumberlege, who on the 9th proceeded to Ramkheria and destroyed the house from which his Officer had been killed, but all the rebels except the prisoners had fled, and most of the latter he hanged.

More Cavalry sent from Jubbulpore to Mirzapore Road.

272. On the 14th intelligence was received by Rao Unrood Singh of Khymoree, a faithful Thakoor in the Jubbulpore district, that a party of rebels from Mangurh in Dumoh intended attacking him, and as he had done us good service I applied for Troops to be sent to his aid; consequently a Detachment from Jubbulpore was sent out under Major Jenkins, Assistant Quarter Master General of the Nagpore Force. He attacked the rebels at a small village close to the spot where he hid when he made such a wonderful escape from the 52nd, (see para. 208) and drove them back with a loss of 12 killed and several prisoners taken. But I most deeply regret to state that whilst Major Jenkins (a most gallant Officer and beloved by all) was leading on his men he was shot through the heart by a rebel from behind a bush, but the rebel had no time to glory in the deed, for he instantly fell to the pistol of Lieutenant Oakes of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry.

Troops from Jubbulpore go out to the Heron River and Major Jenkins shot dead.

273. Major Jenkins's remains were brought in and buried at Jubbulpore.

274. On the 17th a considerable body of Pathans and Rohillas from Rautgurh made their appearance on a hill, about 4 miles to the West of Saugor, but were driven away by the Police, and it is said they had to carry off 10 or 12 men. On our side one sowar had his horse shot.

Pathan and Rohilla Rebels from Rautgurh come close to Saugor, but are driven off.

275. The Police post at Googree in Mundlah, which had twice exchanged hands, was on the 16th November again taken by the rebels, and as they were assembling close to and on three sides of Mundlah in large bodies, evidently with the design of attacking the Town, the Police were called in and all the Deputy Commissioner's and Government property (records, &c.) were taken into the Town, which was strengthened by barricades, &c. But the rebels contented themselves with plundering the villages all rouud.

Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah moves into the Town and strengthens it.

276. On the 17th the rebel-leader, Mirbhan Singh, crossed to the South side of the Nerbudda and burned the Village and Thannah of Saukul in the Nursingpore district, but recrossed the same evening.

Saukul, a town in Nursingpore, burned. Troops go out to it and drive off Rebels.

277. The Police behaved badly, deserting their post when there was no necessity. A Detachment of the 28th Madras Native Infantry under Lieutenant Walton was sent out, accompanied by Mr. J. Beddy, Deputy Collector; but instead of the rebels taking to their heels this time they, being strong, required a few volleys, when they fled with considerable loss. The affair was well managed by Lieutenant Walton, who was well supported by Mr. Beddy, and confidence was restored to this part of the District.

278. Whilst this was going on, the Deputy Commissioner of Nursingpore (Captain Ternan), along with Captain Woolley's Detachment of Infantry and 2 guns, was on the North of the Nerbudda on the

Troops from Nursingpore and Saugor attack and defeat Rebels north of the Nerbudda, and clear that part of the country.

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Saugor Road, and co-operating with a Detachment under Captain Roberts of the 31st and Captain Mayne of the 3rd Irregulars from Saugor. Their operations were most successful, clearing that part of the country of rebels, and finally destroying Gunjun Singh, a rebel Malgoozar of note, and nearly all his followers.

279. In this affair Captain Ternan behaved with distinction.

280. On the 23rd November these Troops marched upon Singpore, held by the rebel Dilgunjun, who was seized by Captain Ternan and hanged.

Jubbulpore Troops receive further reinforcements.

281. On the 19th the Troops at Jubbulpore were further reinforced by the arrival of the 2 remaining weak Companies of the 33rd from Baitool, and I should have mentioned that on the 6th instant the Head Quarters of the 6th Madras Cavalry arrived.

State of Seonee.

282. In November the Deputy Commissioner of Seonee, Lieutenant Thomson, moved out to Doomah towards Jubbulpore to re-assure his Thakoors, and some of them joined him with small Contingents and afforded him good information. Had they rebelled the whole of their followers would have risen, and the rebellion would have rapidly spread South; but as it happened there was little or no rebellion in Seonee, though some villages towards Mundlah, Jubbulpore and Nursingpore were plundered by rebels from those Districts, and the Customs line was once attacked.

Thannah of Naraingunge near Mundlah again driven in.

283. On the 20th November the Thannah of Naraingunge in Jubbulpore towards Mundlah, which had been re-established, was again driven in.

Rebels surround the Town of Mundlah.

284. On the 23rd November the rebels appeared in large bodies close to the Town of Mundlah, and during the night kept up a continual shouting and firing, but did not attack, and the Deputy Commissioner was too weak to act on the offensive at night. However the next day he sent out all his available Police (33 musketeers and 17 matchlock men) to reconnoitre, with orders to attack if they thought themselves strong enough; but if not, to retire.

285. The rebels at first fled, but being reinforced turned and drove in the Police; but a ball from the Deputy Commissioner's rifle turned the rebels once more.

Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah falls back on Seonee.

286. The rebels however now all gathering around Mundlah in large bodies resolved, it was believed, to attack it. The Deputy Commissioner's ammunition too began to fall short, his retreat to Jubbulpore was cut off, and, worse than all, some of the town's people began to show treachery, and reports were heard that some rebels were about to go round to the South of the Nerbudda to cut off the retreat to Seonee.

287. Under these circumstances Captain Waddington considered it advisable to retreat on Seonee whilst he could, and I had advised him to do so, as he could do little or no good without Troops, and was needlessly endangering his life. He therefore effected his escape to Seonee; but, as it turned out, the rebels never entered the Town of Mundlah.

Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah ordered to assist Depy. Commissioner of Seonee.

288. I directed the Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah to afford assistance to the Deputy Commissioner of Seonee in the Doomah direction; and in para. 292 to 298, it will be seen how this was carried out.

Bijiragogurh Rebels on the Deccan Road commit atrocities.

289. The Bijiragogurh rebels remained in great force on the Deccan or Mirzapore Road, and completely cut off the direct communication between the North West and Calcutta and Bombay: not a soul could pass, and all who attempted it were searched and plundered, some killed, and others mutilated.

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290. Being very anxious to re-open this Road, I applied to Colonel Munsey, then Commanding at Jubbulpore, to send out Troops to attack the rebels, and a Detachment of Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery was accordingly sent out under Colonel Byng of the 6th Cavalry; but he did not consider himself strong enough to attack, and our Troops did nothing till the 28th or 29th, when they had a slight engagement at Dungowah, but he called for reinforcements.

Troops ordered against the Bijiragogurh Rebels, but without effect.

291. On the 30th the rebel-leader, Devee Singh Gounteea, attacked and burned the Jubbulpore Thannah of Shahpoor on the road to Nursingpore. A party of Cavalry was at once sent after them, but they escaped over the Nerbudda to Burgee: however the Police were re-established.

Thannah of Shahpoor in Jubbulpore burned by Burgee Rebels and re-established.

292. The Burgee rebels now becoming very bold, and I proposed a plan to Colonel Munsey to attack them at their Head Quarters at Nawul Peehar; but as he did not think it safe, I resolved to try another plan, if he would give some slight assistance by allowing the Company of the 26th stationed at Burgee Thannah to join, and Cavalry to patrol the north bank of the Nerbudda on the day of attack.

Plan to attack the Burgee Rebels.

293. My plan was as follows: 2 Companies of the 28th Madras Native Infantry were on their way up from Hoshungabad with 2 six-pounders; Captain Woolley's Detachment along with Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner, was near Saukul in Nursingpore, and had 2 six-pounders and some Hyderabad Cavalry, and Lieutenant Thomson, Deputy Commissioner of Seonee, and Captain Waddington, Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah, were at Dumoh with a Company of the 1st Nagpore Irregular Infantry: none of these Troops were under Colonel Munsey's orders. I send a Sketch marked M. in the Appendix.

294. I called on all these Officers and Troops to move simultaneously on Nawul Peehar, and Colonel Munsey permitted the Company at Burgee to co-operate.

## DECEMBER 1857.

295. Early on the morning of the 7th of December the Detachment under Captain Woolley in Nursingpore, which had now been joined by the 2 Companies of the 28th, and 2 guns coming up from Hoshungabad under Lieutenant Standon, amounted in all to 334 fighting men, with 4 six-pounders. They forced the passage of the Sonar River which was held by the rebels, amounting to about 1,500, under Devee Singh Gounteea and other leaders.

Plan carried out, and Burgee Rebels completely routed and their Chief hanged.

296. The other Detachments referred to in para. 292, also advanced.

297. Captain Woolley arrived on the 10th at Cheerapore, where the rebels had been in force, but having fled; Captain Ternan took a small party in search of them, and when they least expected it fell on them and captured the whole of their Camp equipage, including the Government tents, (mentioned in para. 227) 1 four-pounder gun, and numerous wall pieces, jinjals, &c.

298. All the Detachments were now advancing towards each other, but those from Doomah and Burgee saw little or nothing of the rebels except their Head Quarter Camp (of huts), which they burned, and the rebels under Bahadoor Singh fled towards Mundlah between the two parties; but Captain Woolley was more successful, for on the 14th he caught the leading rebel Devee Singh and hanged him.

299. This completely settled the Burgee Pergunnah of Jubbulpore and Seonee, and from that day to this there has not a rebel been seen to the South of the

Turning point in the rebellion in Jubbulpore.

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Nerbudda, and affairs began to improve elsewhere also in the Division. To add to our satisfaction also, we heard of Troops coming from Bombay and Madras to the Division.

Arrangements made to establish Police posts between Seonee and Mundlah and to catch Bahadoor Singh.

300. On the Deputy Commissioners of Seonee and Mundlah returning to Doomah on the 19th, they established Police posts between their two Districts to check the Mundlah rebels, and on the 20th information being brought that Bahadoor Singh the rebel, referred to in para. 297, was hiding in the jungle in the Jubbulpore district, to the East of Doomah, Captain Waddington, Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah, took 50 of the Irregular Infantry, his own Police, and 15 of the 52nd faithfuls, and started on the 21st to catch Bahadoor Singh and re-occupy Keddarpore, a Seonee Police post, which had been temporarily lost.

301. The attempt to catch Bahadoor Singh failed, but he was driven further eastward, and most of his followers deserted him. On the 25th the Keddarpore Police were re-established, the Detachment halting there till the arrival of the Deputy Commissioner of Seonee with the remainder of the Company.

Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah returns towards his District with reinforcements.

302. On the 27th Captain Waddington made another attack on the rebels near, but they fled; and the Deputy Commissioner of Seonee, agreeably to my orders, made over the whole of the Grenadier Company of the Nagpore Irregular Infantry (Commanded by Lieutenant Barton, 52nd Native Infantry,) to Captain Waddington to enable him to clear the banks of the Nerbudda of rebels in the Seonee, Jubbulpore and Mundlah districts, and to return to Mundlah, which, with the exception of the Towns of Mundlah and Mhow, was entirely in the hands of the rebels.

303. Captain Waddington's little army consisted of a few Police, one Company of Irregular Infantry and 15 men of the 52nd, and on the 31st of December he started on his expedition through the hills and dense jungle.

304. But I must now state what was going on elsewhere.

Deputy Commissioner of Saugor goes out into the District.

305. In Saugor the Deputy Commissioner went on the Nursingpore Road along with the patroling Troops, to reassure the people and get in supplies, and from that time grain, &c. began to come in, and fell 30 per cent. in the Saugor Bazar.

Saugor Troops attack Rebels at Bhapyle and fail.

306. On the 15th December Brigadier Sage sent a party to attack the rebels at Bhapyle, but failed, and lost one European Gunner, 1 Jemadar, 1 Havildar and 4 sepoys killed and 4 wounded. This was a most unfortunate affair.

Rehlee again attacked by Rebels, but repulsed.

307. On the 26th Rehlee was again attacked by the 52nd and rebels from Gurrakotta, but were driven off by Lieutenant Dickens and the Police.

More Troops reach Jubbulpore.

308. On the 20th, the 2 Companies of the 28th, and 2 guns (mentioned in para. 292) under Lieutenant Standon, arrived at Jubbulpore, and the next day a Troop of the 2nd Hyderabad Cavalry under Captain Macintire, also arrived.

Successful expedition against the Rebels in Kuttungee hills in Jubbulpore.

309. The rebels in the hills near Kuttungee in Jubbulpore were still causing great trouble, and were plundering all the villages of grain near Koney, on the right bank of the Herun River, and I was again obliged to call for Troops to go out there.

310. On the 21st, 2 Companies of the 33rd Madras Native Infantry, 2 six-pounders and a Troop of Cavalry were sent out by Brigadier

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A. Lawrence then in Command. The guns opened on Koney, where the enemy were assembled, and drove them out, and the Cavalry crossing lower down, swept the plain at the foot of the hills, driving the enemy up to their fastnesses therein.

311. More than this, the Officer in Command of the party thought, could not be achieved by the Force under his Command, the position of the insurgents being on the top of a nearly perpendicular hill covered with bush jungle.

312. This range of hills skirts the Herun for miles, with only one or two passes practicable for footmen; but I saw the necessity for our Troops ascending these hills, and requested Brigadier Lawrence to detach a party for this purpose to accompany the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Baldwin, and his horse and foot Police.

313. Accordingly on the 24th, 2 Detachments, the whole under the Command of Colonel Millar of the 33rd Madras Native Infantry, proceeded from Jubbulpore, one direct to Patun to attack the front of the enemy's position, and the other to ascend the pass at Kuttungee.

314. The pass had been ascended in August 1857 by the Rifle Company of the Movable Column, and many bullocks and some horses had gone up it at the time; but it was then not defended, and Colonel Millar considered it highly dangerous to attempt it, as it was for about 300 feet a flight of natural steps, and the enemy by merely rolling stones down it might occasion heavy loss to the ascending Force, and as the crest was held by the enemy with some small guns, in a battery, Colonel Millar gave up the attempt and moved the party with him down to the other one at Patun.

315. On the 27th our Troops and Police crossed the Herun, and saw the enemy in thousands on the hill, but some shrapnells from our two guns made them run back, and the pass here being considered better, Captain Baldwin with his Police led the way up it, and was followed by the Infantry file-firing. The men safely reached the top, but pretty well blown, and the enemy for a moment again appeared to feel confidence; but they were suddenly greatly astonished to see a Troop of Hyderabad Cavalry dashing up the pass under their gallant Commandant and Adjutant, Captains Macintire and Ryall, who at once went at the enemy on the table-land, cutting up several and driving back the rest.

316. The Police, and particularly their Jemadar Issaree Pershaud, received and deserved great praise, and on the top of the hill several of our loyal Thakoors were found ready to assist us with their Contingents.

317. Our guns were left at the foot of the hills guarded by Infantry, but the Troops who had ascended followed the enemy for some distance. However as no water for man or horse was to be had, they descended by the steep "Durwaza" pass at Kuttungee, and the whole returned to Jubbulpore.

318. This little expedition had a most beneficial result, as it showed the rebels that their strongest position was not tenable against our Troops, and they were so awed that they have never given us trouble from this hill since.

State of Districts in the end of December 1857.

319. In the end of this month (December) the Mewatees were again plundering in the Namaour Pergunnah of Hoshungabad, but in Saugor and Nursingpore matters were more settled. In the former the majority of the Staff and families remained in the Fort, but a few went to their houses in Cantonments, and many of the Officers were necessarily out in the District with the 31st and 3rd Irregular Cavalry. Dumoh continued to be held for us by Koour Shamleyjoo with Punnah Troops, and Baitool was undisturbed.

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## JANUARY 1858.

Troops on the Deccan Road attack Rebels.

320. On the 2nd of January, the party under Colonel Byng of the 6th Cavalry, on the Mirzapore Road, attacked and dispersed some rebels from Nemkhera.

Arrangements made to attack Narainpore Rebels in Jubbulpore.

321. The rebels at Narainpore in the Eastern Pergunnah of Jubbulpore joined those from other parts, and were giving much trouble; I therefore asked Brigadier Lawrence to have them attacked from two sides, and on the 4th he ordered out a Force of 400 Infantry, the 4th Madras Cavalry, and two 5½ inch mortars under Colonel Cumberlege, and directed the Troops on the Mirzapore Road to make a combined attack on the rebels.

Colonel Cumberlege's Troops on their way to Narainpore are attacked and lose an elephant.

322. On the night of the 5th, Colonel Cumberlege's Force, which was encamped at the foot of a jungly hill at Imlai, was fired on by the people of the place, and a Government elephant which carried one of the mortars was stolen. The enemy were driven off, but the elephant has not been recovered yet.

323. The next day 20 men with arms in their hands were seized by Colonel Cumberlege, and being recognized as some of the rebels were tried by Court Martial and executed.

Colonel Cumberlege's Detachment returns to Jubbulpore without effecting any thing.

324. Some mistakes about Commissariat supplies occurred, and the orders about the two Detachments co-operating were apparently not understood; but at any rate, Colonel Cumberlege's party effected nothing, and returned to Jubbulpore.

Colonel Whistler's party alone attacks Narainpore Rebels.

325. The other party however from Sehore on the Deccan Road, under Colonel Whistler, went over the country, reached the resort of the rebels, and alone drove them out, but did not recover the elephant which had been taken far into the hills.

Thannah of Naraingunge in Jubbulpore re-established and a Rebel-leader seized.

326. On the 4th of January the Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah, who (as stated in paragraph 301) was clearing the country of rebels near the Nerbudda, re-established the Jubbulpore Police at Naraingunge, and on his way captured a noted rebel "Asajeet," who was tried and hanged.

Road between Jubbulpore and Mundlah, and the banks of the Nerbudda cleared of Rebels.

327. Matters in Mundlah and Jubbulpore on the Seonee border were now looking up, but to open the road between Jubbulpore and Mundlah it was necessary to move on Mokâs, then Head Quarters of the rebel Khooman Singh; consequently Captain Waddington and Lieutenant Barton marched on the 7th, driving the rebels before them and taking possession of Mokâs on the 8th.

328. So precipitate was the flight of the rebels that they left behind them a loaded jinjal and never fired on our Troops, and the road was cleared.

Troops leave Hoshungabad for Namaour and the Rebels leave the District.

329. The Deputy Commissioner of Hoshungabad resolved on attacking the Mewatees in Namaour if he could get any Troops, of which there were only 4 Companies of Native Infantry and 4 guns in the District, and of these a Company of the 26th and 2 guns marched on the 7th with the Deputy Commissioner, and reached Namaour on the 11th.

330. On the 12th the Deputy Commissioner of Hoshungabad received two expresses from Nursingpore, informing him that 4,000 rebels from Rautgurh had taken possession of Tendookhera in Nursingpore, and that they intended moving down to Hoshungabad.

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331. This information made the Deputy Commissioner retrace his steps; but his object had been effected as the dacoits had fled, and since that Namaour has been tranquil.

Rautgurh and Bhopal Rebels invade Nursingpore District.

332. The news sent to Hoshungabad from Nursingpore was correct, for on the 9th about 4,000 rebels from Rautgurh and Bhopal, including 250 Pathan horse under Adul Mohummed Khan of Bhopal, Bulbhuddur Singh of Singpore in Saugor, and other leaders, aided by Delun Shah, Nurwur Singh and others of Nursingpore, attacked Tendookhera to the North of the Nerbudda.

333. The Police under Binda Pershaud, and some matchlock men under Rao Soorut Singh of Jinjhera and Nizam Shah, for some time most gallantly defended the place, and not till many of them were killed and the enemy became overwhelming did they retreat, fighting however all the time and killing many of the enemy.

334. Rao Soorut Singh's fine pukka house was completely destroyed, and all his valuable property plundered, and the Town and some villages were burned; but the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Ternan, who was out with a Detachment, advanced: indeed he had previously informed me that he thought it probable an inroad might be made by these rebels, who dreaded the approach of the Troops under Sir H. Rose coming from Indore, and I had in consequence sent him some of the Hyderabad Cavalry under Captain Macintire.

Invaders of Nursingpore District attacked and beaten by our Troops.

335. The Troops with Captain Ternan consisted of 2 Companies of the 28th, 2 guns, 2 Troops of the 2nd Hyderabad Cavalry, some mounted and foot Police, and some matchlock men belonging to the Thakoors.

336. The whole advanced by forced marches against the rebels, and the Troops from Saugor patrolling the road co-operating; the rebels fled towards Rautgurh up the Ghâts.

337. The Cavalry under Captain Macintire, along with Captain Ternan, Lieutenant Ryall and Doctor Bradley, made a long march, and dashing into the rebel village of Mundenpore, before any one there was well awake, surprised all, captured some rebels (amongst whom were a son and grandson of Delun Shah the rebel-leader of 1842, and also in this insurrection) and killed others. Captain Ternan shot 3 himself, and Doctor Bradley dragged 2, armed *cap à pie*, from under an earthen jar. This cleared the Chourpatta Pergunnah of all rebels of any consequence.

338. At the same time Mirbhan Singh, the most inveterate rebel in Nursingpore, and the illegitimate son of a pardoned leader of the 42nd rebellion, had arranged to attack Saukul, on the south bank of the River, simultaneously with the invasion of the Chourpatta Pergunnah; but I sent aid from Jubbulpore in time, and frustrated the designs of the rebels.

Deputy Commissioner reaches Mundlah, but his Force too small to do much.

339. On the 15th of January the Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah reached the Head Quarters of his District after dispersing all the rebels near the Nerbudda, but his Force was very small, being only 85 bayonets of the 1st Nagpore Irregular Infantry, 15 of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, and about 30 Police armed with flint muskets; and his District being 8,900 square miles of hill and jungle, he could do but little beyond settling the immediate neighbourhood of Mundlah.

Rebels on Saugor and Nursingpore Road attacked.

340. On the 19th of January Brigadier Sage placed the Detachment on the Nursingpore Road at the disposal of the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor for the purpose of attacking rebels who had assembled near that road, but whenever the Troops showed themselves the rebels fled.

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341. As Troops from Bombay were about to enter the Division and proceed to Jhansie, it became necessary for me to make arrangements to send Civil Officers to accompany this Force. These were as follows:

New arrangements of Civil Officers consequent on the expectation of recovering the Jhansie District.

342. Captain Pinkney, Acting Judge at Jubbulpore, to go to Jhansie as Superintendent; Captain Clerk to go to Jhansie as Deputy Commissioner, but so long as he was employed with his Regiment, Captain Maclean, the Deputy Commissioner of Baitool, was to act for him; Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Nursingpore, to go to Jaloun as Deputy Commissioner; Captain Nembhard to be Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore; Captain Baldwin to act as Deputy Commissioner at Baitool, and Captain A. C. Gordon (who had escaped from Lullutpore) to act as Deputy Commissioner at Nursingpore. These arrangements were sanctioned by Government, and Lieutenant Nembhard took charge of Jubbulpore on the 23rd January, and Captains Baldwin and Gordon marched for their respective Districts.

343. On the 25th of January the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor for the first time received authentic information that Sir H. Rose's Force might be expected at Saugor by the end of the month, but no indent or call was sent for supplies, and the Troops arrived at Rautgurh in the Saugor district the next day.

Sir Hugh Rose arrives at and takes Rautgurh.

344. The Fort of Rautgurh was immediately attacked and was evacuated by the rebels on the 29th, when a great portion of the rebels escaped.

345. On the 31st a large body of rebels under the Banpore Rajah moved to Burodeea and Jhillah, with the intention of attacking Sir H. Rose's Force; but the General on hearing of it immediately moved out and attacked them. They were quickly defeated, and about 100 killed and many wounded. Our loss being one killed and 6 or 7 wounded.

Sir H. Rose attacks and defeats Banpore Troops near Rautgurh.

346. The Force under Colonel Byng on the Deccan Road had returned to Jubbulpore without opening out the road, but another was sent under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Whistler of the 6th Cavalry.

Colonel Byng fails to open the Deccan Road and Colonel Whistler sent out.

347. On the 23rd Colonel Whistler attacked the rebels at Ramnuggur, killing several of them and taking a few prisoners, one sepoy of the 28th Madras Native Infantry being killed and wounded.

Colonel Whistler's operations and opening of the Deccan Road.

348. On the 27th the Force advanced up the road and re-established the Thannah at Saleemabad.

349. The tide was now fast flowing in our favor. The Rewah Troops had gone against Myhere on the Deccan Road and taken it, and moved against Bijiragogurh, which soon fell. This and Colonel Whistler's movements opened the road.

350. On the 30th or 31st, the 1st Madras Native Infantry and a Horse Field Battery, being part of Major General Whitlock's Madras Force, intended for operations in my Division, arrived at Jubbulpore.

A portion of General Whitlock's Force reaches Jubbulpore.

## FEBRUARY 1858.

351. On the 1st of February the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor was requested by General Rose or Sir Robert Hamilton, Agent to the Governor General for Central India, to collect supplies of every description for the Force. This was no easy matter in a country which had for some time been in the hands of the rebels and been greatly plundered. The consumption of grain alone

Difficulty in collecting supplies at Saugor for Sir H. Rose.

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in the Camp was 1,735 maunds daily, and 30 days' supplies were required *at once*. However every exertion was made to collect supplies and to provide carriage for it.

33rd Madras Native Infantry march viâ Mundlah to Raipore in Nagpore.

352. The 33rd Madras Native Infantry and 2 six-pounders were now recalled by the Nagpore Authorities from my Division, as they were required at Raipore in the Nagpore Division to quell a disturbance and small mutiny there, and on the 1st of February they marched from Jubbulpore viâ Mundlah. I was glad of this move, for although the 33rd was not going for service in Mundlah, yet its passing through the District, and the sight of 2 guns in the hills, would have a good moral effect.

Captain Gordon receives charge of Nursingpore.

353. On the 1st February Captain Gordon received charge of the Nursingpore district when it was in perfect peace. Captain Ternan proceeding to Jubbulpore to join Captain Pinkney and together proceed towards Jhansie with Sir H. Rose's Force.

Sir H. Rose's Force arrives at Saugor.

354. On the 3rd the Force under Sir H. Rose arrived at Saugor and the few Officers, ladies and families remaining in the Fort left it, but previous to this most had taken up their residence in their own houses or had been sent into the District on duty.

Description of Saugor Fort and how the Garrison were accommodated.

355. I must here give some description of the Fort of Saugor, and how the Europeans were accommodated in it.

356. The Fort of Saugor was originally built by the Boondelahs in Chutteralsal's time, but was improved in the time of the Mahratta government, and since 1818 has been used by our Government as an Arsenal. It is an irregular quadrangle, about 400 yards long and 150 broad, built on a rock, in the Town, about 1½ mile from the Cantonments, bounded on three sides by the Town, the houses being built close up to the walls, and on the fourth side by the beautiful Lake, which is a mile in length and ¾ of a mile in breadth. The walls are high and massive, but being very old are far from strong.

357. It is commanded by a hill about ½ a mile off in the outskirts of the Town, whence it was battered by the Mahratta Artillery many years ago.

358. The fortifications were considerably strengthened by order of Brigadier Sage, and a large sum of money was expended on it. Heavy guns and mortars were mounted on every side. The interior accommodation is native, except the Powder Magazine, Gun Sheds and Storehouses.

359. Previous to the Europeans entering it, it was pretty well stocked with grain, &c.; cattle, sheep, goats, &c., public and private, were accommodated in houses outside the Fort; and as the Town was commanded by the Fort, there was no fear of a dearth of supplies, particularly as all private stores and a merchant's shop were also removed into the Fort, and the supply of powder, arms, guns and ammunition was large.

360. Little arrangement however could be made for the accommodation of a large Christian population, a list of which is appended marked N. The buildings are low and confined, and not in good repair.

361. A large square building called the "Lal Pittarah" was made over to the married Officers and their families. It consisted of a square courtyard with long low verandahs on three sides, and had been long used by us as an Armoury, and was ill ventilated and not well adapted for Europeans. The principal room or "Dalan" on the ground floor was converted into a Mess House, where the majority of the Officers and their wives breakfasted and dined.

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362. The European Artillerymen with their families, likewise the Conductors, Band-boys, Clerks and others, were accommodated in Gun Sheds at the west end of the Fort, and subsequently when Cholera made its appearance, huts were erected on the top of the Gun Sheds for the use of the men.

363. Brigadier Sage, with the Commissary of Ordnance and a few other Officers, occupied a two-storied native building to the south east.

364. The Officers of the 42nd Native Infantry occupied a shed to the south side of the Fort, and the Officers of the 31st lived in a native building situated over the Gateway.

365. Cooking sheds were erected on the north face of the Fort, and the conservancy arrangements were as good as circumstances would admit of; but so many human beings (for there were numerous Native servants in addition to the 370 Europeans) being crowded from the 27th of June into so confined a space, Cholera, Small-pox, Diarrhœa and Fever broke out, on which arrangements were made to convert a part of a building called the "Nuzzur Bagh," about 50 yards outside the Gate, into an Hospital, one portion of which was made over to the Officers, and another to the men. The poor children in the "Lal Pittarah" suffered most, four of them died, and the confinement injured others.

366. The Deputy Commissioner and his Assistants held their Courts as usual, and conducted business in the "Nuzzur Bagh."

367. The Civil and Military Officers were armed and embodied into three Divisions, each Division was out in its turn every third night, performing sentry duty and patrolling. All did their duty with alacrity and cheerfulness throughout the rains, and I have been assured by the Deputy Commissioner that he does not recollect one quarrel or private misunderstanding in the Garrison.

368. It will be seen from this how much better off, in every respect, the Europeans were at Saugor than we were at Jubbulpore. At the former place they had a comparatively large and strong Fort well stocked with guns, arms of all sorts and ammunition, a large number of able-bodied Europeans, besides a Company of European Artillery, and, after a time, loyal Troops. Whereas at Jubbulpore we had only a large house (of eleven rooms and a verandah) and some out-houses, no cannon, but few Europeans, and no reliable Troops till August.

General Whitlock's 1st Brigade arrives at Jubbulpore.

369. On the 6th of February a small portion of General Whitlock's Force arrived at Jubbulpore, and the remainder of his 1st Brigade followed in a few days.

Saleemabad in Jubbulpore again attacked.

370. On the 7th another large party of rebels attacked Saleemabad, but were driven off with considerable loss.

Sir H. Rose marches to and takes Gurrakotta in Saugor.

371. On the 9th Sir H. Rose, leaving a few Troops in Saugor, marched with the rest of his Force against the mutineers of the 52nd and rebels in Gurrakotta, and arriving before it on the 10th, were fired on from the Fort. General Rose not only returned the fire sharply, but commenced arrangements for a siege; but on the night of the 11th, the enemy evacuated the Fort and fled in the Shahgurh direction. They were overtaken by a Column under the Command of Captain Hare of the Hyderabad Contingent, and about 100 were cut up.

Police Posts in Saugor re-established.

372. When Sir H. Rose arrived at Saugor, the Banpore rebels at once fled from Nurreaolee and Korai, and this enabled our Police to re-occupy those posts, and the taking of Gurrakotta made nearly all large bodies of rebels leave the Saugor district: consequently our Police returned to their out-posts, except at Malthone in the North, which was still held by the Banpore Rajah; and Patun,

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Dhamonee and Punchumnugger all in the North, which were held by the Shahgurh rebels.

Sir H. Rose returns to and halts at Saugor.

373. The Central India Field Force returned to Saugor from Gurrakotta and halted there till supplies could be got ready, which, with the utmost exertions of the Deputy Commissioner and the whole of his establishment, were collected.

The 4th and 6th Madras Cavalry leave Jubbulpore for Allahabad.

374. On the 11th, the 4th and 6th Madras Light Cavalry, which had been ordered to Allahabad, marched from Jubbulpore, but had not got many marches when a Telegram was received from the Secretary to Government, informing me that "the Nana" had crossed into Bundelkund with a large Force; consequently General Whitlock ordered them to halt till his Force could overtake them.

General Whitlock marches to Jubbulpore and a plan of operations is laid before him.

375. General Whitlock himself arrived at Jubbulpore on the 3rd of February and informed me that his Force was sent for service in my Division, and that he was ready to undertake any operations against the rebels I thought proper, and he wished me to state my plans, even to the strength of Troops to be left at Stations; and I consequently laid my plan before him, which was to march in two Columns by different routes on Dumoh, clearing the rebels out as we went, leaving Garrisons at Jubbulpore and Dumoh, and then marching on Saugor,—it is appended and marked O.,—and he informed me at first that he quite approved of my plan and would carry it out; but this he never did as will be seen hereafter. His reply is appended and marked P.

General Whitlock's Force leaves Jubbulpore and marches up the Deccan Road.

376. I believe it was in consequence of the news of the Nana coming into Bundelkund, General Whitlock determined on taking the whole of his Force with him, except a small Garrison for Jubbulpore, and marching up the Deccan Road as far as Jokai, joining the 4th and 6th Cavalry on the way. I resolved some time before to accompany him, and on the 17th February we marched.

Commissioner calls on General Whitlock to destroy Forts and keep Troops on the Deccan Road.

377. On the 19th I applied to General Whitlock to send a small body of Troops out to Ramnugger, 12 miles off, to destroy the small Fort there, and on the 20th I asked him to destroy the little Fort of Bhutgaon, both of which places had given us much trouble, and I considered it of much importance that all these little strongholds should be totally destroyed as we advanced. I also pointed out the necessity of keeping guns and Troops on this road. I append the General's reply marked Q., which is to the effect that he could not spare time or Troops, but had ordered Lieutenant Pereira, Commanding the Nagpore Rifles, to do the work, and that he had arranged to get the 2 Companies of the 28th (not under his Command, and whom I had sent along with the Rifles and 2 guns,) to remain at Sehora and Saleemabad, and that he would also leave some Hyderabad Cavalry on the road.

Second call on General Whitlock to attack Rebels, but without success.

378. We continued marching up the road, and on the 28th I reported that about 9 miles off there was a small Fort called Murdangurh, occupied by about 200 rebels; and as they had never been attacked, I was anxious that the General should do so, and also dismantle the place.

379. I also informed him that there was another place on our route, or very near it, named Mangurh, the seat of a Gond rebel Rajah, who had no fort, but had made his house pretty strong, and had about 500 armed followers.

Commissioner's reasons for wishing Rebels attacked, but they had no effect.

380. I thought it particularly necessary that these rebels should be attacked as we advanced, for independent of their power of doing mischief in Jubbulpore when we had gone, they would, unless attacked, think we could not, or dared not touch them. The General's reply is annexed and marked R., stating that he was adopting measures which he hoped would succeed in not only destroy-

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ing the strongholds I referred to, but in preventing the escape of the rebels. However nothing was done, neither were the strong places destroyed nor the rebels once attacked between Jubbulpore and Dumoh.

General Whitlock reaches Jokai and parades his Force before the Rajah of Nagode.

381. On the 24th we reached Jokai, which place had been completely destroyed by the Rewah Troops. Here we met the loyal Rajah of Oochaira or Nagode, and the General paraded his Troops for the Rajah's inspection.

Force marches on Dumoh, &c.

382. The report of the Nana having come into Bundelkund was an error, and the 4th and 6th Cavalry proceeded on their way to Allahabad.

Commissioner again requests that the Rebels may be attacked, but without success.

383. The Saugor Field Force, as General Whitlock's Force was officially designated, then left the Deccan Road on the 26th, and marched by seven stages to Dumoh, and on the way I more than once pointed out to the General the advisability of attacking the rebels, who, as we advanced, merely moved a short way right and left into the jungle, and I was most anxious to attack the noted rebel, Kishore Singh of Hindoreea, close to Dumoh; and the General in reply stated—"your wishes shall meet with every attention in my power." But nothing was done, and these rebels are yet at large, and never ceased plundering till very lately.

384. But to prevent the thread of this part of the Narrative being broken, I have anticipated a little, and must now return to the chronological order of this Narrative.

Sir. R. Hamilton and Sir H. Rose refuse to leave any Troops at Saugor.

385. Sir Robert Hamilton, Agent to the Governor General in Central India, had on the arrival of General Rose's Force at Saugor, sent the 31st and 42nd Regiments and 3rd Irregular Cavalry out of that District to Shahgurh and in the Malthone direction; and as I heard that General Rose intended leaving no Troops at Saugor, I begged both to remember that without leaving Troops in Saugor the place could not be considered "relieved" or safe, but they informed me that they could not leave a man at Saugor.

Sir H. Rose's Force leaves Saugor.

386. On the 23rd the Deputy Commissioner of Saugor reported supplies ready for Sir H. Rose's Force, and on the 27th he marched, leaving a small Detachment at Saugor to bring on the bulk of his supplies.

Jubera, in Jubbulpore, destroyed by Rebels.

387. On the 25th of February the rebels attacked Juberah in the Jubbulpore district on the Dumoh road, and burned down the Serai, the direct road between Jubbulpore and Dumoh was closed by large bodies of rebels, and about 30 mutineers of the 52nd under Devee Singh, who took up positions at Singrampore and Juberah, and also at Konda on the top of the hills, at a place near Mujholee.

Burttulla Thannah re-established.

388. On the 28th of February, in consequence of General Whitlock's Force being near, the Burttulla Thannah in Jubbulpore was re-established on the road between Jokai and Dumoh.

## MARCH 1858.

Lieutenant Walters attacks the Rebels near Sehora in Jubbulpore and defeats them, but is badly wounded.

389. On the 1st of March 1858, Lieutenant Walters of the 50th Madras Native Infantry, who was at Sehora in Jubbulpore, with a Company of his Regiment made an attack on the rebels near Mujholee and killed several, taking also their ammunition and several prisoners; but I regret to say he was severely wounded, and from which wound he has not yet recovered.

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Certain Civil Officers join Sir H. Rose, and his Force captures Malthone and the Muddunpore Pass.

390. Major Western, Deputy Commissioner of Saugor, Captain Pinkney, Superintendent of Jhansie, Captains Ternan and Maclean, Officiating Deputy Commissioners of Jaloun and Jhansie, joined General Rose's Force, and on the 3rd of March the General captured Malthone and the Muddunpore Pass in the Saugor district, inflicting great slaughter on the 52nd mutineers and rebels, and entered the Shahgurh district. The Police being at once established at Malthone.

General Whitlock's Force arrives at Dumoh, and the Commissioner takes charge of the District.

391. On the 2nd of March, General Whitlock's Force entered the Dumoh district, and on the 4th marched into the Station of Dumoh.

392. Here Koour Shamleyjoo met me, and made over the District to me.

The Commissioner's address to General Whitlock on his not attacking the Rebels.

393. On the 4th of March I wrote, as follows, to Major General Whitlock: "In my memorandum of the state of my Districts, I stated that in my opinion the "rebels should be attacked as your Force advanced, and then after leaving a "Garrison at Dumoh, it should proceed to Saugor; consequently as we "advanced, I informed you where the rebels were, and that I wished them to "be attacked and their strongholds to be destroyed; but for reasons unknown "to me, but which I do not presume to question for a moment, we have passed "all these places, and left the rebels intact. On the 26th February, I fur-"nished you with a copy of the letters as per margin, stating that Sir "H. Rose cannot leave any portion of his Force at Saugor, which Station must "be occupied by a portion of your Force, asking you to furnish it, and order-"ing the 31st and 42nd Bengal Native Infantry away. In reply, you stated "in your letter No. 38, dated the 27th ultimo, that you could not afford to "detach any Infantry, but that your whole Force was marching on Saugor "with all expedition.

"I now learn that the Force will halt here until you return from Saugor, "and that no Military operations will take place during your absence, which "will be probably a week.

"Without presuming to question the expediency of your arrangements "and disposition of Troops, I think it is my duty to inform you and to put it "on record, that when I asked you to undertake certain operations on the road, "I was under the impression that they could be undertaken without retarding "the advance of your Column, or at any rate that Mangurh and Puturgurh "might be destroyed in a day; but these are, in my opinion, minor consider-"ations, compared with the safety of Saugor and the permanent re-occupation "of Dumoh, and if your Force is not strong enough to accomplish all, I "would urge, the necessity of providing for the immediate safety of Saugor, "after leaving a small body of Troops in the Station or Fort of Dumoh.

"I am informed that the small body of Troops left temporarily at Sau-"gor by General Sir H. Rose, will probably have marched by this time, as they "were merely left to escort some supplies to his camp, and not as a garrison.

"The Garrison only consists of 64 European Gunners and 360 Bengal "Native Infantry."

394. The General acknowledged the receipt of my letter, and in person assured me he could not divide his Force, or undertake the expeditions I wished.

General Whitlock goes into Saugor and divides his Force.

395. On the 5th, General Whitlock went into Saugor with some Artillery and Lancers.

396. From Saugor, the General wrote for 200 of the 3rd European Regiment and 70 Native Infantry to proceed to Saugor by forced marches, and

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they did so on the 8th. He also ordered 2 guns, 100 of the 3rd European and 70 Native Infantry to proceed by the direct road to Jubbulpore to escort Treasure.

397. The rest of his Force remained at Dumoh, under the Command of Brigadier Carpenter.

Troops not allowed to attack Rebels at Hindoreea in Dumoh.

398. On the 8th, I asked Brigadier Carpenter to attack the Hindoreea rebels, 12 miles off; but he informed me that the General had forbidden his doing so.

General Whitlock returns to Dumoh.

399. On the 12th General Whitlock returned to Dumoh from Saugor, bringing with him some of the Lancers and Horse Artillery.

As General Whitlock will not attack the Rebels, Commissioner goes to Saugor.

400. On the 16th of March I had a long conversation with General Whitlock; but as it ended in his not consenting to do any thing against the rebels, who were plundering close to us and between Jubbulpore and Dumoh, I saw that it was no use my remaining with him, and as the Deputy Commissioner of Dumoh had arrived, and I had completed, along with him, all my Civil arrangements, I resolved on going in to Saugor, and accordingly I left Dumoh on the 17th, after ordering that General Whitlock should have 2,70,000 Rupees out of the 5 lacks coming up from Jubbulpore.

General Whitlock marches for Punnah.

401. On the 17th the General received orders from Government to proceed to Nagode and Punnah viâ Hutta, and as this latter place was close to a village called Jutta-Shunker, where there were about 500 rebels with 2 guns, I asked him to attack them, but he did not do so. He marched out of my Division after leaving 20 European and 50 Native soldiers at Dumoh, and I went to Saugor.

Result of the Rebels not being attacked in Jubbulpore or Dumoh.

402. General Whitlock may have had very good reasons for not doing as I wished him, but it was my duty to look to the safety of the people and Districts committed to my charge, and I cannot doubt that had the rebels been attacked as I wished, my Division would have much sooner been restored to peace than it has been, particularly as the very rebels I wished him to attack are those who have plundered ever since, and some of whom will not submit to our authority, and retain places they seized.

Rebels in Nursingpore beaten.

403. About the middle of this month Captain Gordon, Deputy Commissioner of Nursingpore, reported that the rebel leader, Mirbhan Singh, had once or twice come down to Heerapore on the right bank of the Nerbudda, but never dared to cross it. He had also attacked Bumhoree, but was repulsed by the Police and Customs Chuprassees and followers of Dewan Pirtee Singh. He did this in revenge for a severe punishment he and the rebel-leader Delun Shah had met with at the hands of the Deputy Commissioner and Lieutenant Walton of the 28th Madras Native Infantry, who took them by surprise in the jungles at daybreak and killed a great many of the rebels, and would have seized Delun Shah had the ground been good.

Thannah between Dumoh and Jubbulpore re-established, but again lost.

404. On the 20th the Deputy Commissioner of Jubbulpore, taking advantage of the Troops passing between Dumoh and Jubbulpore, re-established his Thannahs at Juberah and Singrampore, but they were soon driven in again by the strong bodies of rebels under Devee Singh and Mirbhan Singh; and though several attempts have since been made to establish our posts there, our matchlock men have invariably been driven away, and it is hopeless to try it again till the Military Police are armed and trained.

Mr. Watts captures a Rebel Chief in Jubbulpore.

405. On the 24th Mr. Watts, a landed proprietor in Jubbulpore, with a party of Police and some of Major Sleeman's Nujeebs attacked a body of rebels near Mujho-

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lee, dispersed them and killed several, amongst them a man of note named Runjeet Singh, and capturing the leader Koondun Singh, who was afterwards tried and executed.

Troops in Mundlah reinforced and march on Ramgurh.

406. The Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah's Troops were not strong enough to enable him to do much after his reaching Mundlah on the 8th January, (see para. 338) till he could be reinforced, and this I was not able to arrange for till the 23rd of March, when he received a 2nd Company of Nagpore Infantry under Lieutenant Cockburn, and leaving 50 of these for the protection of the Town, he, Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn marched with the little Force as per margin* for Ramgurh on the 29th, and the next day took the Bidee Pass, which was held by the enemy, but he fled at once.

| | |
|---|---|
| * Irregular Infantry, ... ... ... | 130 |
| 52nd Native Infantry, ... ... ... | 15 |
| Police, ... ... ... ... ... ... | 80 |
| Matchlocks, ... ... ... ... ... | 100 |
| Total, ... ... | 325 |

Bidee Pass in Mundlah taken.

Further successes in Mundlah.

407. On the 31st the Force with the Deputy Commissioner of Mundlah took possession of the rebel village of Ghoogree without opposition, and perceiving that the largest body of rebels were resolved to make their stand at Ramgurh, the Deputy Commissioner resolved on attacking it.

Expedition against Rebels in Pergunnah Rehlee in Saugor.

408. When at Saugor I arranged an expedition with Brigadier Wheler to attack the rebels in the Rehlee Pergunnah of Saugor, and as the Brigadier ordered Lieutenant Dickens and his Company of the 31st to move in that direction against the rebels near the Bearmee and Beas Rivers, I wrote to Nursingpore for a Company of the 28th to advance against them on the other side. These two Detachments met at the place appointed, but the rebels had fled and the Detachments returned to their respective Stations.

Commissioner returns to Jubbulpore, viâ Nursingpore.

409. I reached Nursingpore on the 30th March, and returned to Jubbulpore on the 3rd April.

State of Districts in March 1858.

410. Plundering in parts of Saugor, Dumoh, Jubbulpore and Mundlah was still going on when the month of March closed, but all the other Districts were quiet, and have not since been disturbed.

## APRIL 1858.

Taking of Ramgurh in Mundlah by our Troops.

411. On the 1st of April three signal shots were fired by the rebels from a hill near Ramgurh in Mundlah, and the Deputy Commissioner's spies reported that the Ghât was occupied by the rebels in Force.

412. On the 2nd the little Mundlah Force advanced and attacked the barricaded Pass with a rush; this made the cowardly enemy take to their heels, leaving three of their party dead on the field, and the Troops pushed on for Ramgurh.

413. The Town of Ramgurh is situated on high ground in the plain, and Lieutenant Barton, who commanded the party, made a dash at the place from two sides, when the enemy evacuated the Town. Lieutenant Cockburn followed them up with a few sowars, and had a narrow escape of being shot.

414. The Deputy Commissioner at once took possession of the Rajah's house and established his Head Quarters there. The enemy were calculated to number 1,000 matchlocks, with 30 zumbooraks and jinjals.

Rebels of Ramgurh in Mundlah finally defeated.

415. The Ramgurh rebels were now reinforced from several places. The Thakoor of Shaipoora, said to be the bravest soldier in the District, put himself at their

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head, and accordingly on the 9th of April they mustered strongly on the side of the hill to the north of the Town, intending to attack Lieutenant Barton's Force from three sides. However our party assumed the aggressive, and though the enemy came down *headed by a sepoy in uniform* with all the shouts and antics of wild Hindoostanee war, they were completely routed by our brave little Force, leaving 25 dead, a 2-lb iron gun, 4 jinjals, and a quantity of powder and iron balls, and other property. On our side only one man was wounded. This completely disheartened the rebels. The Deputy Commissioner did his utmost to get the ignorant wild Gonds back to their occupations, and succeeded.

Shahpoor, in Mundlah, re-occupied.

416. Shaipoora, another of our Tuhseelees in Mundlah, was re-occupied on the 24th of April without opposition by Lieutenant Barton's Detachment, and on the 27th the Gurhee of Singpore was occupied, the rebels having fled.

Sohagpore, in Mundlah, attacked and taken.

417. Sohagpore was now the only place of strength occupied by the rebels of Mundlah. This is a strong though small stone Fort, and could not be attacked without guns, of which our Troops had none.

418. I then asked the Commissioner of Nagpore for a larger Force to proceed from Raipore, to assist Lieutenant Barton, and he sent Captain the Baron Von Meyern with 250 of the 3rd Nagpore Infantry and 80 Irregular Cavalry, to surround the place. Guns in time came from Rewah and opened on the place; the 2 Detachments already referred to nearly surrounding the Fort, but the blockade was not so strict as to prevent the enemy evacuating the Fort on the 18th of June.

419. The Garrison were about 300 matchlock men with some half dozen small guns, and went off to Rewah whence they had expected assistance instead of opposition.

Mundlah District settled.

420. Since then the Raipore and Rewah Detachments have returned to their respective posts, but the 2 Companies of Nagpore Irregulars will remain in the District till the rains cease, and the Police Corps is organized. The District is now quiet.

421. I have anticipated, so as not to break the thread of the Narrative of the late doings in Mundlah; but must now report the state of other Districts in April.

Rebels attack Police posts in Jubbulpore.

422. On the 2nd of April a large body of rebels attacked the Police post at Piprode on the Mirzapore and Jubbulpore Road, and killed one Burkundaz and two dâk horses, and carried off three more horses. The Duffadar of Police behaved very well, and drove off the rebels.

423. On the 5th the rebel-leaders, Bhao Singh and Himmut, with 300 followers, only 100 of whom however had matchlocks, attacked the Burttulla Thannah in Jubbulpore; but the Thannahdar stood his ground and fought well till reinforced by some neighbouring Zemindars, when the rebels were driven on to the hills.

424. On the 14th the Tuhseeldar of Patun in Jubbulpore attacked some rebels and killed three; but on the 16th they attacked Mouzah Hurdooa, and carried off the Malgoozar and his daughter as they had assisted the Police with information.

Brigadier Macduff's Brigade arrives at and leaves Jubbulpore.

425. On the 18th Brigadier Macduff's Brigade arrived at Jubbulpore on its way to join General Whitlock, and marched again on the 24th.

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426. On the 26th, 500 rebels, under Rundheer Singh, Pertab Singh, Devee Singh, and Himmut Singh, atacked and destroyed the Thannah of Mujholee in Jubbulpore, and burned some 50 houses. The Police behaved well, and killed five of the enemy.

Further attacks by Rebels in Jubbulpore.

427. On the 29th the Thannah of Kuttungee in Jubbulpore was again attacked, when 100 of Major Sleeman's Nujeebs were sent out and drove off the rebels, with a loss of five killed and two wounded, and on our side one Burkundaz and two horses were wounded.

428. The rebels on the Deccan Road became so daring on the 29th as to fire on the guns coming into Jubbulpore, but a few rounds soon sent them flying into the jungle.

429. During the month of April nothing occurred in the Districts South of the Nerbudda, and Saugor was nearly at peace.

State of Districts in end of April.

## MAY 1858.

430. As plundering was still going on in Jubbulpore it was resolved to send out Troops, and on the 9th the Nagpore Rifles under Lieutenant Pereira, and some of Major Sleeman's Nujeebs under Captain Gib, went out into the Kuttungee hills, Mr. Watts accompanying the party as Deputy Superintendent of Police; but after a time, the latter Officer separated from Captain Gib. Each party met with rebels, and did good service; some 26 rebels were killed and others were made prisoners by Mr. Watts. Captain Gib's party killed 13 rebels, and their leader, Juggut Singh, a sepoy of the late 52nd. Since this time nothing worthy of note has occurred.

Attacks on the Rebels in Jubbulpore by Captain Gib and Mr. Watts.

431. Since the proclamation of Amnesty, ordered by the Governor General, was issued on the recommendation of Sir R. Hamilton, Agent to the Governor General in Central India, peace has greatly been restored, and many rebels have given in. Still however some remain bitterly opposed to us, and so long as the leaders, Himmut Singh and Bhao Singh of Neemkhera, remain at large, it will be necessary to keep 2 Companies and 2 guns on the Deccan Road to keep the dâk communication open.

An Amnesty proclaimed and the result.

432. On the 16th May the rebel-leader, Delun Shah, of Nursingpore who had long been hiding in the jungles, attacked Muddunpore on the right bank of the Nerbudda his former residence, but was gallantly met by the Police, who beat him off, followed him and seized him. He was a leader of note in the rebellion of 1843, and had been released. He was now tried by the Deputy Commissioner (as Special Commissioner) and hanged. This settled Nursingpore for good, I hope; but we still want the other leader, Mirbhan Singh, whose father rebelled in 1843, and was long in jail.

Capture and execution of the Rebel-leader, Delun Shah, in Nursingpore.

433. Most of the Chiefs and Malgoozars of Nursingpore and some in Jubbulpore and Saugor have behaved remarkably well, and have been recommended for rewards by the Deputy Commissioner and myself; others have rebelled, and others remained passive.

Conduct of local Chiefs and Malgoozars.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

434. Before the Districts of Chundeyree, Jhansie aud Jaloun were formed into a new Division, I had the satisfaction of knowing that General Rose's admirable operations had enabled Captain Pinkney to recover possession of all three Districts, and I can now with confidence and pleasure state, that peace is restored to my Division of 8 Districts, for although we have some leaders still

State of the Jubbulpore Division on 10th of August 1858.

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at large, their followers are but few; indeed they are not more formidable now than ordinary dacoits, and they will, it is to be hoped, soon be hunted down, when the Police have been drilled and properly organized; but until then, extra Police (matchlock men) must be retained.

Rebellion did not extend to the South or left Bank of the Nerbudda.

435. It will be observed that the rebellion never went South of the Nerbudda, except the one attempt in Pergunnah Burgee in Jubbulpore, which was soon checked, and that now the large bodies of Troops have left us we are still with much fewer regular Troops than we ever had in the time of peace, fast extinguishing the remains of the rebellion; but had mutineers or rebels from elsewhere with guns entered the Division, we should have had no sufficient Force to bring against them, and I am most anxious to see European Troops stationed at Jubbulpore and Saugor.

Names of Officers in Civil employ and how they conducted their duties.

436. The European Officers in Civil employ, who have served under me in this most anxious and trying year, 1857-58, are as follows:

*Deputy Commissioners of the* 1*st Class.* *(Salary Rs.* 1,000.*)*

1. Captain Pinkney, (now promoted).
2. Lieutenant Wood.
3. Major Western.
4. Captain Clerk.
5. Lieutenant Nembhard.

*Deputy Commissioners of the* 2*nd Class.* *(Salary Rs.* 600.*)*

1. Captain Gordon.
2. Captain Waddington.
3. Captain Maclean.
4. Lieutenant Hamilton.

*Assistants.* *(Salary Rs.* 500.*)*

Lieutenant Thomsom, Acting, 2nd Class Deputy Commissioner.
Captain Baldwin, ditto ditto ditto.
Lieutenant Fitzgerald, dead.
Lieutenant Tyler.
Lieutenant Gordon.

*Deputy Collectors.*

Mr. H. Read, (Salary Rs. 400.)
„ J. Hennessy.
„ J. Beddy.
„ J. Thornton.
„ D. A. Cameron.
„ W. James.
„ D. Sinclair.
} Salary Rs. 250.

437. All these Officers have done their duty thoroughly, and most of them are brought prominently forward in this Narrative. Many have acted as good soldiers as well as good Civilians, and it is difficult to select those who have done best: but Captain Pinkney was in numerous affairs with the enemy, and always in the van. He has been justly and well rewarded for his public conduct as a Civilian in being made Commissioner of Jhansie, and I am happy it was in my power to bring him forward. All deserve my thanks and a Government reward; the former they have most heartily, and the latter I hope to see given in increase of salary to the Deputy Commissioners, (who are underpaid and overworked), and also by some receiving Brevet rank.

438. I must not omit the Officers of the Customs Department. All the Europeans and most of the Natives did good service, particularly in Saugor where under their gallant Collector, Mr. Bell, they took a prominent part in the defence of the Fort and the attacks on the enemy in the field.

439. The Uncovenanted Clerks and Assistants have done their duty well, and both at Saugor and Jubbulpore were formed into a Military Corps, taking sentry duty at night, and many of them behaved with distinction.

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440. The Native Umlah in general have behaved with fidelity, and have conducted their duties as usual throughout the rebellion; the few exceptions are mentioned in this Narrative.

441. The Police in some instances have behaved with much gallantry; but in most cases with pusillanimity, and sometimes with cowardice, and even with treachery. The mounted Police have behaved well, and I have increased their pay from 16 to 20 Rupees a month.

442. What my own part in the suppression of this rebellion has been, I need not say beyond that it was most arduous and trying: for months I did not know what it was to have two hours of consecutive sleep, and from daybreak till sunset I was busy.

443. I have compiled this Narrative from the returns of the District Officers and from my own private notes and official documents. It is truthful, and as it is so long, I have endeavoured to avoid comment or anecdote, which might have made it read better. I have omitted much detail, but I could not condense so much matter into a smaller space than 38 sheets of manuscript.

444. As far as possible, I have written it chronologically when such would not break the thread of any particular event or series of events in a District, and I trust it will be found intelligible.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

W. C. ERSKINE, Major,

*Commissioner.*

Jubbulpore Commissioner's Office:
*The 10th August* 1858.

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* OMITTED.

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# APPENDICES.

## A

*Extract of* Mr. Colvin's *Note.—Agra, 30th May* 1857.

To Major W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner, Jubbulpore.*

My Dear Erskine,—Many thanks for your letters to 24th. They are all most satisfactory to me; marking your characteristic firmness, cool judgment, and commanding sense.

If any counsels can save us from the dangers of absurd stories about bone-dust, atta, &c., your's will.

(True Extract,) W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

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## B

*List of English and other Christians murdered at Jhansie in June* 1857.

Captain A. Skene, Superintendent.
Mrs. Skene and 2 children.
Captain Gordon, Deputy. Commissioner.
Captain Dunlop, 12th N. I.
Ensign Taylor, 12th N. I.
Lieutenant F. H. Turnbull, Asst. Revenue Surveyor.
Captain Burgess, Revenue Surveyor.
Lieutenant Campbell, 14th I. C.
Doctor McEgan, 14th I. C.
Mrs. McEgan and 3 children.
Captain Powys, Ex. Engineer.
Mrs. Powys and 1 child.
Mr. Carshore, Collector of Customs.
Mrs. Carshore and 4 children.
Mr. T. Andrews, Principal Sudder Ameen.
Mr. R. Andrews, Deputy Collector.
Mrs. R. Andrews and 3 children.
Mrs. Geo. Browne, wife of Lieut. Browne, Deputy Commissioner, Jaloun.
Miss Browne, sister of do. do. do.
Mr. A. Scott.
Mr. C. Purcell.
Mr. J. Purcell.
Mr. G. Elliott, father and mother.
Mr. G. Young.
Mr. F. Munrowd.
Mr. W. Palgreyman.
Mr. G. D. Davies.
Mr. Davies, *Senr.*
Mrs. Davies.
Mr. Crawford.
Mr. Flemyng.
Mr. Mutlo, *Senr.*
Mr. Mutlo, *Junr.*
Quarter Master Sergeant Newton, 12th N. I., wife and 4 children.
Mr. T. Wilton.
Mrs. Wilton and 4 children.
2 Misses Wilton.
Mr. J. Young.
Mrs J. Young.
Mr. J. F. Blyth.
Mrs. Blyth and 3 children.
Sergeant Millard.
Mrs. Millard and 3 children.
Mr. W. Bennett.

Abstract.

| | |
|---|---|
| Men, ... ... ... ... ... ... | 33 |
| Women, ... ... ... ... ... | 16 |
| Children, ... ... ... ... ... | 27 |
| Total, ... ... ... ... | 76 names known, |

and it is believed there were others whose names are not known.

W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner of the Jubbulpore Division.*

Jubbulpore:
10*th August* 1858.

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## C—Photography of Agency House. *(Omitted.)*

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## D

*List of Europeans, &c. in the Jubbulpore Garrison.*

Major Erskine.
Major Sleeman.
Lieut. Col. Jamieson.
Major R. Gordon.
Mrs. Gordon and 5 children.
Capt. Vanrenen.
Mrs. Vanrenen and 2 children.
Capt. Hall.
Mrs. Hall and 3 children.
Capt. Moxon.
Mrs. Moxon.
Capt. Martin.
Mrs. Martin.
Lieut. Grant.
Mrs. Grant.
Lieut. Clerk, Depy. Commissioner.
Lieut. Crossman.
Lieut. Baldwin, Asst. Commissioner.
Capt. Waddington.
Mr. R. Waddington.
Mr. W. Hall, C. Engineer.
Dr. Wethered.
Mrs. Wethered.
Dr. Wilson.
Mrs. Wilson.
Revd. Mr. Woodington, (in and out.)
Mr. W. Rebsch.
Mrs. Rebsch and 5 children.
Lieut. MacGregor.
„ Jackson.
„ Oakes.
„ Barton.
„ Miller.
„ Manning.
„ Bromley.
„ Cockburn.
„ Mackenzie.
„ Dick.
„ Graham.
Lieut. Bernett.
Mr. Righie.
Serjt. O'Neil and wife.
„ Kimber and wife.
„ Brogan and wife.
„ Whiting and child.
Mr. Campbell, wife and 2 children.
„ Sinclair.
„ Cline.
„ Johnson.
„ Grant.
„ Doran and wife.
„ Hutton.
„ Palmer and wife.
„ Williams, wife and 3 children.
„ O'Donnell.
„ Hopkins.
„ Fordham.
„ E. Ridge, *Sr.*, wife and 1 child.
„ E. J. Ridge.
„ C. Ridge.
„ A. Russell, wife and 4 children.
„ W. Russell, mother and sister.
„ Little.
„ Clayton.
„ Gregory.
„ Regly.
„ Adams, wife and 1 child.
„ Banks and wife.
„ Davis, wife and 4 children.
„ Rivett, wife and 6 children.
„ E. Thompson, *Senr.*, wife and 7 children.
„ E. W. Thompson.
„ J. R. Hazle, wife and 3 children.
„ R. A. Butterfield and wife.
„ Cork, wife and 2 children.
„ Withall.
Qr. Mr. Sergt. Fox, wife and mother.

W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

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## E

*Extract Para. 1st from a letter from Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India, to the Commissioner of Saugor Division, No. 715, dated 12th February* 1858.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

1st.—In reply to your letter No. 221, dated 24th July 1857, I am now directed to state that the Hon'ble the President in Council concurs with you in your views respecting the interference of the Commissioner of Nagpore with Troops serving within the Saugor Division.

(True Extract,) W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

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## G

*Jubbulpore, 1st August* 1857.

My Dear Erskine,—With reference to my note of yesterday, and your reply in which you state your intention of consulting with Colonel Millar, regarding the halt at Jubbulpore, or immediate advance, of the Madras Movable Column, I consider it my duty to record for your consideration, and that of Colonel Millar, my firm conviction, founded not only on the conduct displayed by the great majority of the Regiments of the Bengal Army, but on my knowledge of the feelings of the 52nd in particular, that if the Column leaves Jubbulpore before some very decided success for our arms in the North West has been made manifest to the sepoys, they cannot, and *will not*, resist the summons to join the mutineers, and enrol themselves under the Rebel King. It is my opinion, that the whole Column should halt here, pending the receipt of some authentic intelligence regarding affairs in the North West; or in the event of your determining on an immediate advance, that arrangements should be made for the protection of the Station and Establishments, by leaving here, under the Command of Captain Vanrenen, of the Artillery, two of the 9-pounder guns attached to the Column, and a detail of Europeans to work them.

Two guns of the same calibre can be supplied to the Column from the Saugor Magazine, without delay or inconvenience; whereas, if we are left to be furnished with guns from Kamptee, the mischief I anticipate will most probably occur before they can reach us. You will be naturally anxious to ensure, as far as possible, the safety of the European Residents of the Station, and I am sure I need not dwell on the importance of protecting the valuable Establishments here located.

You are well aware of the great embarrassment which a break-up of the Approver Establishment alone would entail on Government, and the unaided efforts of my Police would be quite insufficient to prevent their escape, should the mutineers think proper to release them.

I send you this in a demi-official shape, to obviate the necessity for its going through the Office; but you will accept it as my deliberate opinion on a public matter, and consequently consider it a public document.

Yours very Sincerely,

J. SLEEMAN.

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## H

In the present state of affairs, and until we hear of the fall of Delhi, no Station, occupied by only Native Troops of the Bengal Army, can be considered safe.

This does not necessarily imply reflection on the 52nd now here. They have apparently been in a state of great insubordination, but appear to have calmed down, and are now quiet. Still, with the many unfortunate examples before us, reliance can scarcely be placed in any Native Regiments of this Presidency.

Under these circumstances, and considering the critical position we are placed in at Jubbulpore, and the difficulty, indeed almost impossibility of being speedily relieved during the rainy season in the event of an out-break of the Corps,—as an Artillery Officer, I give it as my deliberate opinion, that it is not at present safe to leave this Station entirely in the hands of the 52nd; and I consider it highly impolitic that the Movable Column recently arrived from Kamptee should pass on, without leaving us a single gun, or European gunner, wherewith to defend ourselves: and although it is improbable that aught I alone advance, will influence a decision on the subject, I for one most

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respectfully remonstrate against a proceeding which will leave us in so unprotected a state, which may expose this Station to loss, and our helpless women and children to certain destruction.

I consider that a calm and temperate explanation should be made both to the Commissioner, Major Erskine, and the Officer Commanding the Movable Column, with an earnest request that all the Madras Troops do not move on, at least until a reply has been received to a representation which is about to be submitted by Major Sleeman to the Governor General in Council, and pending His Lordship's decision as to the propriety, or otherwise, of the proceeding.

For many days, though not besieged, we were almost in a state of siege; throwing up intrenchments, and blockading ourselves in the Agency. Was it an imaginary danger? And against whom were these precautions taken? I was always under the belief, that it was against this very Regiment to whose tender mercies it is now proposed to leave us.

This Station should be provided with two guns manned by European gunners, and that before the Movable Column leaves the Station.

(Signed) D. C. VANRENEN, CAPTAIN,
*Artillery.*

JUBBULPORE:
*5th August* 1858.

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*Jubbulpore, 6th August* 1857.

GENTLEMEN,—The matter on which I wish to consult you to-day, is the advance or halt of the Movable Column.

Owing to the mutineers and rebellion, the whole of the Jaloun, Jhansie, Chundeyree, Saugor and Dumoh Districts, (with the exception of the Town and Fort of Saugor and the same of Dumoh) have temporarily been lost to us, and a state of fearful anarchy exists in all these Districts.

In Jubbulpore both mutiny and rebellion were expected, and at one time an invasion from Native States; but happily all these have been averted. The 52nd Regiment is behaving remarkably orderly and quietly; and by three Detachments of this Corps having marched into the District, all appearance of rebellion has been put down. The roads in every direction, with the exception of that towards Saugor, are open and perfectly safe; and so long as the 52nd remains staunch, no one I believe is afraid of any rebellion here. The question therefore, as far as regards Jubbulpore, is—is it safe to leave the Station and District to the care of the 52nd Native Infantry, whilst the Column advances?

The Column was placed at my disposal to put down rebellion and mutiny in these Territories.

Major Sleeman and Captain Vanrenen have recorded it, as their opinion, that Jubbulpore, and particularly the Europeans, will be in great danger the moment the Column leaves this; and I believe there are others who think so, and that others do not share in this feeling. The question is one of great moment, and I do not wish to decide it without fully hearing the opinions on both sides; and I therefore trust that you will either record your opinions, or allow me to do so for you.

I have already stated that the roads are open, and I particularly allude to the Deccan Road towards Mirzapore and Nagpore, so that those who may wish to send their families away, in the event of the Column marching, can do so with safety; but no doubt some cannot well afford to send their families to any great distance.

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Colonel Millar is of opinion that the Column is too small to be divided, and Brigadier Prior has expressed a hope that it may be kept together.

The Rajahs of Banpore and Shahgurh have threatened to combine their Forces and attack Saugor. Brigadier Sage and his Europeans are in the Fort of Saugor. He has no Troops available to send out; but I learn from Major Western, that the Brigadier thinks he can hold the Fort and Town of Saugor against any attack for some time.

From the Deputy Commissioner of Dumoh I learn that Brigadier Sage has allowed the Force now there, (consisting of 3 Companies of the 31st, 2 of the 42nd, 80 men of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, and 2 six-pounder guns worked by the 31st) to remain till the Movable Column reaches that Station, and that this Force is ample to defend the Fort, Station and Town of Dumoh. But it must be remembered that when the Brigadier allowed this, he was under the impression that Colonel Millar's Force was advancing; and if he now hears of its halting here, he may not deem himself justified in keeping the whole of his available Infantry at Dumoh for any length of time.

(Signed) W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

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Since this Memorandum was written, Major Erskine has read out his address to the Officers assembled, pointing out the disturbed state of the Saugor and Dumoh Districts in particular, as well as those to the North of it; and has called for the expression of an opinion, whether under such circumstances the Column should be detained here, or not.

Having already stated my opinion on the advisability of providing this Station with two guns and a detail of European Artillerymen, I still adhere to it. But if they cannot be spared, the Column I consider should not be halted, pending even a reference to the Governor General in Council; it being of great importance, that it should move on into the disturbed Districts.

I must however express a hope, that an urgent requisition will be made to Government for speedily providing us both with guns and European gunners.

(Signed) D. C. VANRENEN, CAPTAIN,
*Artillery.*

JUBBULPORE: }
*6th August* 1857. }

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Since I recorded my opinion on the 1st, regarding the extreme danger to the Station and Residents, which would attend the onward move of the Madras Column, if we are left to the protection of the 52nd Regiment only, we have heard of the mutiny of eight or nine Regiments of the Bengal Army, many of them in situations affording more reasons for their remaining staunch, than those which have been adduced as calculated to give us confidence in the 52nd. This has of course strengthened my opinion regarding the extreme danger attending the immediate onward move of the Column, without arrangements for our protection.

(Signed) J. SLEEMAN, MAJOR,
*and General Superintendent.*

*6th August* 1857.

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I do not foresee any evil result likely to follow from the march of the Movable Column from Jubbulpore, nor do I consider its remaining absolutely requisite.

(Signed) T. W. H. JAMIESON, LIEUT. COLONEL,
*Commanding at Jubbulpore.*

*6th August* 1857.

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I am of opinion that the whole of the Nagpore Movable Column should, without delay, move Northward.

(Signed) W. P. JENKINS, MAJOR,
*A. Q. M. General, Nagpore Force.*

JUBBULPORE:
*6th August* 1857.

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As regards the propriety of halting the Movable Column at this Station, I am of opinion that such a measure would have a very injurious effect upon the campaign.

As regards the danger to be apprehended from the chance of the 52nd Regiment mutining, I consider the position in which the Regiment is now placed almost a sufficient guarantee that the men will not mutiny; but I confess, as a stranger, I am hardly competent to give an opinion upon this subject. If there be any danger, the women and children ought immediately to be removed to Kamptee.

As to leaving two guns and a party of European gunners here for the protection of this Station, I have before stated that the Column is too weak already for the duties required of it, and I decidedly object to detach any portion of it whatever.

(Signed) J. MILLAR, COLONEL,
*Commanding Kamptee Movable Column.*

JUBBULPORE:
*6th August* 1857.

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I conceive it is highly desirable that some provision should be made for the protection of Jubbulpore, and that we should not place implicit confidence in the 52nd Regiment; but I am not prepared to advocate the detention of the whole of the Movable Column. I am of opinion that two guns, with nine or ten Europeans would be ample to provide for the safety of this Station.

(Signed) R. GORDON, MAJOR,
*Executive Engineer, Jubbulpore Division.*

JUBBULPORE:
*6th August* 1857.

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Having made myself acquainted with the opinions expressed on both sides of the question, as to whether the Column of Troops which has just arrived at Jubbulpore, should halt at that Station for its protection, or proceed against the insurgents, I am clearly of opinion that it would be very unadvisable to halt, and that such a proceeding would produce in the minds of the sepoys of the 52nd B. N. I., a feeling of distrust, which would in all probability produce the very evil which such measure is hoped to avert.

I am further of opinion, as it has hitherto been the belief of the men of the 52nd, that a portion of this Regiment was to accompany the Column; that some small part of the Regiment, say one or two Companies, should join it; but as the advisability of such a measure must depend very much upon the temper of the Madras Troops on this point, the opinion of the Officer Commanding the Madras Column should of course have the greatest weight.

(Signed) S. O. E. LUDLOW.

*6th August* 1857.

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The objections urged against the advance of the Madras Column are that, from the present state of affairs in the North Western Provinces, from the spirit shown there by the great majority of the Bengal Army, and from the state of insubordination in which the 52nd B. N. I. has been for some

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time past. It is probable, indeed most probable, that on the Madras Column advancing, the 52nd will mutiny, thus causing the sacrifice of the European residents, including the women and children, the loss of the Thuggee Establishments, and the disorganization of the District.

I am not aware that the 52nd B. N. I. have as yet shown any insubordination. It is true that on one occasion, on the spreading of a false report of the arrival of European Troops, part of the sepoys rushed to their Bells of Arms, intending to take possession of their arms; which however, on its being clearly explained that no Europeans were coming, they refrained from doing. As however I have lately been absent from Jubbulpore, acts of insubordination may have occurred of which I have no knowledge; but the particular acts should be stated.

In the present state of the Bengal Army, I do not think that any Regiment which refrains from mutiny, will do so through pure feelings of loyalty: if it does refrain, it will be from local influences and self interest, and I think that these two causes will act sufficiently powerfully on the 52nd B. N. I. to prevent their mutinying. When the Madras Column advances, it will be by the Saugor Road, thus intercepting all communication between the 52nd B. N. I. and the Saugor Force, which latter moreover has already acted against both mutineers and rebels, and has killed many of them. If the 52nd, having mutinied, were to attempt to make off by the Mirzapore Road, they would have upwards of 250 miles to march, first through the Jubbulpore District, in which their route would be through a country intersected by many difficult streams and nullahs, and then through Native States presenting similar obstacles, of which States the head of the most powerful one, the Rajah of Rewah, is decidedly in favor of the British Government, and has already actively shown himself to be so. The Nursingpore Road is closed by the Nerbudda and the Madras Force at Nursingpore. Regarding the Nagpore and Mundlah Roads, it is unnecessary to say any thing. The Madras Column, which for the next month will be at or near Dumoh, could, on the news of a mutiny, at once intercept the mutinous Regiment on its attempt to move off. The sepoys of the 52nd are well acquainted with all these facts; and even if they were inclined to mutiny, I think the above reasons are sufficiently weighty to prevent their doing so. The sepoys of the 52nd, once the Madras Column moves on, will clearly be satisfied that there is no intention of injuring or disarming them; and this cause for mutiny,—which in the cases that have lately occurred seems to have been the moving one,—will no longer exist. If the 52nd had intended to mutiny, they would have done so when the Madras Column left Seonee and before it arrived at the Nerbudda.

The fact of the English Force having occupied Allahabad and Cawnpore, must also be well known here.

It will thus be seen that, in my opinion, no danger will ensue to any one from the advance of the Madras Column; but even if there were a chance of danger, I think that the reasons for an advance are so urgent that an advance ought to be made. At present it is well known that the Saugor and Dumoh Districts are lost, save the Sudder Stations: those Districts are in the possession of the Shahgurh and Banpore Rajahs, who now threaten the Forts and Towns of Saugor and Dumoh, while the British Forces at both places are unable to keep the field. A Government in such a position cannot remain inactive: to do so, is to retrograde. If immediate active operations are not taken, the insurrection will undoubtedly spread and extend to the Jubbulpore and Nursingpore Districts; and the Dumoh Detachment, which, when I last heard of it, had only 40 rounds a gun, will be greatly endangered. The advance of the Madras Column to Dumoh and Saugor was publicly given out; and if it does not advance, it will be believed that Government have no Troops and cannot act; and those Chiefs and others in or near these Territories, now faithful or wavering, will be shaken in their allegiance, or join the rebels.

The Madras Column will never be more than six forced marches from Jubbulpore; and if mutiny should occur there, the Column, even if the rivers

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were up, could be back again before much danger was done, and in time to prevent the District rising, and to take a revenge on the mutineers. As the Agency House is well fortified against any thing that could be brought against it save guns, and as there are no guns that can be brought against it, the European residents could certainly hold out in it against the 52nd, which number less than 400 men at Jubbulpore, until the Madras Column returned. The roads to Kamptee and Nursingpore are both open and quite safe, and these places of safety are easily available for the ladies, women and children, and no consideration for their safety need hamper the Military movements. Many of the Thuggee prisoners and approvers are so old and infirm, that they are no longer dangerous; those who are considered dangerous characters, could be sent to Kamptee and elsewhere, thus removing any apprehension of their possible release.

JUBBULPORE: 6*th August* 1857.

(Signed) F. D. PINKNEY, CAPTAIN,
*Deputy Commissioner.*

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## I

*Translation of Hindee Verse.*

Shut the mouth of slanderers, bite and eat up backbiters, trample down the sinners, you, "Sutesingharkha!"—(one of the names of "Devee," implying here, destroyer of the enemy.)

Kill the British, exterminate them, "Mat Chundee!"—(another of the names of the Goddess "Devee.")

Let not the enemy escape, nor the wives and children of such, Oh! "Singharkha!"—(another of the Goddess "Devee's" names.)

Shew favor to Shunker,
Support your slave,
Listen to the cry of religion,
"Mathalka!"—(another of the Goddess "Devee's" names.)
Eat up the uncleans,
Make no delay;
Now devour them,
And that quickly,
"Ghormàt Kalka!"—(another of the Goddess "Devee's" names.)

(Free Translation,)

W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

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## J

*List of Lullutpore Officers, &c.*

Lieutenant A. C. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner.
Captain Sale, Commanding 6th Regt. Gwalior Contingent.
Doctor O'Brien, Surgeon, ditto ditto.
Captain Irwin, 2nd in Command, ditto ditto.
Mrs. Irwin and 2 children.
Mr. Verrieres, Customs Patrol.
Quarter Master Sergeant Carroll, 2nd Regt. Gwalior Contingent.
Mrs. Carroll.

W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

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# K

At a Council of War, composed of Colonel Millar, Major Erskine, Major Jenkins, Captain Ludlow, Captain Pinkney, and Lieutenant Nembhard, assembled at Dumoh on the 20th September 1857, after disarming the 2 Companies of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, which accompanied the Madras Field Force, the Commissioner laid before the Council two notes marked A. and B., and the following view of the state of affairs upon which the subjoined resolutions were agreed to.

Authentic intelligence having been received that the 50th Bengal Native Infantry have mutinied at Nagode and joined the Dinapore mutineers who arrived there from Banda, and that the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry have mutinied at Jubbulpore and gone off with their arms and 40 rounds per man, with the supposed intention of joining some disaffected Thakoors on the lower Herun in the Jubbulpore District, there will thus remain for the protection of the Dumoh and Jubbulpore Districts, and to cover those to the South of the Nerbudda only, the Troops shown in the margin,* of which the Rifles are not altogether to be depended on, and may probably have to be disarmed. The total reliable Force is thus 500 Infantry and 80 Cavalry, including sick, and six guns.

* *At Jubbulpore.*

165 R. and F. of 33rd M. N. I.; 40 Sabres of the 4th M. L. C.; 2 guns with European Gunners.

*Madras Field Force at Dumoh.*

225 R. and F. of the 33rd M. N. I.; 110 R. and F. of the 28th M. N. I.; 40 Sabres of the 4th M. L. C.; 4 guns with European Gunners; 91 R. and F. of Nagpore Rifles.

*In Garrison at Dumoh.*

200 R. and F. of 31st B. N. I.

The Dumoh District is nearly all lying waste in consequence of the rebellion, and has been plundered from one end to the other by the rebels.

Dumoh Khas is a large open Town, 45 miles from Saugor, and 65 from Jubbulpore. It cannot be defended by 200 men without guns, and the Jail Fort is commanded by a hill within jinjal shot. The Jubbulpore District has as yet in no ways suffered from rebellion, and cultivation is going on as usual. Jubbulpore itself is a large commercial Town and Cantonment perfectly open, for the defence of which the 165 infantry and 40 sabres and 2 guns now there, are not sufficient. It is also situated near the north bank of the Nerbudda, and above midway on the high road between Nagpore and Mirzapore, which is also the main dâk road between Calcutta and Bombay. In the event of this District remaining staunch and uninjured, Forces operating to the south of Allahabad and Bundelkund will probably be in a great part supplied with grain from this and the Districts to the north of the Nerbudda. Although insurrection has not actually as yet broken out in the Jubbulpore District, yet disaffection exists to a considerable extent, and only a few days ago a deep-laid conspiracy to murder the Europeans and raise the country was discovered by the Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant Clerk, and happily nipped in the bud. It is not improbable but that the 50th and 52nd will join the Dinapore mutineers in an attempt to attack and plunder the Town and District.

It thus becomes necessary to decide on the following points:—

1st.—Shall Dumoh be held or abandoned?

Unanimously determined that it shall be abandoned; that the Civil Officers and Treasure shall accompany the Madras Column, which will return to defend Jubbulpore; that the stamps be destroyed; and that, as it is impossible to remove the records, only the Treasury Accounts be taken away. The 200 of the 31st Bengal Native Infantry, now garrisoning Dumoh, will retire to Saugor and join their Head Quarters.

2nd.—How is the Dumoh District to be temporarily disposed of?

That Koour Shamleyjoo, an Officer of the Punnah Rajah, now holding Hutta with a considerable Force for the British Government, be requested to take charge of the District; that the Police hold the Jail and Jail Fort until

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his arrival, which will probably be to-morrow, when they can follow the 31st to Saugor.

3rd.—What is to be done with the disarmed men of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry in Camp?

As these men have up to this time acted against the rebels and behaved well, their lives would be greatly endangered by being left in this District disarmed; therefore it is the opinion of all, save Captain Ludlow, that they should accompany the Madras Column to Jubbulpore. Captain Ludlow is of opinion that they will encumber the Madras Column, and that they should be sent to Saugor with the 31st Bengal Native Infantry.

4th.—Shall the Rifles be disarmed?

As up to this time the Rifles have behaved well, as the letters charging them with disaffection contain only assertions without proofs or particulars, as disarming them, save for any grave reasons, may seriously compromise the Nagpore Authorities, it is unanimously decided that the Rifles be not as yet disarmed, but that they be well looked after; and in case of our meeting mutineers, the question of their being disarmed be again considered.

(Signed)
J. MILLAR, COLONEL,
*Commanding K. M. Column.*
W. C. ERSKINE, MAJOR,
*Commissioner, Saugor Division.*
W. A. P. JENKINS, MAJOR,
*Dy. Asst. Qr. Mr. General.*

(Signed)
S. O. E. LUDLOW, CAPTAIN,
*Chief Engineer.*
F. W. PINKNEY, CAPTAIN,
*Officiating Sessions Judge.*
W. NEMBHARD, LIEUTENANT,
*Deputy Commissioner, Dumoh.*

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## L

No. 69.

To

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE ARMY,
FORT SAINT GEORGE.

SIR,

I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that, thanks be to God, the Kamptee Movable Column gained a complete and decisive victory over the mutineers of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, numbering about 500 Rank and File, and 1000 insurgent matchlock men, on the 27th September 1857.

The 52nd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry having mutinied at Jubbulpore, it was decided that the Town and District of Dumoh should be abandoned by regular Troops, and that the Movable Column under my Command, strength as per margin,* having disarmed the Detachment of the Bengal 52nd Native Infantry serving with the Column, and taking with it the Dumoh Treasure amounting to upwards of a lakh of Rupees, and the arms and ammunition of the disarmed men, should retire to defend Jubbulpore.

* 4th M. L. C.; 42 Rank and File, under Lieutenant Burnet.
D. Coy. 3 Battn. Madras Artillery; 4 guns, under Captain Jones and Lieut. Caine.
28th M. N. I.; 105 Rank and File, under Captain Yates.
33rd M. N. I.; 238 Rank and File, under Lieut. Bennell.
Rifle Company Nagpore Irr. Infy; 81 Rank and File, under Lieut. Pereira.

The Column left Dumoh on the 21st instant, and after having been delayed in crossing the Nowtah River for three days, reached Singrampore on the evening of the 26th September, where intelligence was received that the

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mutineers 52nd Regt. Bengal Native Infantry, numbering about 500 Rank and File, had taken up a position at Konee, on the west of Herun River, about 12 miles below Kuttungee.

As there was a probability that the mutineers might seize and destroy the boats on the Herun at Kuttungee, on the road to Jubbulpore, I despatched at 2 A. M. on the 27th instant, a party under Lieutenant Watson, strength as per margin,* to secure the boats above referred to. This party was accompanied by Major Jenkins, Assistant Quarter Master General.

* 1 Company 33rd M. N. I.; 12 Troopers 4th Madras Cavalry.

At 5 A. M. on the 27th, just as the Column was preparing to march, two Troopers galloped into Camp, with the intelligence that the advanced party had been surprised by the 52nd mutineers, that the two Officers had been killed, and the party retreating on our Camp; I forthwith gave the order to march, and pushed on through a jungly country with a party and took possession of the village of Gobra, about three miles in advance of Singrampore, and which commands the mouth of the Pass, and to the north of which the ground is open. I waited there a short time for the guns and main body to join me. Shortly after the guns came up, the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry were seen marching along the road in column of sections. Two guns were fired into them, on which they left the road and advanced against us in the jungle on both sides, accompanied by the matchlock men. As the position the guns at first took up was too much exposed to fire from the jungle, and the enemy were evidently endeavouring to steal round our Flanks, I retired about 200 yards close to the village and took up a more favourable position, where the ground was a little more open. I kept the guns on the road, occupied the village and the jungle right and left with my Infantry, and posted the Cavalry in rear of the left, where the ground was open. After a brisk fire, which lasted for about half an hour, the enemy were driven back. The baggage having now closed up, I placed the Treasure guarded by the 33rd in rear of the guns. Threw out a strong body of skirmishers from the 23rd on the right, a little in front of the leading gun, and another line of skirmishers from the 28th and 33rd on the left, leaving one Company of the 28th with the Park, and the Rifles to protect the baggage and rear. In this order we advanced slowly through three or four miles of very jungly country, driving the enemy before us and halting occasionally to give them a few rounds from our guns.

On reaching the open country near Kuttungee, I pushed on the Cavalry to feel for the enemy, who were discovered making off up the hills with their baggage in rear of the Town. From the nature of the ground the Cavalry could not follow them, and before the Infantry arrived the greater number had effected their escape. The Rifles and parties from the 28th and 33rd however succeeded in killing some, and taking a few prisoners on the hill, and also in the Town, who were afterwards hanged.

On our approaching Kuttungee we were agreeably surprised by Major Jenkins and Lieutenant Watson riding up to the Column; they had succeeded in cutting their way through the ambuscade in the dark, and had concealed themselves on the hills until the advance of the Column enabled them to rejoin us. Lieutenant Watson, I regret, was wounded on the cheek by a musket ball, and knocked off his horse. His escape was most miraculous. Major Jenkins's charger had two bullets through him, and is not likely to survive.

At the entrance to the Town was found lying on the public road the body of Captain Macgregor, of the 52nd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, with his throat cut, a shot in his breast, and a bayonet wound in his body, whom the mutineers having made prisoner on the occasion of their mutiny, had murdered at 3 A. M. before they proceeded to attack us.

My movements during the above operations were much hampered by having to keep an eye on the 120 disarmed men of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, who accompanied the Column, and by the Treasure, large amount of baggage, and people retiring with us from Dumoh.

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The whole Force behaved well, and proved incontestibly that the Madras sepoy has no sympathy with the Bengal mutineer.

The Cavalry were very forward in pursuit of the enemy, and followed them up the side of the hill, capturing some of their baggage.

The Rifle Company of the 1st Nagpore Irregular Infantry were very active in ascending the hill, and captured a Color Havildar of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, who was one of the chief ringleaders of the mutiny. I enlose Lieutenant Pereira's report on this subject, and beg to inform you that the Commissioner has promoted the Havildar therein mentioned to Jemadar, and that I have promoted the two sepoys to Havildars.

I feel much indebted to all the European Officers, and the conduct of the European Gunners was most exemplary.

I beg to add, that I received every assistance from Captain Ludlow, Field Engineer, and from Captain Harrison, Officiating Sub-Assistant Commissary General, who acted as my Staff, and from Captain Pinkney, 34th Regt. M. N. I., Deputy Commissioner, who was constantly with me, and whose knowledge of the localities enabled him to be of great service.

I enclose a medical return of casualties.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. MILLAR, Colonel,

*Commanding Kamptee Movable Column.*

Camp Kuttungee:
*The 28th September* 1857.

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*Nominal List of Killed and Wounded in the Action on the 27th September* 1857.

| Co. & No. | | Rank and Name. | Remarks. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Wounded. | |
| | | *33rd Regiment Native Infantry.* | |
| | | Lieutenant H. Watson, ... ... ... ... | slightly. |
| P. | 1254 | Private Sheik Esmall, ... ... ... ... | severely. |
| | | *Detachment 4th Light Cavalry.* | |
| F. | 19 | Trumpeter G. Cartwright, ... ... ... | mortally, since dead. |
| F. | 385 | Private Singojeeram, ... ... ... ... | slightly. |
| | | *Public Followers.* | |
| | One | Commissariat Bullock Driver, ... ... | severely. |
| | | *Private Followers.* | |
| | | Killed, one. | |
| | | Wounded, one, severely. | |

(Signed) H. ADAM,
*Asst. Surgeon.*

Camp at Kuttungee:
*28th September* 1857.

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## N

*Nominal Roll of Europeans, Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers, Buglers, &c. present with the Head Quarters at Saugor.*

Brigadier W. Sage, Commanding Saugor District.
" Lieut.-Colonel J. Dalyell. Killed at Nurreaolee, 42nd N. I.
Major W. Lamb, A. A. General.
" D. Gaussen, Commanding 42nd N. I. } Constantly out on
" W. P. Hampton, ditto 31st N. I. } duty with Troops.
" W. B. Legard, 31st N. I.
Captain R. H. Sale, 6th I. S. Contingent. A Lullutpore refugee. Out with Troops.
" H. C. Roberts, 31st N. I.
" R. G. Mayne, Commanding 3rd Irregular Cavalry.
" H. Finch, 31st N. I. Generally out with Troops.
" W. B. Marshall, Commanding Artillery.
" W. B. Irwin, 6th I. S. Contingent. A Lullutpore refugee.
" E. V. H. Holt, 42nd N. I. } Out with
" W. L. Jones. Proceeded on sick leave, 42nd N. I. } Troops
" } often.

Lieutenant A. Ellis, Interpreter Quarter Master, 31st N. I.
" E. A. Dickens, 31st N. I.
" C. W. Peter, Adjutant, 42nd N. I.
" J. E. D. Wilson, 42nd N. I.
" J. G. Campbell, 42nd N. I.
" H. Fellows, Adjutant, 31st N. I.
" E. E. Litchfield, 42nd N. I.
" A. E. Campbell, 31st N. I.
" S. S. Sutherland, 42nd N. I.
" C. R. Cock, 42nd N. I.
" } Often out with Troops.

Ensign 2nd Lieutenant F. V. Eyre, Artillery.
" J. W. Grant, 42nd N. I. Often out with Troops.
Surgeon E. B. Thring, 31st N. I.
Assistant Surgeon J. G. Kemp, M. D., 3rd I. C.
" E. Tyler, 42nd N. I.
" P. O'Brien, 6th I. S. Contingent.
" J. Ince, M. D., Artillery.
Staff Officer, Supg. Surgeon, J. Greig. Left the Fort before the relief.
" Lieutenant P. Prior, Executive Engineer.
" Lieutenant C. S. W. Ogilvie, Sub-Assistant Commissary General.
" Lieutenant T. Nicholl, Commissary of Ordnance.
Depy. Commr. Major W. C. Western. Went out with Troops.
" Captain W. Pinkney. Proceeded to Jubbulpore; was a few days in Fort.
" Lieutenant W. C. Hamilton. Went out with Troops.
" Mr. W. G. B. Tyler.
" H. Reade.
Surveyor, Captain J. W. B. Blagrave. Died in the Fort.
" Lieutenant E. H. Willoughby.
" Mr. Wilson.
" " Burrowes.
" " Vyall.
" " A. Bonney.
" " G. Bonney.
Chaplain, Revd. Gavin.
Inspector of Schools, Mr. Hall.
School master, Mr. Wiggins. Left the Fort long before the relief.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Customs Establishment, | Mr. and Mrs. Bell. | Frequently out with his Peons. |
| ,, | ,, Bartee, | |
| ,, | ,, and Mrs. Lawson. | |
| ,, | ,, Hamilton. | |
| ,, | ,, Dutton. | |
| ,, | ,, Naylor. | |
| ,, | ,, Varriers. | |
| ,, | ,, Fleming. | |
| ,, | ,, Megill. | |
| ,, | ,, Morgan. | |
| ,, | ,, Fenwick. | |
| Sergeant Major | P. Riordan, 31st N. I. | |
| ,, | Gill, 42nd N. I. Invalided. | |
| Quarter Master Sergeant | Gill, 42nd N. I. | |
| ,, | Carroll, 6th I. S. Cont. | A Lullutpore refugee. |
| ,, | Gardener, 31st N. I. | |
| Band Master | Robins, 42nd N. I. | |
| Mr. | Bachman, Schoolmaster. | |
| Conductor | O'Keiff, Bengal. | |
| ,, | Palphreyman, do. | |
| ,, | Donne, Madras. | |
| ,, | Kihoe, do. | |
| ,, | James, do. | |
| ,, | King, do. | |
| ,, | Smart, do. | |
| ,, | Wood, do. | |
| Sub-Conductor | Scamiell, do. | |
| Sergeant | Liddy, do. | |
| ,, | Webster, do. | |
| ,, | Hobbs, Bengal. | |
| ,, | McCollogh, do. | |
| ,, | Dempter, do. | |
| Mr. | Norris, Head Clerk Magazine Office. | |
| ,, | Wilkinson, Department Public Works. | |
| ,, | Carroll, Madras Pensioner. | |
| Bugle Major | Silver. | 42nd N. I. |
| ,, | Hannay. | |
| Bugler | Delima. | |
| ,, | Angelvie. | |
| ,, | Scott. | |
| ,, | Hastings. | |
| ,, | Arbur. | |
| ,, | Allen. | |
| ,, | Francis. | |
| ,, | Gill. | |
| Fife Major | McQueen. | 31st N. I. |
| ,, | Baptist. | |
| Drummer | Perkins. | |
| ,, | Williams. | |
| ,, | Lainoss. | |
| ,, | Williams. | |
| Drum Major | Baptist. | |
| ,, ,, | Duplest. | |
| ,, ,, | White. | |
| ,, ,, | Lindsay. | |
| ,, ,, | White. Died in the Fort. | |
| ,, ,, | Massey. | |
| ,, ,, | Seymor. | |
| ,, ,, | Thomas. | |
| ,, ,, | Williams. | |
| Bugler | E. J. Caston. | 42nd N. I. |

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*Names of Women and Children.*

Mrs. Western and 1 child.
„ Tyler and 2 children. One child died in the Fort.
„ Hamilton and 1 son. Left the Fort before the relief.
„ Read and 5 children.
„ Dalyell.
„ Finch and 1 child. Child died in the Fort.
„ Fellowes and 1 child.
„ Thring and 2 children.
Miss Thring.
Mrs. Marshal and 2 children.
„ Mayne and 4 children.
„ Kemp and 4 children.
„ Bell and 3 children.
„ Lamb and 2 children.
2 Misses Lamb.
Mrs. Donne and 5 children.
„ James and 4 children. Mrs. James died in the Fort.
„ King and 3 sons.
„ Hobbs.
„ Smart and 4 children.
„ Wood and 7 children.
„ Scamiell and 5 children.
„ Nicholl and child.
„ Tyddy and 4 children.
„ Webster and 1 child.
„ Palphreyman.

Mrs. O'Kieff and 2 children.
„ Dempster and 2 children.
„ Norris and 1 son.
„ Wilkinson and 3 children.
„ John Johnson, brother-in-law.
„ Riordan.
„ Gill and 4 sons.
„ Robans and 4 sons.
„ Hannay.
„ Angelo and 1 son.
„ Silva.
Miss Silva.
Mrs. Scott and 1 child.
„ Francis.
„ Bachman and 6 children. One child died on the 2nd Feby.
„ Gavin and 5 children.
„ Ogilvie and 2 sons.
„ Holt.
„ Riordan.
„ Baptist and 5 children.
„ White and 1 child.
„ Williams and 1 child.
„ Thomas and 2 children.
„ McQueen.
„ White and 1 child.
„ Masseh and 1 child.
„ Baptist and 3 children.
„ Willoughby.

ABSTRACT.

| | *Men.* | *Women.* | *Children.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 113 | 53 | 104 |
| Artillery 1st Co. 3rd Bn. | 60 | 14 | 26 |
| Total, | 173 | 67 | 130 |

Omitted.—Mrs. Lawson and 2 children, both died.

(Signed) W. SAGE, BRIGADIER,
*Commanding at Saugor.*
„ W. LAMB, MAJOR,
*A. A. General.*

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*Nominal Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the 1st Company, 3rd Battalion Artillery, with Ladies, Women nad Children, attached to ditto.*

SAUGOR FORT, 2ND FEBRUARY 1858.

Captain W. B. Marshall.
2nd Lieutenant F. V. Eyre.
Mrs. Marshall.
William Simpson Marshall. } Children.
Francis George Marshall. }
Sergeant John Brown and 2 children, 1 since dead of small-pox.
„ James Davidson, wife and 3 children.
„ George Foster, wife and 2 children.
„ James Kennedy.

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Sergeant Edmund Macrae. At Meerut in A. A. G. A.'s Office.
" Thomas Rodgers, Staff Sergeant.
Corporal Thomas Dwyer.
" Daniel Kirby.
" Michael Mayne.
" Francis Pewn.
" Timothy Ivory.
Bombardier George Chambre.
" John Dunn.
" William Evans, wife and 2 children, 1 since dead.
" Peter Ellis.
" John Hardman.
" John Brown.
Bugler William McCarthy, wife and 4 children.
" Daniel Healy.
Half-pay Bugler Thomas Lloyd.
Gunner Thomas Anderson. In Band at Meerut.
" William Atkins.
" Richard Brown.
" James Boyle.
" Jonathan Boucher.
" John Cathcart. In Band at Meerut.
" Michael Cavanagh, wife and 1 child.
" John Colins.
" Daniel Crowhy.
" Michael Caulfield.
" James Coltam. At Darjeeling.
" John Campion.
" James Conway.
" Arthur Fahey.
" Patrick Fox.
" James Glenn and wife.
" John Halliday.
" William Heador.
" James Hannaghune, wife and child.
" Richard Hume.
" Edward Higgins.
" George Hicks.
" William Kevile.
" Timothy Kelly.
" Lawrence Lyons.
" Thomas Moody.
" Michael Madden. At Darjeeling.
" James Madden, wife and 2 children, 1 child since dead.
" Edward Malone.
" James McMauns.
" Joseph McCoffery.
" James Morrow, wife and 2 children, 1 child since dead.
" Charles Newman, wife and child.
" James O'Donnel.
" John O'Hanlon.
" Henry Owens, wife (absent) and 1 child (present.)
" Charles O'Hara.
" Patrick Quilligan.
" James Read.
" James Shaw.
" James Stuart.
" Lawrence Stack, wife and child.
" Francis Taylor. } At Darjeeling.
" Charles Smyth. }
Doing-duty Corporal Robert Bankier.
" John W. Warnert, wife, and child since dead.
Gunner John Marshall.

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*Names of Men who have died since arrival in the Fort.*

Staff Sergeant James Williams.
Sergeant Michael Blanchfield.
„ Jacob Brown.
} Died in Hospital.

Gunner James Hogan.
„ Henry Howard.
} Died in Hospital.

„ James McGreary. Killed by rebels in action at Bhapyle.
„ Joseph Lockhart.
„ John Lumoot.
„ Thomas Wilson. Died in Hospital, of small-pox.

*Women attached to the Company and left Widows.*

Mrs. Blanchfield, and 5 children.
Mrs. Williams, and 2 children.

*Medical Establishment.*

Assistant Surgeon John Ince, M. D.
Steward Peter McDonald, wife and 4 children, 1 child since dead.
Apprentice George H. Jackson.
„ Henry C. Mathew.
„ George E. Carroll.

ABSTRACT.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Officers | 2 | Officers, | Included in the General List. |
| Lady | 1 | | |
| Children | 2 | | |
| Men | 60 | | |
| Women | 14 | | |
| Children | 26 | | |

*Hospital Establishment.*

| Men. | Women. | Children. |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | 1 | 3 |

(Signed) W. B. MARSHALL,
*Commanding ⅓ Artillery.*
„ W. SAGE, BRIGADIER,
*Comdg. Saugor District.*

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*Memorandum of the state of Districts in the Jubbulpore Division.*
*6th February* 1858.

SEONEE.

Perfectly quiet; was for a short time troubled by rebels from Jubbuldore and Mundlah. Garrison:—A Company of Nagpore Infantry.

MUNDLAH.

The whole of the petty Chiefs are in rebellion. Their followers are chiefly Gonds, most of them armed with matchlocks. They have their Head Quarters at Sohagpore, Ramgurh, and Shaipore. At the two former places there are small but strong Forts, and each Fort has a few small guns. Nearly the whole country is a wild and hilly jungle. A small native Force from the Nagpore Provinces lately went to Sohagpore and attacked it; but owing to the trails of both guns breaking, the Officer in Command withdrew and returned to Raipore. A Company of Nagpore Irregular Infantry is at present stationed at Mundlah with the Deputy Commissioner.

JUBBULPORE.

With the exception of the part of the District immediately around the Town, and also the open Plain to the west of the Town and lying between it, the Nerbudda and Herun Rivers, known as the Huvilee, has been nearly devas-

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tated by local rebels, and also by the invasion of others from Nursingpore, Dumoh and Mundlah. The open country has been nearly cleared of these scoundrels, but they lie concealed as yet in considerable bodies in the thick jungly hills to the right and left of the Deccan (or Mirzapore) Road and threaten to cut off the postal communication between Jubbulpore and Mirzapore whenever Troops are withdrawn from the road; and the only Town of note which has escaped plunder on this road, is Sehora, near to which a small body of Troops has been kept on the move, and owing to these arrangements the postal communication has lately been re-opened with Rewah and the North West. The Force now on the road consists of 1 Company of the 26th Madras Native Infantry, 2 weak Companies of the 28th Madras Native Infantry, two 9-pounders of the Horse Field Battery, and Captain Macintire's Squadron of the Hyderabad Cavalry. This road runs through the Pergunnahs of Jubbulpore, Sehora and Saleemabad, all of which are infested with rebels in the hilly parts. The Kuttungee Pergunnah (to the North of the river Herun) is also infested with rebels, and the whole of it is hilly and jungly. The direct road to Dumoh and Saugor runs through this wild tract. The former Garrison of Jubbulpore consisted of the 52nd Bengal Native Infantry, and there are still 120 disarmed men of this Regiment in the Station.

## NAGODE.

This District is composed of 4 Native States under British arrangement, viz., Nagode, (or Oocheyra,) Sohawul, Myhere and Bijiragogurh. The former State is partially disturbed by some of the subordinate Oobareedars or Sirdars, but to no great extent. The 2nd is quiet. The Chief of the 3rd is a boy at school at Agra, but his uncles rose in rebellion. At my request (when we had no available Troops), the Rajah of Rewah attacked the Fort and walled Town of Myhere, which the Chief's uncles had seized, and succeeded in taking both; but the chief rebels escaped, and are still at large with a few armed followers. The Chief of the 4th (Bijiragogurh) rose in open rebellion, killed our Native Civil Officers attached to him, raised an Army, strengthened his Forts, stole our dâks and dâk horses, posted Detachments on the Deccan Road which runs through his estate; attacked our Detachment on the road, in which fight he was defeated and lost two guns, and for months succeeded in closing the road. But lately the Rajah of Rewah has, at my request, (made when we had no Troops to detach) taken his two Forts, nearly all his guns, ammunition, &c.; but the Chief escaped to the jungles, and will no doubt cause much trouble, and will endeavour to regain his Jageer (which I have confiscated) when no longer protected by Troops. The Rewah Rajah has done us good service, but his nobles are not to be depended on, and will not, I am assured by the Political Agent, believe that we have any European Troops or reliable Force, and are inflated with pride at their own prowess. The Rajah is for the present garrisoning the Myhere and Bijiragogurh Forts for us, and also guarding the Deccan Road from Chaka to the Kuttra Pass. A Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry was stationed at Nagode, but mutinied.

## DUMOH.

This District has been overrun and plundered chiefly by followers and soldiers of the Rebel Rajah of Shahgurh, and also by local rebels who joined him. It was found impossible to retain charge of this District after the mutiny of the 50th and 52nd Regiments Bengal Native Infantry, as there were no available Troops, and it must either have been left to anarchy or made over to the charge of some Native Chief. I adopted the latter course, and made it over to the Rajah of Punnah, who holds it for us and will deliver it over to us when called on to do so. The Garrison in peaceful times was only 2 Companies of Infantry, an obviously inadequate Force to restore order and protect it now.

## SAUGOR.

With the exception of the Fort and Town of Saugor, the whole District was overrun and plundered by local rebels, and from without, and the old Forts in the interior taken from our Police. The 52nd mutineers also are still in the

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jungles in the District, and until the arrival of General Rose's Force, every thing was in a state of anarchy; but as General Rose will I believe quell all present disturbances, though he will not leave reliable Troops there, I fear, I need only say that the former Garrison consisted of 1 Company and Battery of European Artillery, 1 Regiment of Cavalry and 2 Regiments of Infantry, minus 2 Companies at Dumoh, and that of these there now remains the European Company of Artillery (weak), some 150 of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, some 700 of the 31st Regt. N. I., and 200 of the 42nd, all armed.

HOSHUNGABAD.

Perfectly quiet, except occasional plundering in the Pergunnah to the north of the Nerbudda.

NURSINGPORE.

All quiet, except occasional inroads of rebels from Saugor and Bhopal, and a few local rebels in the Pergunnah north of the Nerbudda.

BAITOOL.

Perfectly quiet.

CHUNDEYREE, JHANSIE, AND JALOUN.

Not in our possession. From the foregoing it will be seen that every portion of my Division to the south of the Nerbudda is now in perfect peace, but that the Districts to the north of the River are more or less disturbed, and that three last named have no Government at all.

In my opinion the first thing to be done after leaving a proper Garrison at Jubbulpore is to attack the Jubbulpore rebels and re-occupy Dumoh, and that this should be done by two Columns, one (the main one) proceeding up the Deccan Road as far as Jokaie, attacking the rebels wherever they may be found and destroying their strongholds, and giving the Rewah Rajah's rabble Troops an opportunity of seeing a fine strong Force of Europeans and guns. This Column should then take the road from Jokaie to Dumoh.

The 2nd, a smaller Column, should advance direct on Dumoh viâ Kuttungee, attacking the rebels on the way, and halt there till the arrival of the main Column, when after leaving an adequate Garrison it should proceed to Saugor, and thence as circumstances may require. In this way we should, I think, clear the Division of minor rebels and restore confidence, leaving the leaders to be hunted down by the Police when deserted by their followers.

If any portion of the Force returns to Jubbulpore, part might come by Dumoh and the rest by Nursingpore.

(Signed) W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner.*

*(Sketch omitted.)*

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P

No. 20.

To MAJOR W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division.*

SIR,

I now beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 6th instant, with its accompanying memorandum.

2nd. With every desire to carry into operation my contemplated movement on Saugor in two columns, I feel, after mature consideration, that my

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Force is too small to admit of its being separated, and that its movement in one body would have a more beneficial effect throughout your District.

3rd. The Detachment of Native Infantry, comprising almost the whole of the 50th Regiment, which I think essential to leave at Jubbulpore, completely cripples me in that arm; and I must add to the above, 4 guns of the Bullock Battery, and a Detachment of Irregular Horse.

4th. The direct route to Saugor by Dumoh can be shortly marched over by a large body of European Artillery, with a portion of guns which have been ordered to move with all expedition to Jubbulpore; but I consider from the many communications I have had with yourself, as well as from the various letters which you have permitted me to peruse from Officers in your Department, that the present movement of my Column on Jokaie would be attended with the most important results by affording a display of the combined Force before the Rewah Rajah.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. C. WHITLOCK, Major General,
*Comdg. Saugor Field Division.*

Division Head Quarters:
Camp Jubbulpore,
*The 15th February* 1858.

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## Q

No. 76 of 1858.

To Major W. C. ERSKINE,
*Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division.*

Sir,

In acknowledging the receipt of your letters No. 131 and 132 of the 19th and 20th instant, I beg to state that I consider the measure therein suggested as most desirable, and had I time, and Troops sufficient to enable me to detach a portion to carry into effect the proposed work, I would willingly give this assistance; but it is quite out of my power for the present.

Since the receipt of your communication of the 19th instant, I have learnt from an Officer present at the destruction of the Fort at Ramnuggur, that it has been so effectually demolished that it can no longer afford shelter for the rebels, and I have recommended Lieutenant Pereira of the Nagpore Irregular Rifle Company to avail himself of the first opportunity of destroying the Fort at Bhatgaon. I have ordered him to be supplied with powder for the purpose, and on the arrival of the guns from Jubbulpore, there will be no difficulty in levelling it to the ground in a few hours.

I perfectly concur with you that a free communication between Jubbulpore and Mirzapore is a measure of such importance, that it would be wrong to rnn the slightest risk of its being again closed. From conversation with yourself, as well as the Officer who has been employed on this duty, I am satisfied that the presence of Troops is required to accomplish this measure; I have therefore placed myself in communication with Brigadier Prior, Commanding the Nagpore Force, and recommended strongly that the 2 Companies of the 28th Regiment Native Infantry now here be not withdrawn.

The Rifle Company should be also retained, and I have ordered 2 guns from Jubbulpore, and I have left behind 35 Rank and File of the Hyderabad Irregular Cavalry.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. C. WHITLOCK, Major General,
*Commanding Saugor Field Division.*

Camp at Piprode:
*The 22nd February* 1858.

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# R

No. 39.

To MAJOR W. C. ERSKINE,

*Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division.*

SIR,

I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated 28th ultimo, and in reply beg to state, that I am adopting measures, which will enable me, I hope, not only to destroy the strongholds you refer to, but to prevent also the escape of the rebels now occupying them.

2nd. I will again communicate with you on this subject.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. C. WHITLOCK, MAJOR GENERAL,
*Comdg. Saugor Field Division.*

DIVISION HEAD QUARTERS:
CAMP RYEPORE,
*The 1st March* 1858.

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